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SIX
BOOKS
OF LATE
Controversie

In Defence of the Church of England.

All in Two Volumes.

IN THE FIRST.

1. Vindication of the *Dissertations* concerning *Episcopacie* from the Answers of the *London Ministers*.
2. A Reply to the *Catholike Gentlemans Answer* to the Book of *Schisme*.
With an Account of *H. T.* his *Appendix* to his *Manual of Controversies*.
3. The *Disarmers Dexterityes* Examined in a Second Defence of the *Treatise of Schisme*.

Viz

IN THE SECOND.

4. An answer to the *Animadversions* on the *Dissertations Touching Ignatius's Epistles* and *Episcopacie*.
With a Second Defence of *Hugo Grotius* appendant to it.
5. An Account of Mr. *Cawdryes Triplex Diatribe*, concerning *Superstition, Will-worship, and Christmasts Festival*.
6. *Baptizing of Infants* Defended from the Exceptions of Mr. *Tombes*.

By *H. Hammond*, D. D. K

London, Printed for *Richard Roysten*, in Ivy lane. 1656.



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
DISSERTATIONS
CONCERNING
EPISCOPACIE:

From the ANSWERS, or
EXCEPTIONS offered against
them by the London Ministers, in their
7us Divinum Ministerii Evangelici.

By H. HAMMOND, D.D.



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L. C.

Printed by J. C. for Richard Taylor at the Angel
in the Strand 1834

TO THE READER.



IN Erasmus's distribution of his owne writings into *Tomes*, the 8th. we finde thus inscribed by him, *Octavum occupent Apologia. Me miserum. Et haustum volumen efficient.* It was his great *infelicity*, that the *Apologies* and *Answers* to *exceptions* and *calumnies*, which he was constrained to write, made up an intire large *Volume in folio*. Now though I have that pleasure in the temper of that person, which gives me *security*, by the *Romanists Proverbe*, never to be deemed one of their good *Catholicks*, and so may probably partake of some part of his *fate*, yet 't were great insolence in me, who have not troubled the World with a tenth proportion to that werewith he hath favoured it, to expect the *Tithe* of that *consideration*, which is required to make one capable of that degree of *infelicity*, which lay a full load on him; Neverthelesse these few last moneths have given me a tast and *discern* what I am to expect. For besides the *reproaches* of one learned *Gentleman* (to which, being barely such, I have no one word to retribute, but that of the *Εὐλογεῖν* which *Christ* directs me to) I have farther met with some *variety*; Many *exceptions*, though litle of continually from these *Assemblies*; More, and in a very distant

To the Reader, &c.

Character from a large *Preface* of *Animadversions* on the *Dissertations* sent me lately from *Oxford*; others also there are which I have not yet had leasure to weigh, but soon purpose and hope to do it; and if either I discern my selfe, or finde it the opinion of others, that what is already said in the *Tracts*, which they oppose, be not sufficient to prevent, or remove the scruples proposed by them, I shall willingly dedicate some time of *vacancy* to that employment. At the present, the *Exceptions* of the *London Ministers* have challenged the *precedence*, and here are offered to consideration. And because the *Preface* from *Oxford*, falls on the same sort of matter, *Episcopacy* and *Ignatius's Epistles*, as they are defended in the *Dissertations*, I purpose, *God willing*, that an *Answer* to that shall now follow, as soon as the *Printer* can dispatch it. And that is all that I had to say to the *Reader* by way of *Preface*.

T H E

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A



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
Dissertations concerning *Episcopacy*,
From the Answers or Exceptions offered
against them by the *London-Ministers* in their
Ius Divinum Ministerii Evangelici.

The INTRODUCTION.

*Of the occasion of this Worke, The state
of the Controversie, The Heads of the Prelatists
Plea, from Scripture and Antiquity, with some
Observations assistant to them. The considerable
concernements of the question.*



Being advertised from many hands, that the Num. 1.
Booke called *Ius Divinum Ministerii Evan-*
gelici, which is lately published by some, who
intitle themselves the *Provinciall Assembly*
of *London*, hath undertaken to consider and
confute many passages of the *Dissertations*,
three years since published in *Latine*, in defence of *Episcopacy*,
against

against D. *Blondell* and others, I have thought my selfe obliged to examine whether there be any thing objected by them in relation to those *Dissertations*, which may reasonably move me to retract what was there either with diffidence proposed, or more confidently asserted by me.

2. And having diligently surveyed the whole *Booke*, that I might omit no passage, wherein my interests might be in the least concern'd & being truly able to affirme from that view, that it hath yielded me no one syllable of usefull *Exhortation*, no motive to retract any period, or alter any expression in those *Dissertations* (but as farre, as I doe perswade my selfe that this *Provinciall Synod* contains in it Men of judgement and abilities to maintaine the truth and convince gaine-sayers, so farre I am forced to assume, that what I have written is testified to be *Truth*, and by that priviledge competently secured against all opposers) I might herein reasonably acquiesce, without farther importuning the Reader or my selfe with impertinent vindications, onely trusting and adventuring the whole matter to the judgement of each intelligent Reader, who is obliged by all Rules of Justice to compare either by his *Memory*, or by his *Eye* those passages in this *Booke*, and the *Chapters* in the *Dissertations* to which they are confronted.

3. But I am againe told that many, who have read and are moved by the *Arguments* and *Answers* of this *Booke*, and the *Authority* of a *Provinciall Synod*, are yet disabled to be so just as to examine them by comparing them with the *latine Dissertations*, and that we are fallen upon those times wherein whatsoever is not answered, is cried up as unanswerable (an humour, of which, if I might be permitted to receive the fruits, I should have no temptation to complaine, there being so much a greater part of those *Dissertations*, which was never attempted to be answered) I continue still under some seeming obligation to give an exact account of the whole matter as it lies in contest betweene this *Provinciall Synod* and those *Dissertations*, and I shall hasten to doe it, when I have first by way of necessary *Introduction* premised these two things.

4. First, the *state* of the *Controversy*, as it generally lies between us, which is this; whether the *Apostles* of *Christ*, when they planted *Churches* in each *City*, left them in the hands of *many* to be governed by the *Common Councell* of those *many*, erecting an *equality* or *parity* of severall *Rulers* in every *City*, to whom all others were subjected, and they to none: or whether they placed the *Superiour* power and *Authority* in some *one*, and subjected all others to him. Other consequent differences there are arising from hence, (and those of such *weight* and *concernment* to those with whom I now dispute, in case the *Truth* be not on their sides, as will make this *returne* to their *Objections*, no lesse than a duty of *Charity*, as to *Brethren*, if by the *Grace* of *God* they shall judge it *reasonable* to make that use of it) but this is the one *Basis* of all, whether the *Apostles* planted *parity* or *imparity* in the *Church*; *many* equall *Governours* in one *City*, or but *one* in each; The former is the *Presbyterians* interest to defend, the latter the *Prelatists*; And so the controversy stands between them to be debated and evinced by such evidences as a matter of *Fact* is capable of, (the *Right* being by both sides acknowledged to follow that *Fact*) i. e. by the *Testimonies* of those who are fit to be credited in this matter.

Secondly, the *briefe heads* of the *Plea*, by which I have undertaken to maintaine the *Prelatists* assertion, 1. By *Scripture*, 2. By the *Records* of the first times, the *Writings* of those who were neereſt the *Apostles*, and either affirme what was done by the *Apostles*, or how it stood practiced in the *Churches*, all the *World* over, which were planted by them. As for the *third* way of arguing from the *universall* consent and practice of all *Churches* for about 1400 yeares together, i. e. from about the yeare 140. till the *Reformation*, this I doe not insist on, as I might with all evidence, because it is knowne and confest by the *Adversaries*, and all that is by them pretended, is, that *parity* and *equality* being prescribed and practiced by the *Apostles* soone after their death, and quite contrary to their plat-forme, *Prelacy* was introduced into all *Churches*; It being their desire and demand now (a little different from what *M. Calvin* at first proposed to the

Churches of Helvetia) that all may be reformed and reduced to the state wherein the *Apostles* left it.

6. In the managing the proofes proposed by mee, I have used this method, which seemed to mee most convincing, 1. To insist on some few *Testimonies* under each head, which are sufficient to conclude the matter on the *Prelatists* side; and then to propose some observations, which may accord all other places both of *Scripture* and *antient* writers, with those *Testimonies* and that conclusion.

7. The speciall proofes of *Scripture* are taken, *First*, from the power derived (as from *God the Father*, to *Christ*, so) from *Christ* to the *Apostles*; not as to a *Common councill* of *sociall Rulers*, but as so many severall planters and *Governours* of the *Church*, each having all power committed to him, and depending on no conjunction of any one or more *Apostles* for the exercise of it; And this is largely and clearly deduced *Dissert.* 3. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. And this power being by them derived to *Bishops* in each *City*, in the same manner as they used it themselves (which is also farther evidenced and vindicated, c. 5. &c.) this was deemed a first competent proofe of this matter, and as a confirmation of it, it was observable, that the first *Bishops* made by them, were in the very *Scripture* called *Apostles*, *James* the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, &c. *Diss.* 4. c. 3.

8. A second principall proofe of *Scripture* is taken from the severall mentions of the so many *Churches* of *Asia*, and the so many *Angels* assigned to them, one to each, as a singular *Governour* or *Bishop* in the *Revelation*. And in discourse of these wee have found great evidence of the fact to authorize us to improve the conclusion a little higher, than was necessary to the defence of the maine cause; viz. to affirme of these *Angels*, that each of them was an *Archbishop* or *Metropolitan*, and having done so to discern upon undeniable grounds that there were many other such, mentioned in the *Scripture* (though not under that title) as *James* the brother of the Lord, *Metropolitan* of all *Judea*, *Titus* of all *Cress*, with an hundred *Cities* in it, &c.

9. And the wayes of according all other *Scriptures* with these

these have been briefly these. 1. By observing this difference betwixt Cities and Metropoles, as the true cause and occasion of the mentions of many *Bishop* in (not of) one City, meaning thereby the *Bishop* of all the Cities under that *Metropolis* as *Phil. 1. 1. Act. 20. 17.* Secondly, by examining the Nature of all the words, which I conceived to be used in *Scripture* for *Bishops*, as (beside *Apostle* and *Angel* forementioned) *ἐπίσκοπος*, *Bishop*, *ἡγούμενος*, *Ruler*, *διδάσκαλος*, *Doctor*, *ποιμήν*, *Pastor*, *πρεσβυς*, *President*, *πρεσβύτερος*, *Elder* (and in the *Fathers*, *Ἀρχιερεὺς* *Chiefe Priest*, and *Sacerdos*, *Priest*) each denoting *Dignity* and *Authority*, and all cleared to be in their own nature applicable, and by the circumstances of the Context to be actually applied to the singular *Governours* in each City; most of them constantly so, and that one of *πρεσβύτερος*, if not constantly so, yet very rarely otherwise. And this is done *Dissert. 4. c. 7.* and so to the end of that *Diff.* Thirdly, by observing the paucity of believers in many Cities in the first *Plantations*, which made it unnecessary that there should by the *Apostles* be ordained any more than a *Bishop* and *Deacon* (one or more) in each City, and that this was accordingly done by them at the first, is approved by the most undeniable *antient Records*. Such as those *βασιλικά* *israelai*, the profoundest *Histories*, out of which * *Epiphanius* * *L. 1. l. 21* makes this Observation; *Ὅπου γέγονε χρεία, καὶ ἦσαν ἀξιοὶ ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ ἐσάδυνασαν ἐπίσκοποι πλῆθος δὲ μὴ ὄντων ἐκ ἐξουσίας ἐν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἐσάδυναν, καὶ ἐκράδυνασαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ πᾶν μόνον ἐπισκόπων, ἀνευ δὲ διακόνων ἐπίσκοποι ἀδυνατῶν εἶναι.* Where there wanted *Bishops*. and there were found persons worthy of the Office, *Bishops* were constituted; but where there was no multitude, there none were found among them to be constituted *Presbyters*, and they satisfied themselves with a *Bishop* alone in a place; Only the *Bishop* could not possibly be without a *Deacon*, and accordingly the *Apostle* took care that the *Bishop* should have his *Deacons* to minister to him. That which is thus cited by *Epiphanius* out of those *Antient Records*, is found clearly affirmed by * *Clemens Romanus*, * *Ep ad Cor.* an *Apostolical* person, and witness of the *Apostles* practice; that they being sent out by *Christ*, as hee by his Father, went

out Preaching the Gospell, and proclaiming it through Regions and Cities, καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχαὶς ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ διακονίας τῶν πολλῶν πιστεύειν, they constituted their first fruits into Bishops and Deacons, of those which should afterward believe. To both which wee shall againe adde what Eppiphanius prefaceth in that place; Νέυ ὁρίθη τῷ κηρύγματι πρὸς τὰ ὑποπίπλοντα γράφει Ἀπόστολος, that when the preaching was new, the Apostle St. Paul wrote agreeably to the present state of affaires. We have here so cleare an account of the reason of the Apostles immediate subjoyning of Deacons to Bishops, Phil. 1. 1. and 1 Tim. 3. (viz. because those were the onely two Orders then constituted in every Church) that these two places (which are made use of by the adversaries against us) are most punctuall evidences of the Truth of ours, and of the unreasonablenesse of their pretentions.

10. As for the Testimonies out of the first Antiquity; The ground-worke I have chosen to lay in Ignatius his Epistles, because the Testimonies thence are so many and so evident, and the Writer so neere the Apostles time (that holy men being Martyr'd in the 10. of Trajan, to whose Reigne S. John lived) and most of his Epistles written to the very Churches of Asia, planted by St. John, and the Bishops of many of them named by him, and of one Bishop the Presbyters under him, that if that one Authors Testimonies be attended to, there is an absolute decision of the whole matter on the Prelatists side; To which purpose I have also vindicated these Epistles from all that hath been objected to them in these late yeares, and asserted their Authority by as antient and authentick evidences, as can be vouched for any antient piece, next the Holy Scriptures themselves, and contented my selfe with the most pure and uncorrupted Copies and Editions of it.

11. In accord with these Testimonies I have also produced many others out of Clemens Romanus, Hegeppus, Polycarpe, Papias, Polycrates, Iustin, Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and as many of the first times as have said any thing to this matter, and found a full consent in all, and in most irrefragable suffrages, which conclude this whole controversie on the

the *Prelatis* side. To which I have also added some few observations of unquestionable truth, as 1. That of the continuance of the use of *Πρεσβύτερος*, *Elder*, to signifie *Bishop* (in our *Modern* sense) among some of these most *antient Church writers* (whereas the word *Επίσκοπος* is never used by any, but for a *singular Governour*.) Secondly, that of the distinct *Congregations* of *Jewish* and *Gentile Christians* in the same *City* (the grounds of which are evident in *Scripture*) and consequently of the severall *Governours* or *Bishops* over them (which was usefull for the removing some seeming difficulties in the *Catalogues* of the first *Bishops* of *Rome*, *Antioch*, &c.) and some other the like, not for the serving the *Necessities* of our *Cause*, but as *supernumerary*, and *ex abundanti*. And upon these and such like heads of probation we have built our plea, descending also to a particular survey of *Saint Hierom's testimonies*, which are by the *adversaries* principally made use of against us.

And if what is thus copiously deduced in the *Dissertations*, together with *Answers*, and *refutations* of the principall *Objections* of *Doctor Blondel*, and *Walo Messalinus*, doe really stand in force, and appeare not to be refuted now in whole, or in part, by these men, who have often attempted to refuse them, I shall then leave them seriously, and *Christianly* to consider but this one thing, and to returne their anger not to me, but to themselves, what *security* of grounds they can build upon in their present *practices*, particularly in their *assuming* to themselves that *power* or *authority* which doth not belong to them; For 1. if the *Presbiterie* in each *Church* were (as by *Christ* to the *Apostles*, so) by the *Apostles* given to the *singular Governour* or *Bishop* (by them *καθ' ὅς ἐστιν ἐν πάσι*, constituted over all) and from that time to this, regularly continued in a *succession* of *Bishops* in every *Church*; and secondly, if those which are now called *Presbyters*, were by those, who first instituted them, placed in a *second rank* as of *dignity*, so of *power*, and never had all that power committed to them, which to the *Bishop* was committed, particularly not that of *Ordaining* the meanest *Deacon*, much lesse *Presbyters* with power of *Ordaining* other *Presbyters*; and thirdly if they, on whose *authority*

* *Excepta Or-*
diratione, H. Cr.
ep. 8. ad Evagr.
ἡ ἐκείνη
ἐκείνη ἀνα-
βιβάζουσι ἐ-
πίσκοποι.
Chrysost. Hom.
in 1 Tim.

In Ep. ad Heb.
 p 913.

* *Theophylast*
Ibid.

thority they most depend (S. **Hierome* the *Presbyter*, &c.) doe expressly assure them, that the *Presbyters* in their times had not power of *Ordination*, but acknowledge the *Bishop* superior to the *Presbyter* in that (and it is not imaginable how that power should be conveyed to any *Presbyter* now, which was not vested in any at that time, nor pretended to be so in above a thousand yeares after them.) And lastly, if no man may take that which is not given him from Heaven (or give that which he hath not) which the *Scripture* yeilds to, as a rule by which both *John Baptist*, *John* 3. 27. and *Christ* himselfe, *Luk*, 12. 14. was to be judged, and the *Apostle*, *Heb*. 5. 4. hath applied that generall rule to this particularity, of *Priesthood* in the *Church*, viz. that no man may λαμβάνειν τιμὴν assume an honour to himselfe, but who is ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλέμενος, called by God, (θεοτεβήσαντες, advanced by God, saith *Theophylast*) either immediately or mediately, either by the *Apostles*, or by those which received it successively from them (all others being truly affirmed by the * *Antients* ἐπιπνῆσθαι τῇ τιμῇ, to leap into the honour, & νόμον διαρθεῖν (and to corrupt the rule or law by which they should be guided) then I say, upon what solid grounds can they satisfie *Conscience*, who without all pretence of necessity (which by some is here made use of as an excuse) the regular way being open and plaine before them, have run before they were sent, assumed that power to themselves, which belongs not to them, nor was ever by any, which had it, bestowed upon them?

I doe not foresee any more here necessary to be premised to our future debates, and shall therefore hasten to them, as to an unpleasant progresse, that I would willingly be at the end of, and commit all to the grace and unerring judgement of him, whom we all professe to serve and obey in this, as in all other things.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Angels of the Churches of Asia.

Section I.

The grounds of affirming them to be Bishops.

FOR the vindicating of the *Dissertations* from all the exceptions which are offered against them in the *Booke*, which I have now before me; It is no whit necessary that I give the Reader any the most cursory view of the whole *Booke*; I shall therefore fall in, though abruptly, on the sixth Chapter of the second part of it. For although in some of the former Chapters of that part, some indeavours are used to assert *Presbytery* against *Episcopacy* by Arguments so frequently produced by that party, that they were every one foreseen; and in the *Dissertations* largely evidenced to have no validity in them, yet it falls out somewhat to mine owne and the Readers ease, that I am not personally called into the lists, till the beginning of the sixth Chapter; which by the signall of some *Latine* words in the Margine out of *Dissert. 4. c. 4. Sect. 4.* have markt me out as the person against whom that Chapter was intirely designed, and I shall readily answer the call, and not refuse the paines to examine every Section of that Chapter.

2. The Subject of this Chapter is the pretended (as they please to stile it) *Episcopacy* of the seven Asian Angels, And thus they begin their assault; The second Scripture ground brought to prove the Divine Right of Prelacy, is from the Angels of the seven Churches of Asia; These Angels, say they (the Assertors of Prelacy) were seven single persons, and (as one hath lately written) not onely Bishops, but *Metropolitans* and *Archbishops*. This is said with so much confidence that all men are condemned as blind or wilfull that endeavour to oppose it: And it is reckoned as one of the great prodigies of this unhappy Age, that Men should still continue

In tamâ luce
asbuc cæcitate
al quo inter
p sion & manu
ff. cas. fimi (a-
culi prodigia
numerandum est

blind, and not see light enough in this Scripture to build the great Fabrick of Episcopacy by Divine Right upon.

3. This is, it seemes, the first crime chargeable on mee as Author of the *Dissertations*, that I am confident of my Assertion, and condemne all others as blind or wilfull that indeavour to oppose it. And although this be no competent way of disproving what is asserted, for it is no universall maxime or Datum among the Objecters that confident asserting should be lookt on as a character of falsity, yet I, that would much more be ashamed to have beene presumptuous than mistaken, and deeme it not a sinne to have erred modestly, am concerned to avert the envy of this their Proame, and to give this essay, how farre any the most moderate speeches may be disguised and deformed by a disadvantageous interpretation.

4. These words [*in tantâ luce—*] lie thus in the *Dissertations*; [*Ad tertium accedo—I proceede to the third thing, that which concernes the Angels in the Apocalypse, that by them are noted so many prefects of the chiefe Cities or Churches in Asia, whom you may call not onely Bishops, but Primates, Enarchs, or Metropolitans. Each of these things must be briefly taken notice of. First, that each of these were single and properly called Bishops. So Andreas Cæsariensis pronounceth of them, "Επτα ἐκκλησιας ἰστέαδμοι ἑποσι" Ἀγγελοι λέγονται. The seven Ephori (Inspectors or Bishops, so called from the Greeke ἐπισκοποι Inspectors, directly equivalent to ἑποσι) parallel to the number of the seven Churches are in that place of the Apocalypse called Angels. This title of Angel is sufficiently knowne from Malach. 2. 7. to belong to the chiefe Priest of the Jewes, for hee is called the Angel of the Lord of Hosts, as the person from whom the Law was to be derived to the people. Furthermore these Angels in that vision of Johns are likened to so many Starres, which, seeing Christ is said to beare or carry in his Right hand Apoc. 1. 16. 20. & 1, 2. an argument of competent validity may be drawne from thence, that this dignity and power of them in the Church is, if not immediately instituted, yet approved and confirmed by Christ; especially when in these so many parts of this Epistle, Christ himselfe hath written to every*

of them under this title of honour and dignity. In the presence of so much light that some Men should still continue blind is to be numbred among the prodigies of this worst and most unhappy age. For as to that which from the one word [you] in the plural.c.4. 24. I finde objected by some against so many single mentions of the Angels (one in every Church) that will immediately vanish, &c.

5. These words thus intirely set downe have a face very distant from that so much confidence and censoriousnesse that I am here charged with by the *Provinciall Synod*. For 1. For the conclusion deduced from the mention of these *Angles*, 'tis not the *Divine Right of Prelacy* (which phrase might yet have beene reconciled with rules of Sobriety and Modesty, as well as the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery) but Christs approbation and confirmation of this dignity and power of Bishops, which conclusion hath evident grounds in those Texts which mention *Christ's holding them in his Hand*, and his addressing an *Epistle* to them, supposing onely, what is undertaken to be evidenced by other mediums, that these Angels were single persons in each Church.

6. Secondly, that which is by me so confidently affirmed, is not, as this learned *Assembly* is pleased to suggest, that these Angels were Metropolitans or Archbishops. That they were such, is afterwards as a distinct matter in the next Chapter proposed in a much more moderate style, *statim credibile fiet, si illi straitways become credible*, and with no more shew of confidence then the premises which are there at large set down, will Authorize.

7. These be two competent essayes to begin with, by which we may proportion our expectations; But there is yet a third which hath somewhat more of injustice in it, to mention my so much confidence in asserting, but never to take notice of the grounds produced, whereon this confidence (as farre as it extends) is built, the want of which is so constantly the one thing, which renders confidence unseasonable or blameable, that it is not in the power of any man to have apprehended grounds as proper to induce a conclusion, and to suspend the belief and confidence of the truth of that conclu-

sion, which is so inferred. The *injustice*, I say, is there not taking notice of the *mediums*, whereon the *confidence* is founded, very competent to inferre a conclusion in that title, wherein it was there inferred, if they had been pleased to advertise their Readers of it.

8. The inference lies thus; The *Angel* of each Church of *Asia* was a *single* person, therefore not a *Colledge* or *Consistory* of Presbyters, and the singularity of the person is there supposed to be evidenced sufficiently by that which is so many times repeated in the *Text*, the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus*, the *Angel* of the Church of *Smyrna*, and the like, by the testimony of *Andreas Casariensis*, the Principall Annotator or Interpreter of the *Revelation*, transcribed by *Aretas* in expresse words, ἡ πλὴ ἀκκλησιῶν ἰσαριθμοὶ ἔροσι, the number of the Bishops equall to the number of the Churches; and by the answer rendred to that one *Objection* which is brought by the *Presbyterians* against the singularity of the person of each *Angel*.

9. Secondly, this singular person was a *Bishop* in that notion of the word which signifies a precedence of power and dignity over all others in that Church. This againe was made evident, both by the forementioned singularity of his power and person in each Church, and farther by the propriety of the title bestowed on him, an *Angel*, such as among the *Jewes* the chiefe Priest was styled; *Malac. 2.* to which matter I shall now superadde one Testimony which *Photinus* hath out of *Diodorus Siculus* concerning the *Jewes*; Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄγγελον φέρειν τὰ θεῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, Him they call the High Priest, and deeme him to be to them an *Angel* or Messenger of the commands of God (a Commissioner of Heaven, impowered from thence for the execution of his Office among them.)

10. This by the way, gives us the reason of the denomination, because as *Angels* doe not onely carry up our Prayers to God but also bring downe Gods Commands to us, so did the High priest under the Law. This dialect is also said to be derived from the *Hebrewes* to the *Egyptians*, who call their chiefe Priest *Angel* also. And then how fitly the parallel
runs

runs betwixt the *High Priest* among the *Jewes*, and the *Bishop* in the *Christian Church*, taken in the *Prelatists* notion of him, was a theme which seemed not to need any length of *harangue* to performe or illustrate it. And yet after a Section spent to cleare that one difficulty of the [ὅμιν, you, in the plurall c. 2. 24.] there are two Sections added more for the farther fortifying of this evidence. 1. From the Councell of

Chalcedon; *Act* 2. which * from *Timothy*

till the time of their *Session* numbers 27.

Bishops in one of these *Sees*, that of *Ephesus*, all ordeined there (and *Timothy* we know being ordeined by the laying on of

* ὑπὸ τῶ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μετὰ πάντων ἐπίσκοπων ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήσαντες.

St. Pauls hands 2 *Tim*. 1. 6. will divolve it to that *Originall*,

Apostoliacall institution) and 2. from *Polycrates*, † who was † *De Martyr*.

borne soone after *St. Johns* dayes, and is a witness of a com- *Timoth*.

petent *antiquity*, and affirmes himselfe to be the * eight *Bi-*

shop of that *See* ; From both which testimonies of the *Cato-*

logue, and number of *Bishops*, ascending to *St. Timothy*, as

the first of that ranke (who certainly was constituted there

before the *Epistle* of *Christ* to the *Angel* of that *Church*) the

conclusion is obvious and irrefragable, that either *Timothy*

or some *successor* of his was personally the *Angel* to which the

Epistle was addrest, and I professe not to wish for a greater

evidence to justify a *Prelatist* in his desire to live in obedience.

to that order so signally confirmed by *Christ*.

* Epad. viitor.
ap. † a'eb. Evli.
Hist. l. 1. c. 25.

11. The like is in the next Section produced out of *Irenaus*

l. 3. c. 3. concerning the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Smyrna*.

Irenaus lived in the time of *Polycarp* that antient *Primitive*

Martyr, and being a youth had the honour to see that vener-

able old *Man*, and of him he affirmes, that

he was * not only a *Disciple* of the *Apostles*,

and conversed with many that saw *Christ*, but

that also hee was sent to *Asia*, and constitu-

ted *Bishop* in the *Church* of *Smyrna* ; And if

there needed any more light after so cleare

and authentick a testimony (which againe

concludes either *Polycarpe*, or some succes-

sor of his to be the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Smyrna* to whom

* ὁ μόνος ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθη-
τησὶν καὶ συναναστασέντων πολ-
λοῖς τοῖς τὸν χρόνον ἐσχατοῖς,
ἀλλ' καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατεστα-
θέντα ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐν
Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον.

Christ addresseth his *Epistle*) there is another added out of *Tertullian*, a Writer of great *Antiquity* and reputation for knowledge in the *Records* of the *Church* in these words.

* Sicut Smyrnaeorum Ecclesia Polycarpum à Johanne collocatum refert, sicut Romano, cum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit, perinde utique & ceterae exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici semini traduces habens. De Praescr. c. 32.

them. And more

* Habemus Johannis à lucas Ecclesias — Ordo Episcoporum ad originem recensitus in Johanne flabit auctorem. Adv. Marc. l. 4. c. 5.

* As the Church of Smyrna relates Polycarpe to have been constituted there by John, as the Church of Rome affirms Clement to have been ordained by Peter, so in like manner the rest of the Churches exhibit the Records of those whom they have had their Bishops constituted by the Apostles and conveyers of the Apostolicall seed to particularly of the Churches of Asia, the subject of our present discourse. * We have the Churches fed by John, and the course of Bishops being driven to the Originall, acknowledge John (the Apostle) to be the Author of them. Here certainly is light

enough to make some confidence excusable in a Prelatist, and to make his Wonder seasonable, that any that have eyes, should in so clear a *Sunshine* want the use of them, and to thinke it no very *auspicious* omen that they doe. Yet because I had much rather assist, then upbraid other mens infirmities, I have here given them an instance how easie it had been for them to have informed themselves and their respective charges of the grounds of the Prelatists confidence, that the *Epistle* of *Christ* to the *Angels* of the seven *Asian* Churches was an evidence of his approbation of the Order of *Bishops* in our *moderne* notion of that word for a single overseer in every Church.

12. And if there be any obscurity still remaining in the premises, because the Councell of *Chalcedon* (and *Policrates*) makes *Timothy*, who was ordained by *Paul* the first Bishop or Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, but *Tertullian* divolves the Originall of the course or Catalogue to *St John*, the answer is easy, that there were two sorts of *Christians* in *Ephesus*, and throughout all *Asia*, the first of *Gentile* converts, brought in to the faith by *St. Paul* the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, and over them it was that *Timothy* was by him placed in *Ephesus* their

their Bishop; the second of Jewish Proselytes converted by St. John (by compact designed to goe to the Jewes, as his Province Gal. 2.9. and thole peculiarly the Asian Jewes, as appeares every where in * Eusebius story, and by the relation of his death in that place, given us by † Polycrates, an early Bishops there) and the Author of the constitutions out of an antient tradition tells us that another of the same name, Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐμὲ Ἰωάννη καχμερόνιστος) was by that Apostle ordained Bishop of the Jewish Christians there, as Timothy by S. Paul of the other Congregation of Gentile Christians. An observation which is largely educed and exemplified in the * Dissertations, and of which there is no small use for the dilucidating of obscurities in antient story, and the clearing of this controversy betwixt us and the Presbyterians; but I must not here take liberty to enlarge on it unnecessarily, having been thus farre forced to expatiate somewhat above proportion to the length of their owne period, wherein my confidence and censoriousness were shortly accused, how deservedly, I hope hath now been made manifest.

* τὰς αὐτοὺς
διέπειν ἐκ
κλησίας 1.3.

23.
† Ibid. c. 3 1.

* Dissert. 4. c. 1;
ω 7. ω.

Section I I.

Of Timothy, of Onesimus, of Polycarpe.

The next period in their charge against mee runs thus. It is further added, that some of the Antient Fathers mention the very men that were the Angels of those Churches. Some say Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, when John wrote his Epistle to it; Others say Onesimus, others say that Polycarpe was Bishop of Smyrna; And from hence they conclude with a great deal of plausibility, that the Angels of the Churches were seven individual Bishops. Num. 1.

2. Here is as yet no great charge offered, but a confession rather, that I had some temptation for the confidence, of which I was formerly accused; my conclusion being acknowledged by the adversaries to be inferred with a great deal of plausibility. But I have not so much reason to depend on their civilities, as to omit the inserting here, what may be usefull

to

to prevent mistakes, and shall therefore thinke it necessary to set downe intirely, what it is which I have affirmed in this matter.

3. And 1. I have yet no where said that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus* when *John* writ this *Epistle* to that Church; My words are expressly otherwise, *Ex quibus patet vel Timotheum ipsum vel aliquem ei succedantem hunc ipsum Angelum fuisse, quem c. 2. 1. Christus alloquitur.* By which it appears (having formerly set down my grounds to induce this conclusion) that either *Timothy* himself, or some body that succeeded him, was that very Angel to whom *Christ* address his speech, c. 2. 1: But that is not to affirme it of *Timothy*, but purposely to abstaine from affirming any thing that could be denied or doubted, and onely to affirme it either to *Timothy* or some successor of his, which evidently and infallibly it must be, if there be truth in the premise from which it was inferred, the words of the Councell, and the Father, that after *Timothy*, the first, succeeded of continuall series of Bishops there.

4. What my opinion is in this matter, I shall now freely tell them, though before I had not occasion to doe it, together professing it to be onely my opinion, and so still affirming nothing in a matter of some uncertainty, or farther than the grounds, on which my opinion is founded, shall appeare able to support it. My opinion briefly is, that *Timothy* was then Bishop of *Ephesus* at the time of addressing that *Epistle* to the Angel of that Church; And the grounds are these. 1. That *St. Johns* banishment and prophesying are by *Epiphanius* twice expressly affirmed to have been εν γενοίς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος, in the times of *Claudius Caesar*; Then secondly, that as it is by *Chronologers* set downe to be in the 13. of *Claudius*, that *Timothy* was left by *Paul* at *Ephesus*, when hee went into *Macedonia*; 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. c. 1. 20. so it is generally resolved that *Timothy* suffered at *Ephesus* under *Nerva*, and that agreeable enough with his age, who appears to be young when *Paul* first placed him Bishop of *Ephesus*. If these grounds have truth in them, then *Timothy* cannot be doubted to be Bishop of *Ephesus*, when *St Johns* vision was received; And though 'tis true, that *Irenaeus* seemes to assigne another date of

Her. Alexy.

of these *visions*, at least of some of them, *πρὸς τὸ τέλος τοῦ Δομιτιανῆος αἰχμῆς*, as the end of Domitians Reigns (which what it is to be deemed to signifie, is * elsewhere explained) yet still that is within the compasse of *Timothies* life, if hee suffered not till *Nerva's* Reigue. And so much for that of *Timothies*.

Annus. p. 906.

5. Secondly, that *Omesimus* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the date of that *Epistle*, is no where so much as intimated to be my opinion, much lesse affirmed by me. And therefore I need reply no more to that. Yet because *Ignatius* in his *Epistle* to the *Ephesians* mentions *Omesimus* their Bishop (and that *Testimony* is produced by me *Dissert. 2. c. 25. Sect. 9.*) I shall here freely give them my opinion also of that matter.

6. First, that there is little ground of *question*, but that one of that name, *Omesimus*, was Bishop of *Ephesus* in the tenth yeare of *Trajan*, wherein *Ignatius* wrote that *Epistle*.

7. Secondly, that by one indication there is some small reason to guess, that this *Omesimus* was then lately come to that dignity; I meane *Ignatius* his words of gratulation to that Church, that God had given them the favour to obtaine or have such a Bishop; *ὁλοκληρῶς ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιούτοις ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἐπίσκοποι καλῶνται*.

8. Thirdly, that according to *Epiphanius* his setting down the time of *John's* banishment and *visions*, in the dayes of *Claudius*, there must be above 50 yeares distance between the date of this *Epistle* of *Christ*, and that of *Ignatius*, and consequently that it is not so likely that *Omesimus*, that was their Bishop in the later, should be that very *Angel* in the former.

9. Fourthly, that as I can have no cause to consent with *Ado* (in *lib. de Fest. Apost. ad 14. Cal. Mart.*) that this *Omesimus* in *Ignatius* was hee that is mentioned by *St. Paul* to *Philemon*, so not to adhere to the *Roman Martyrologie*, that he whom *Paul* mentions, was constituted Bishop of *Ephesus* after *Timothy*.

10. And therefore fifthly, it must be remembered, that both the *Greek Monologies*, and *Simon Metaphrastes* (who celebrate

celebrate his memory on *March 13.*) acknowledge not that *Onesimus* to have been at all *Bishop* of *Ephesus*, and that others also of the *antients* make him to have been *Bishop* of *Berea*, and martyr'd in *Domitian's* Reigne: and *Dorotheas* in *Synopsi* expressly affirmeth that *Gaius* succeeded *Timothy* in *Ephesus*.

11. From all which it followes, that *Onesimus* mentioned by *Ignatius*, was some later *Bishop* of that City, who bare that very *Ordinary Greeke* name, and so that his being *Bishop* of *Ephesus* no way belongs to that time of the *Angel* in the *Revelation*, nor interferes with their opinion, who thinke *Timothy* to have beene that *Angel*; The appearing incompe- tibility whereof was it, I sppsse, that brought in here the mention of *Onesimus*.

12. This was here seasonable enough to be confronted to their words in this place, and will be of use to be remembred in the *proceffe* of their *Discourse*.

13. Thirdly, for *Polycarp's* being *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, as there is left no place for the doubting of that (if either *Ire- naeus*, that lived in his time and saw him, or if *Tertullian*, who lived not long after, and was a curious *Antiquary*, may be believed in their joynt affirmations of a knowne matter of *Fact*) so it is againe no where affirmed by me, that hee was the very man, to whom that *Epistle* to the *Angel* of *Smyrna* was sent, and if that were their meaning, they have againe misreported my words.

14. All that I had said, I thinke was proved irrefragably, that in two of those *Churches* mentioned in the *Apocalyps*, *Timothy* and *Polycarpe* are by *Authenticke testimonies* affirmed to be constituted *Bishops*, the one by *St. Paul*, the other by *St. John*, and that is a competent argument added to others, to inferre that the *Angel* of each of those *Churches* was a single person, and so a *Bishop* in the *Prelatists*, not in the *Presby- terians* notion of the word, an assertion which I need not feare will yeld any advantage to the *adversaries*, and so I as briefly commit it to them.

Section 3.

Of the negative Argument from St. John's not using the word Bishop. Of Ἐπισκοπος in the Revelation.

IN the next place by way of answer to this plea of the Prelarists, we are referred to three writings of their party, *Smectymnus, the Vindication of Smectymnus, the Humble Addresses of the Divines at the Isle of Wight*, wherein, say they, these things are fully, clearly, and satisfactorily handled. Num. 1.

2. But it being certaine that every one of these three was published some yeares before the *Dissertations*, I should thinke it strange that the particulars there insisted on by me, should by divination be thus answered before their conception, being able truly to professe, that though I am not unwilling to make use of any mans aid for defending truth, yet none of those writings, to which any of those three were given in answer, were by me made use of in those compositions.

3. But we are superseded the trouble of examining any of these three, by the leave that is craved to borrow from them what may be usefull for the turne, and then in like manner I shall more willingly receive from these, what shall appeare to answer, or prejudice our plea, than undertake new troubles in farther unnecessary search of it.

4. First, then they desire it may be considered, that S. John, the Penman of the Revelation doth neither in it, nor in any of his other writings so much as upon the by; I suppose, for the Printer failes me) name Bishop. Hee names the name Presbyter frequently in the Revelation, yea, when he would set out the office of those who are neere the throne of Christ in his Church, Rev. 4. he calls himselfe a Presbyter, Ep. 2. And whereas in S. John's dayes some new expressions were used in the Christian Church, which were not in Scripture, as the Christian Sabbath began to be called the Lords day, and Christ himselfe the Word, now both these are found in the writings of St John; And it is strange to us that the Apostle should mention a new phrase, and not mention a new Office erected by this time (as our Brethren say) in the Church, especially if wee consider that Polycarpe

(as is related) was made Bishop by him; And no doubt if hee had been made Bishop in a prelaticall sense, we should have found the name Bishop in some of his writings, who lived so long as to see Episcopacy sealed in the Church, as our Adversaries would make us believe.

5. We are now to consider what degree of conviction, or Argument, to the prejudice of our pretensions, can be fetcht from this large consideration. And first it is most evident and notorious among all Artists, that an argument from Authority cannot conclude negatively that there were no Bishops in St John's time, because St. John doth not mention Bishops. It is the same way of arguing, as if they should conclude that there was no God in the time of writing the Canonick Chapters of Hester, because God is not found once mentioned in those Chapters. And yet of this inartificiall kinde is the whole discourse of this Paragraph, the premisses barely negative throughout all the consideration; And so nothing is conclusive from it to the prejudice of us, or benefit of our adversaries.

6. Secondly, all that this consideration pretends to, is terminated in the bare name of Bishop, that is it which they pretend is not to be found in St John. But 1. They knew that the word Angel is oft in St John, and by us contested, by the singularity of the person one Angel in each Church (and other Characters) to conclude the Office of Bishop as irrefragably, as if the word Bishop were there specified. Nay of this wee have a competent experience, that if the word Bishop had been found there, it would by Presbyterians be as readily expounded to signifie a Presbyter, or colladge of such (for so certainly they have done in other places) and truly with as much reason and satisfaction to any impartiall judge, as they have affirmed the word Angel in each Church to denote such. And therefore

7. Thirdly, I shall demand, would the Apostle St. John's using the name Bishop, be at all usefull to the Prelatists interests, to conclude that there was such an Office in the Church in his time, or would it not? If not, then sure it is not to our prejudice, that hee hath not mentioned that name, and then this

this whole consideration is perfectly to no purpose. If it would, then sure St. Pauls and St. Lukes frequent mentions of them (I may adde St. Peter also) will supply St. John's omissions, and conclude there were Bishops in their time, and that was long before St. Johns death, if it had been considered.

8. Fourthly, when it is said that St. John frequently names the name *Presbyter* in the *Apocalyps*, 'tis not imaginable that they should thinke the Author of the *Dissertations* could receive any prejudice from thence, when hee hath avowed to believe that those *Πρεσβύτεροι Elders*, mentioned in those so many places of the *Revelation*, were the 24. Bishops of *Judea* sitting in *Concell* at *Jerusalem* their *Metropolis*, encompassing James the Bishop there together with the foure living creatures, denoting the foure Apostles that were joyned with them in the *concell*, and the 7. Lamps, the emblemes of the 7. Deacons attending; Of which matter till they have disproved what is commodiously deduced *Dissert. 4. c. 20. Sect. 10.* I shall have no need farther to enlarge, it being perfectly uselesse to our present inquiry, that either the word Bishop or Elder should be used by St. John, for a single *Presett* in the *Christian Church*, supposing (as now we do in the *Objection*, and tis but a begging of the question in the respondent to suppose the contrary) that the word *Angel* is a notation of it.

9. By this it appeares fifthly, how little wee incommodated by the position of these Elders in the *Revelation* placed neereſt to the throne of Christ in his Church, for supposing, as I doe, that Christ is by way of vision represented there under the person of the Bishop of *Jerusalem* sitting in *concell*, and encompassed (on each side) with a *Semicircle* of *Thrones*, on which sat the 24 Bishops of *Judea*, I can well allow these 24 (call them Elders, or what you please) to be neereſt to that middle throne, whereon Christ is seated. And truly if it should be otherwise interpreted of Presbyters in the moderne notion of the word, it would be hard to make the other parts of the vision to beare proportion with that phanſy; For I must suppose, according to St. John's words, that in the vision these thrones were set up in *Heaven*; And then I shall demand, was that a representation of any *concell* or *Judicature* on Earth,

or not ? If it were not, then nothing can be inferred thence in favour of *Presbyters*, more than of *Bishops*, for of both these we speake, as of *Officers* on Earth ; But if it were, then applying it to *Presbyters*, it must follow, that in the *midst* of them there is some other (invironed on each side by them) καθήμενος ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ, *sitting upon that throne of principall dignity*, before whom also they on the *other thrones* must fall downe v.10. (or else the *parallel* will not hold throughout) and the least that can be signified hereby, will be *superiority* of dignity in him that sits on that *middle throne* above all the 24. *Elders*, which will be deemed to exceede the case of a *Prolocutor* or *Moderator* of an *Assembly*, which is the utmost that the *Presbyterian* ἰσότης or *equality* can admit of, but much more commodiously agrees to the *Metropolitan* of all *Iudea*, sitting in a *Nationall Councell* with the *Bishops* about him, for of these we doubt not to affirme that they were as much inferior to him, as this *representation* doth pretend them to be.

10. As for the sence affixt to it by the *Assemblers*, that the *Πρεσβύτεροι* are *Presbyters* in the *moderne* notion, and that he that sits in the *midst* of them is *Christ*, this is against all *analogy*, and rules of interpreting, a mining and confounding the *Originall* with the *Copy*, the *type* with the *Antitype*, interpreting one part of the *vision*, as if it were in *Heaven* (for it was there where *Christ* did sit as *Judge*) and the other as if it were on *Earth*, for sure the *Presbyters* in this notion are to be considered as there ; And this is a very sufficient prejudice against their interpretation (if there were not enough besides) and such as no way presseth our way of setting it, as hath been already manifested.

11. Sixtly, for his calling himselfe a *Presbyter* Ep. 2. I answer, that as farre as this allegation hath truth, it hath no force in it at all against our pretentions. He doth indeed call himselfe Ὁ πρεσβύτερος (the *Elder*, we fitly render it) noting thereby (according to *analogy* with the solemne notion of the word both among *sacred* and *prophane* Writers, set downe at large *Dissert.* 4.c.19.) a person of *authority* in the *Church* of *Christ* ; an *Apostle* first, and then the *supreme Governour* of the

the whole *Jewish Church* in *Asia*, which is but proportionable to *Saint Paul's* beginning his *Epistles* with *Paul an Apostle* (or *Commissioner*) of *Iesus Christ* (placed in that power in the *Church* by *Christ* himselſe) and with the ſame ſtyle in the front of *Saint Peter's Epistles*, onely with this *Charakteriſtick* note peculiar to *Saint Iohn* in his *Gospell* and *Epistles*, of omitting the expreſſion of his owne name; And then all that this text is of force to doe, is to prove that the word Πρεσβύτερος doth not import a *Presbyter* (in our *moderne* uſe of the word) governing in *common* with other *Presbyters*, but rather a *ſingular Governor* of the *Church*, ſuch as *Bishops* are by us conteſted to be; And ſo the *Greek Scholiaſts* have expreſſed it, ἐπίσκοπον ἐαυτὸν καλῶν διὰ τῆς Πρεσβυτερίας, By the word *Elder* he calls himſelſe *Bishop*. And this, 'tis certaine, is for the intereſt of the *Author* of the *Difſertations*, and no way to his prejudice, if it had been adverted by them that produce it.

12. *Seventhly*, when 'tis ſaid that in *Saint Iohn's dayes* ſome *New expreſſions* were uſed in the *Chriſtian Church*, which were not in *Scripture*, as the *Lords day*, and the *word*, I profeſſe not to comprehend what advantage to their prateſſions could be deſigned or aimed at in this part of the conſideration: For 1. how can it truly be ſaid, that the word Κυριακὴ, *Lord's day*, which is in the *Revelation*, and ὁ λόγος, the *word*, which is in *Saint Iohn's Gospell*, were not in *Scripture*? I muſt ſuppoſe the meaning is, that they were not in any other writings of *Scripture*, except *Saint Iohn's*: But then 2. that doth not infer them to be *new expreſſions* in *Saint Iohn's dayes*, as theſe dayes are diſtinguiſht from the *dayes* of the other *Apoſtles*, whom *Iohn* ſurvived, but only that they were *idiomes* or *characters* of ſpeech that *Saint Iohn* delighted to make uſe of.

13. Thus indeed 'tis ordinarily obſerved of his expreſſing of *Chriſt* by ὁ λόγος the *word*, which yet is taken from the *Ancients* of the *Jewiſh Church* (the *Chaldæe paraphraſe* being knowne frequently to uſe כִּימָר the *word of the Lord*, and *Plato* ſeems to have been acquainted with the expreſſion; which cauſed *Amelius* to ſweare at the reading the beginning of.

* In Pandect.
pag. 31.

of *S. John's Gospel*, that that *Barbarian* was of their *Plato's* mind, that the word of *God* was in order of a *Principle* and perhaps not peculiarly to him appropriate, for * *Basilius* a very learned *Critic* in *Greek* affirms *Saint Luke* to have used it in this notion, cap. 1. 2. and if he doth not, yet still 'twill be but a peculiar part of *Saint John's* style, which if he had written his *Gospel* in the same yeare that *Saint Matthew* did his, he would doubtlesse have made use of, the phrase being certainly in the world before that time (and so not new, as they would have it) and the usage of it in the Church being in all reason to be derived from *Saint John's* use of it (who was from thence called θεολογῶ the *Divine*) not *Saint John's* use of it from the new admission of it into the *Christian Church*.

14. And for the word κυριακῇ, *Lord's day*, as it is not certaine that it is the *Christian Sabbath* (I meane the *Weekly Lord's day*), which is meant by that title once used in the *Revelation*, but as probably the *feast of Easter*, the annual commemoration of *Christ's* rising from the dead (and accordingly *Andreas Casariensis* sets it indifferently, yet so as it seems rather to incline to the later, κυριακῇ ἡμερᾷ ἀναστάσεως ἡμερᾷ κυρίου φέρουσα, the *Lord's day* bearing the memorial of the resurrection of *Christ*) so in what notion soever it be taken, it was against *Saint John's* use of the word that gave it authority in the following dialect of the Church, not the Churches usage (that we any where can discern) from whence *Saint John* derived it; And so this will be an instance as ineffectual as the former, to inferre the conclusion to which it is designed: For indeed bating the unskilfulnesse of the argument, ab authoritate negativa, already mentioned, what a strange way of concluding would this be? *S. John* useth the words [ὁ Λόγος, the word] and [κυριακῇ, *Lord's day*] (supposing also, that 'tis true which is added) and no other writer of the *Scripture* useth them but in stead of them, [the *Sonne of God*] (*Messias, Christ*) and the [first day of the week] therefore if there had been any office of *Bishops* erected in the Church in *Saint John's* time, it is strange that *Saint John* should not mention the name *Episcopus* & *Bishop*: 'Tis at the first hearing cleare enough

nough, that there is no *strangeness* in this, both because Saint John undertooke not to set downe a *Dictionary* of all words or customes which were in his time in the Church, and because there is no proportion held betwixt the members of the *comparison*, as hath been shewed. And it will yet be lesse strange, because 1. it is easily supposeable and not strange, that he should have no occasion at all to mention that office, or that mentioning it, he should doe it in his owne chosen expression, Ἄγγελος *Angel*, or πρεσβύτερος, *Elder* (as in other greater matters he is acknowledged and allowed to doe) by either of those signifying the same thing as expressly as the using of Ἐπίσκοπος *Bishop* would have done: And 2. it is otherwise as manifest by Saint Paul and Saint Luke, that the word Ἐπίσκοπος *Bishop*, and the office belonging to it were before the time of Saint John's writings used in the Church, as it could be, if Saint John had made expresse mention of it.

15. And lastly, for the highest round in the κλίμαξ, the special part of the *consideration*, our affirmation that Polycarp was made *Bishop* by Saint John, that doth not (any more than all the rest) inferre it necessary that Saint John should mention the name *Bishop*: Saint Iude, I hope, is supposed by the *Assemblers* to have constituted some *Presbyters* in the Church, and yet he in his *Epistle* hath made no mention of any such name or office. And so much for that first *consideration*.

Section I V.

Of Saint John's writings. Againe of Diotrephes.

A Second *consideration* now followes to be added to this, Num. 1. That there is not any the least intimation in all S. John's writings, of the superiority of one *Presbyter* over another, save onely where he names and chides Diotrephes, as one ambitiously affecting such a *Primacy*.

2. A *consideration* of the same unhappy constitution with the former, 1. à *testimonio negativo* againe, Saint John had no occasion to mention it, therefore there was in his time no

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such

such thing, and 2. in respect of the matter just the same againe, put only in other words; there 'twas, [No mention of *Bishop* in all Saint *John's* writings,] here, [No *superiority* of one *Presbyter* over another in all Saint *John's* writings] And so it can adde no accumulation of weight to the former.

3. But then 2. (bating againe those two infirmities in discourse) what if it were granted that at the time of Saint *John's* writing, there were not in the whole Church of *Christ* any one *Presbyter*, superior to another *Presbyter*, what hath the *Author* of the *Dissert*: lost, or they gained by this? He makes no doubt willingly to yeild to any inforcing reason that is or shall be produced to conclude that at that time, there was above *Deacons* but one degree in the Church, and yet to be never the lesse qualified to maintaine his *prætenensions*, Nay he is knowne to have expressed it as his opinion probably inferred, and not easily confuted (and that by which, if it be true, or because there is no evidence to the contrary, all the *Presbyterian* *prætenensions*, founded in the doubtfulness of words in *Scripture*, are utterly excluded) that there were not in the space within compasse of which, all the *Bookes* of the *New Testament* were written, any *Presbyters* in our *Moderne* notion of them, created in the Church, though soon after, certainly in *Ignatius's* time, there were; and then if the *consideration* now before us were of any force at all, this would be the one direct and proper use of it, to adde more confidence to this opinion, and so to confirme, not to invalidate our *prætenensions*.

4. Thirdly for *Diotrephes* and Saint *John's* chiding of him for ambitiously affecting a *Primacy* over other *Presbyters*, there will appeare to be more than one misadventure in it. For 1. it is apparent in the *Text* that this *Diotrephes* (whom * *Walo Messalinus* a good friend to the *prætenensions* of the *Assemblers*, describes so, as will conclude him a meere *Presbyterian*, *Noluit*, saith he, *agnoscere superiorem aliquem in Presbyteros habentem potestatem*, he would not acknowledge any superior having power over *Presbyters*) contended for *superiority*, not onely over his equals, but over Saint *John* himselfe, *ἐν ὁμοῦλοις ἵστας*, saith that *Apostle*, he receiveth not us, yeilds

yeilde no obedience, gives no heed to our letter of directions; This certainly belongs not to the superiority or dignity of Bishops, which reserves the Primacy to the Apostles intire, and no way clasheth with it, and onely pretends to that power and office of duty, which for the preserving of unity, and the good of the flock, the Apostles thought fit to intrust and commit to them.

5. Secondly, *Diotrephes* was not (as farre as appeares, or we have reason to conjecture) ordeined to any office of power in the Asian Church, committed to that Apostles care, but of himselfe without any mission, nay expressely against the Apostles consent, was willing to assume and exercise this power, and is but an example of *Corah's* sedition and presumptuous humour (and that is inevitably the case of the Presbyterian, unlesse he can shew his commission for the power he pretends to) all one with that of the Gnosticks censured by Saint Jude under the style of ἀντιλογία καὶ the ginesaying of *Corah*, and this no way belongs, or is applicable to the practice of the Bishop, who by Commission from the Apostle, not by any ambition or presumption of his owne, regularly ascends to this degree of office and dignity in the Church, and useth it as regularly also, in subordination to all his superiors.

6. On this Occasion the Dissertations have offered a Dilemma to these Disputants, which I should be willing to heare answered by them, in this forme, Either *Diotrephes* exercised in the Church the power of the Bishop, in the notion of a singular Prefect, assuming power over the Presbyters, or he did not; If he did not, then is this consideration presently at an end, *Diotrephes* is falsely accused, and the innocent Bishop unjustly wounded through his sides, who it seems was no Bishop: But if it be said he did, then I demand, Why is not *Diotrephes* checkt by S. John for that presumption of affecting a power over his equals? And why doth the whole charge lye another way, that he received not S. John's Letters, nor paid due obedience to them? Or why is that very thing charged so heavily on the Bishops in our age, and punisht so severely in them, which the Apostle living and seeing, and upon occasion taking notice of *Diotrephes* his insolence, doth not so much as reprehend or accuse in him?

7. For as to the *Epithet* which he bestowes upon him, that he was φιλοπρωτεύων, one that loved the *præminence*, supposing that were the title of his *fault*, yet that extends not the *Apostle's* speech to censuring or blaming the *use* of that power, but onely the *ambition* and *affectation* of it, which were otherwise lawfull to be enjoy'd; as when tis noted in the *Pharisees*, that they did φιλεῖν πρωτοκαθεδράς, love or affect the *uppermost seats* in the *Synagogues*, which otherwise simply to have sat in, had implied no *crime* of theirs, for to this very end, that some body should sit in them, they were certainly erected, and 'tis known that there was among them a ἡγούμενος head of the *Consistory*, an ἀρχισυνάγωγος Governor of the *Synagogue*, to whom that seat belonged by God's appointment.

8. Nay for the very *desire*, as farre as is exprest by ἐρέγιδαι or ἐπιθυμῶν 1 Tim. 3. 1. *desiring* and *coveting*, it is allowed by the *Apostle* to be terminated in ἐπισκοπῇ the office of a *Bishop*, καλὸν ἔργον, as a *good*, and consequently a *desireable worke*, and if *Diotrephes* be supposed guilty of any other, it may safely be yeilded to have been a *fault* in him, without *præjudice* to the *good office* which he so *vitiously* and *criminously* affected, according to that of * *Theodore*, that the *Apostle*, ἐκ ἀπλῶς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς φιλαρχίας καὶ ἡγεμονίας, *accuses not the desire simply, but the desire of rule*, καὶ διδάσκει μὴ τιμῆς ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἐρέγιδαι, μὴ τὴν ἀξίαν ποθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀξίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιζητεῖν, *and teacheth to desire, not the honour, but the vertue, not to covet the dignity, but to seeke the worke of the dignity, the tasks to which it belongs*. By all which, and much more added in the * *Dissertations*, it is evident, how little advantage hath accrued to the *Assemblers* from their mention of *Diotrephes* out of Saint *Iohn*, and by consequence from their *second consideration*.

* In 1 Tim. 3. 1

* Dissert. 1. cap.
13.

Section V.

Of St. John's being Bishop of Asia. Of the Apostles
being Bishops.

Numb. 1.

NOW succeeds a third consideration. viz. That the same Authors that say that S. John made Polycarpe Bishop of Smyrna, & that S. Peter made Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, do also say that St. John himselfe sat many yeares Bishop of Ephesus, and was the Metropolitan of all Asia, which (say they) is an evident demonstration to us, that these Authors did not use the word Bishop in a Prelaticall sense. For it is certaine that the Apostles cannot be properly called Bishops; For though they doe eminently containe the Episcopall Office, yet they were not formally Bishops. For this were to degrade the Apostles, and to make their Office Ordinary and perpetuall, this were to exalt the Bishop above his degree, and make him an Apostle, and to make the Apostle a Bishop. It doth not much differ from madnesse, to say that Peter or any one of the Apostles were properly Bishops, as learned Whitaker saith, whom wee shall have occasion to cite to this purpose hereafter.

2. Whether this consideration be likely to contribute any thing to their advantage, save onely by amusing the Reader, and keeping him longer in expectation, that somewhat may possibly be produced to the disparagement of our plea, I desire may distinctly be considered by these degrees.

3. First, I acknowledge that stile [*the same Authors—*] to belong truly to antient Writers produced by mee in the Dissertations, who, as they doe affirme St. John to have constituted Polycarpe Bishop of Smyrna, Diss. 4. c. 5. Sect. 5. and St. Peter to have placed Ignatius Bishop of Antioch. Diss. 5. c. 1. Sect. 18. so they consent also that St. John sat Bishop of Ephesus and Metropolitan of all Asia: so *Eusebius frequently, that after his returne from his banishment τὰς αὐτὰς δεικνὺν ἐκκλησίας, he administred or governed the Churches there, i.e. in Asia; and (as he cites it lib. 3. cap. 31. out of Policrate's his Epistle) died there. So the antient Writer of the Martyrdom of Timothy, τὴν Φωτεινὴν ὑποτάξατο Νεββά τῆς Ἀσίας + Biblioth. græc. ἀνακλινεὶς τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ Μυσηπολάει καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτὸς ἐπέτα Num. 254.

συμπαρίσταν ὁπισκοπῶν τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Μιλετοπόλεως, Being recalled by Nerva's decree, he sat downe at Ephesus, and himselfe personally, with seven Bishops his adessors (those in all probability the Bishops of the seven Churches in the Revelation) hee governed the Metropolitan City of Ephesus that prime Metropolis of all Asia, to the Bishop whereof, saith † Chrysostome, was intrusted ἔδιντο ἡλόκληρον τῆς Ἀσίας, the whole Nation of Asia; These testimonies may suffice for the substance of the affirmation that St. John governed the Church of Ephesus, and under it all Asia, which is the notion wee now have of a Bishop Metropolitane and Primate.

4. As for the word Bishop, how can it be inconvenient to bestow that upon him, when hee discharged the Office, nay when Christ himselfe that great exemplar and originall of this power, is expressly called the Bishop of our Soules, as well as the Apostle; when the Office from which Judas fell, and to which Matthias is assumed, is by St. Luke out of the Septuagint called ἐπισκοπή Bishoprick, Act. 1. 20. When accordingly from the Scripture usage the Fathers of the Church have continued the style, Apostolos i.e. Episcopus & Praepositos Dominus elegit, the Lord chose Apostles, i.e. Bishops and Governours of the Church, saith * Cyprian, and ἐν Ρώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁπισκοποι, Peter and Paul were the first or chiefe in Rome, the same persons, Apostles and Bishops, saith * Epiphanius, and Apostoli Episcopi sunt, firmante illud Petro Apostolo—the Apostles were Bishops, as is confirmed by Peter in these words. His Bishoprick let another take, saith † Hilarius Sardus, and againe, Are all Apostles? True, saith hee, quia in Ecclesia unus Episcopus, because in each Church there is one Bishop. And, Nemo ignorat Episcopos servatorem Ecclesiae instituisse, Ipse enim priusquam ascenderet, imponens manuum Apostolis ordinavit eos Episcopos. No man is ignorant that our Saviour instituted Bishops in the Church, for before he ascended to Heaven hee laid his hands on the Disciples and ordained them Bishops; saith the * Writer of the questions on the Old and New Testament, and, Sanctus Mathaeus Episcopatum sortitus est, St. Matthew was Bishop, saith

† Hom. 15. in
1 Tim. 5. 19.

* Ep. 65.

* L. 1. Cont.
Cypri.

† In Eph. 4. 6.
1 Cor. 12. 29.

* Quest. 97.

saith *Gildas*. And to shut up all, *φανερὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι*—It is manifest that the Apostles were Bishops, St. John in Asia, St. Andrew in Achaia, St. Thomas in India; saith * *Gabriel Philadelph*: And agreeably when St. John of whom we now speake, calls himselfe in the front of two Epistles *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, the Elder, the Greek scholiast, resolves *ἐπίσκοπον αὐτὸν καλεῖ διὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερον*, by the word Elder he calls himselfe Bishop. And so there is no newes in thus affirming.

αὐτὸς τῆς β.
διαρ.

5. But then secondly, when they take this for an evident demonstration, that these Authors did not use the word Bishop in a Prelaticall sense, this is very farre distant from a demonstration, having not arrived to the lowest degree of probability or credibility. For what is a Bishop in the Prelaticall sense, but a single person governing in chiefe in a City or wider circuit? And such certainly was St. Peter at Rome, S. John at Ephesus, &c. As long as they continued to execute that power of the Keyes (the donation of which instituted them *οἰκονομοὶ* Stewards in Gods House, Governours of the Church) in this or that City or Region, and ordained other Bishops there.

Thirdly, therefore when 'tis added, that it is certaine that the Apostles cannot be properly called Bishops, I reply, that it is most certaine they may, not onely because these so many antient Writers, through severall ages have called them so, and may not, with any justice from us, be accused of impropriety, but because the donation of the Keyes did as properly make them Bishops, as the Commission to goe preach to all Nations, being added to it, made them Apostles. To which purpose let these few things be considered, 1. That it is here by the Assemblies acknowledged, that the Apostles did eminently containe the Episcopall Office, which though it be a little hastily expressed, and should be, I suppose, that the Apostolicall Office did eminently containe the Episcopall, yet there is no doubt, but this is the meaning of it, that the Apostles had all the Episcopall power in their hands, and over and above, something more, and if they had Episcopall power, then sure in respect of that, they may as properly be called

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Bishops, as in respect of their *Apostolicall Commission*, which they had also, they may be properly called *Apostles*. Thus we know that they that have first the power of *Deacons* bestowed on them, and after of *Presbyters*, are questionlesse *Deacons* still, though they be also *Presbyters*, and they which from the *Office* of *Presbyters* are advanced to *Bishops*, are certainly *Presbyters* still, though they be also *Bishops*, and doe not lose the former power by being advanced to the latter, are not lessened by this increase of their dignity.

7. Secondly, that when an *Apostle* is differenced from a *Bishop*, it is either by his extraordinary power granted him for the planting of the *Church*, or by the *Universality* of his *Diocese*, the [all the World] to which his *Commission* extended, whereas the ordinary *Bishop's* power and *Diocese* are more limited. But then these differences are of no force in this matter, they onely conclude that the *Apostle* is more than a *Bishop* in those two respects, not that in other sufficient respects he is not a *Bishop*.

8. Thirdly, when the *Apostles* had each of them (not onely all together in a *consistory*) that unlimited power, in respect of the extent to all the World, given to them by *Christ*, wee know that after his *ascent* they parted and distributed this *Province* among them, assigned every one ἰδίον τόπον, or κληρὸν his proper place or lot, to which he should betake himselfe for the planting of the faith of *Christ*; And then there will be no doubt but that hee, who according to his line (in *St. Paul's* phrase) had planted the faith in such a *City* or *Province*, and sat downe, and confirmed, and farther instituted (which is the meaning of labouring in the *Doctrine*, as well as in the word) and govern'd them, and exercised all *Episcopall* acts among them, might in so doing be stiled a *Bishop* in that *City* or *Province*, and that as truly and as properly, as he that could doe all the latter and not the former (building on another mans foundation, governing and instructing, where another had planted the faith) might be said to be.

9. Nay fourthly, we know, that although by *Canons* of the *Church* there is provision made, upon prudentiall considerations, that no man shall be made a *Bishop sine titulo*, without

a title or particular See, to which hee is assigned, yet before those *Canons* forbade it, such *Bishops* there were, and those never doubted to be properly *Bishops*, though they were not affixt to any *Diocese*; And then nothing can hinder but that the *Apostle*, who had each the whole *World* for his *Title*, though hee were never affixed to any particular *Diocese* or *Province*, might be most properly styled a *Bishop* for all that. But this is *ex abundanti*, more than is needfull to our present pretensions of St. *John*, who, we know, was after his returne from banishment affixt to *Asia*, and seated at *Ephesus* the chiefe *Metropolis* there, to superintend in the Jewish part of the *Asian Church* over all the *Bishops* and *Metropolitans* there.

10. To this I might adde fiftly, that the *Bishops* in every *City* were successors of the *Apostles*, as is largely deduced *Diff.* 3. c. 3. *Sect.* 14. &c. which they could not truly be, if the *Apostles*, whom they succeeded, were not in vested with that power, wherein they succeeded them, i.e. were not first *Bishops* before them. But I shall not enlarge of this, having no need of more evidences in this matter.

11. Fourthly therefore, when it is added, that if the *Apostles* be affirmed to be properly *Bishops*, this were to degrade the *Apostles*, and to make their office ordinary and perpetuall. This is but a shortnesse of discourse, of which a very few words will suffice to admonish any, for there is no more strength in that consequence, than there would be in affirming that such an one is a *Man*, therefore he is not a *living Creature*, or that he that saith he is a *living Creature*, degrades him from being a *man*; For as to that of [*ordinary and perpetuall*] 'tis no way inconvenient, that the *Apostles*, who had somewhat temporary and extraordinary for the first planting of Churches (in respect of which especially they were called *Apostles*) might also have somewhat, which was of ordinary perpetuall use in the *Church*, wherein others might and should succeed them, and that is it unquestionably which wee meane by the word *Bishops*, when we ascribe it to them or any of them, or to *Christ* himselfe, the source and originall Copy of that power in the *Church*.

12. Fifthly, when another inconvenience is accumulated on this, (much to the former purpose, but in more words) *this were to exalt the Bishop above his degree, and make him an Apostle, and to make the Apostle a Bishop.* 1. It is evident, that if the forementioned exception were true, *viz.* That it were the *degrading the Apostle*, it could not farther be truly said, that it were the *exalting the Bishop above his degree*, for supposing one to be above the other, the *degrading* one would make the other *equall* to him without any new act of exalting him; if the *Apostle* have already *descended* to the *Bishop*, sure the *Bishop* need not, cannot *ascend* to the *Apostle*; I cannot goe up staires to him who hath prevented me by his *dignation* or misfortune, and is already come or fallen downe to me. Secondly therefore, this makes not the *Bishop* an *Apostle*, which is a degree higher than he, (though in respect of the *Episcopall* power common to them with the *Apostles* it is nothing strange in the *Antient Writers* for the first *Bishops* of the Churches; James the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, *Thaddaus*, *Luke*, *Barnabas*, *Marke*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, to be called *Apostles*, as is evidenced at large in the * *Dissertations*) but onely supposes the *Apostle* to be a *Bishop*, which he may well be (as the *greater* containeth the *lesse*) though the *Bishop* be no *Apostle*, as it is confest that the *lesse* contains not the *greater*.

* Diss. 4. c. 3.

13. And lastly for the citation out of Dr. *Whitaker*, I have no directions to the place, which may inable me to examine it; And I know *circumstances* of the *context*, or the *designe* of the speech may much alter it, from what it signifies to me at my reading it thus cited; But if it be distinctly thus, and incapable of a more *commodious* interpretation, I cannot consent to the truth of it, or comprehend upon what grounds of reason he should so severely censure those *Scriptures* and *Fathers*, which have been produced to affirme that the *Apostles* were *Bishops*, and particularly *St. John* and *St. Peter*. And indeed when it falls out, that each of those two *Apostles* peculiarly calls himselfe *Πρεσβυτερος* an *Elder*, or as they render it *Preshbyter*, I shall demand, Did either of those speake properly or no? If they did, were either of those little distant from
mad-men?

mad-men? If so I shall be content to be under any *censure* in their company. And therefore if they spake not so *properly*, I shall be content with them to have spoken *improperly* also: But if *Apostles* may be called *Presbyters* without any of these inconveniences of *degradation* in them, any *insolence* in the *Presbyter*, or *madnesse* in the *Speaker*, my onely remaining *Quære* is, why they might not, without all this adoe, be called *Bishops* also, meaning by *Bishops*, as I now meane? For I am sure that is the same thing that I understand by *πρεσβυτερος*, *Elder* in those three places, and they, who differ from me herein, do yet understand it of *Presbyters* (and so had said in the *second consideration* expressly, that *St. John* calls himselfe a *Presbyter*) and then all the spice of *madnesse* consists in this, thinking a *Bishop* capable of that *exaltation*, that a *Presbyter* in perfect *sobriety* is capable of. And so much for the *third consideration*.

Section VI.

Of the word *Angel*, and *Starre*, pretended to be common to all *Ministers*. Of *Messenger*, and *Embassadour*. The singularity of the word *Angel*.

THE fourth consideration is, That the word *Angel* (which is the title given to those supposed *Bishops*) doth not import any peculiar jurisdiction, or preeminence, but is a common name to all *Ministers*, and so is used in *Scripture*. For all *Ministers* are Gods *Messengers* and *Embassadours* sent for the good of the elect, and therefore the name being common to all *Ministers*, why should we thinke that there should be any thing spoken to one *Minister*, that doth not belong to all? The same may be said of the word *Starre* (which is also a title given to those supposed *Metropolitans*) It is evident that all faithfull *Ministers* are called *Starres* in *Scripture*, whose duty is to shine as lights unto the Churches in all purity of *Doctrine*, and holinesse of conversation; There is nothing in these titles that argue these *Ministers* to be *Bishops* in our brethrens sense: Inasmuch as had they not been called *Bishops* by some authors that succeeded them; (who spake

Numb. 1.

of former times in the language of their owne times) this way of arguing would have been counted ridiculous.

2. To this consideration I might, if it were needfull, reply, 1. That the word *Angel* is no where used for any other Officer or Minister in the Church, save onely the Prophets (such as Haggai. c. 1. 13. and John Baptist, Mat. 11. 10.) and the chiefe Priest, Mal. 2. 7.

3. Secondly, that, as to the words *Messenger*, and *Embassador*, there is in ordinary speech some considerable difference betwene them, the latter having in it a connotation of dignity, sustaining the person of the King, from whom he is sent immediately, which is not applicable to the former; And agreeably when it is used of St. Paul and Timothy, in whose name that Epistle is written [πρεσβυτεροι wee are Embassadors, 2 Cor. 5. 20.] there is added ὑπερ χριστου, for, or, in the name, and authority of Christ, and againe wee pray you υπερ χριστου, which we well render, in Christs stead, as his proxies, for to Embassadors are; which being there applied to S. Paul an Apostle, and to Timothy, one employed by him immediately to preach and plant the faith, and after to governe in the Church, may by proportion belong to the Bishops their successors peculiarly.

4. Thirdly, that as the word Ἀγγελος signifies a Messenger, or Nuntio, so the word Ἀποστολος, Apostle (according to the origination of it from ἀποστέλλειν to be sent) signifies also without any considerable difference, but yet is never thought fit, either in Scripture, or in the style of the Church to be applied to ordinary Ministers, but onely to those sent immediately by Christ, as he by his Father to plant and rule Churches, and to those who first succeeded them, or were employed by them in that great office.

5. But that which wholly frustrates the designe of the consideration, is this, that the singularity of the person, (one Angel in each of the seven Churches) is all that wee argue from, in this matter; For as to the power and authority in each Church, That is certainly pretended to (and not declined) by the Presbyterian as well as the Prelatist, the onely Question is, whether it be placed in one over the rest, or in

more than one, ruling together in common, and from the style of *Christs Epistle* to the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus*, and the like in each of the *seven*, wee thinke we conclude regularly, that it was *one*, it being certaine that the singular number is not the *duall* or *plurall*, and that [*Angel*] is a person, not an aggregate body or multitude.

7. And to the same purpose againe wee conclude not from the mention of the *Starres*, not from their *light* or *shining*, but from their *number*, but *seven* in all, no more than there are *Churches*, i.e. *one* onely in each *Church*; And we know there is difference betweene a *Star* and an *Asterisme* or *constellation*, one *single* light, and a *conjunction* of *many*; And accordingly *Mr. Brightman*, that is resolved not to finde this truth in that *Text*, is forced to deale plainly, and to tell us, that the *Epistles* are not each of them sent to any *one Angel*, but to the *Colledge* of *Pastors*, *nec uni alicui Angelo mittuntur*, *sed toti*, ut ita dicam, *collegio Pastorum*, in *Apoc. c. 2. v. 1.* which being sufficiently contrary to the evidence of the *Text*, which reads ἀγγέλω to the *Angel*, in the singular, he thinkes fit to adde his reason for it; *Non enim unus erat Angelus Ephesi sed plures*, *nec inter istos aliquis Princeps*, for there was not *one Angel* of *Ephesus*, but *many*: nor any *one* among those *principal* or *chiefe*, which is the begging of the *Question*, or proving his *assertion* onely by *asserting* it; whereas *Beza* finding himselfe more prest by the force of the place, is forced to render it πρὸ ἀγγέλω, i.e. πρὸς ὧν, to the *Angel*, i.e. to the *president*, quem nimirum oportuit in primis de his rebus admoneri, who was in the first place to be admonished of these things.

8. What the πρὸς ὧν in the use of the *Antient Church* properly signifies, is showne at large out of *Iustin Martyr*, *Dionysius Bishop* of *Corinth*, *Marcellus Ancyranus* and the *Councell* of *Ephesus*, *Dissert. 4. c. 17.* directly the same that we meane now by *Bishop*; But that I pretend not to thinke *Beza* meant by it (his *Prolepses* and espoused Principles leading him another way.) All that I observe from the citation, is, that by the singularity of [ἀγγέλω the *Angel*] not *Angels*, he was forced to confesse a single person to be understood,

which is contrary to Mr. *Brightman*, and those that comprehend a *Colledge of Presbyters* under the title, which being yielded, I doubt not but our other evidences already produced (which must not be at every turn repeated) from the *Catalogue of Bishops in the Church of Ephesus*, &c. and the judgement of the *Universal Church* concerning those single persons, will conclude them indeed *πρεσβύτεροι*, not in *Beza's* notion, but in *Justin Martyr's* (who was much a more competent judge) i. e. the very *Bishops* which we pretend them to be; And truly I cannot discern any weak part (which may hazard being counted *ridiculous*) in this way of arguing.

Section VII.

Of their exception to our arguing from Symbols: Of Bishop and Elder being the same.

Num. 1.

THE last Consideration now remains in these words, *These titles of Stars and Angels are mysterious and metaphoricall, It is said Rev. 1.20. The Myserie of the seven Stars — And certainly it cannot be safe or solid to build the structure of Episcopacie by Divine Right upon mysterious and metaphoricall denominations, Theologia Symbolica non est argumentativa, Especially if we consider that there are abundance of cleere texts that make Bishops and Presbyters to be one and the same; and it cannot be praise-worthy for any men (though never so learned in the esteem of the world) to oppose certain allegorical and mysterious titles to so many expresse testimonies of Scripture.*

2. To this the Answer will be satisfactory, though it should be but briefe, that we do not found our argument in an allegorie. For 1. though the word *Stars* applyed to the *Governors of Churches* be onely figuratively so applyed, yet the word *Angels* (if the *Authors* of this consideration may be believed in that which immediately preceded) signifies (not an *Angel* from Heaven, or incorporeal substance, but) a *Messenger* or *Embassadour*, such as, say they, all *Ministers* are, And agreeably in that which is here annexed to prove the allegorical

gorical or mystical phrases (from Rev. 1. 20. the *Mystery of the seven Starres*) it is evident, that onely the word [*Starres*] is *Symbolical* or *Mystical*, and as evident that the *Angels* are not, for it is in the explicating and not in the forming of the *figure*, that the *Angels* of the *Churches* are mentioned, as the things which are signified by the *mystery* of the *Starres*, as the *Churches* themselves by the *Lamps*; and therefore as it would be absurd to say that a *symbol* is explicated by a *symbol*, one *mystery* by another, or proportionably that the *Churches*, by which the *Lamps* are exprest, are a *mystical allegorical phrase*, so it will be as unreasonable to affirme of the *Angels*, that they are a *mystery* or *allegorie*, because of the *Starres* it is affirmed that they are such, when indeed the word *Angel* is the interpretation and unfolding of the *mysterie*, which is as far from being the *mystery*, as the *light* is from being *darknesse*, which it expells out of the *horizon*, and is purposely sent by God to doe so.

3. But then *secondly*, 'tis yet more manifest, that if the word *Angel* were here used *figuratively* (as it is evident it was not, and was so confest, when it appeared *usefull* to the *Objectors* that it should not) yet it being the *singularity* of the person, wherein our *argument* is founded, our *argument* is not founded on that which is *mystical*. For certainly this *number* is a plaine *Grammatical* notation of a *singular* person, and that is prooffe enough that it was not a *collective* body, a *Presbytery* or *Consistory*, that is meant by it. And in this all the controversie betwixt us and the adversary consists, whether it was in *many* or in *one* in each *Church*, that the *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction was vested, and that is sufficiently decided by that which is cleare and *unfigurative* in this *Text*, and cannot be imagined otherwise, but by forcing some *figure* on it, by which one *Angel* may be set for more *Ministers*, which if it be done, would not by their rule be *argumentative*.

4. *Thirdly*, Whereas it is suggested, that this which we conclude from hence, is *opposite* to many expresse testimonies of *Scripture*, I have no more to say in this place, where this is onely:

which is contrary to Mr. *Brightman*, and those that comprehend a *Colledge of Presbyters* under the title, which being yielded, I doubt not but our other evidences already produced (which must not be at every turn repeated) from the *Catalogue of Bishops in the Church of Ephesus*, &c. and the judgement of the *Universal Church* concerning those single persons, will conclude them indeed *πρεσβύτεροι*, not in *Beza's* notion, but in *Iustin Martyrs* (who was much a more competent judge) i. e. the very *Bishops* which we pretend them to be; And truly I cannot discern any weak part (which may hazard being counted *ridiculous*) in this way of arguing.

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3. But then *secondly*, 'tis yet more manifest, that if the word *Angel* were here used *figuratively* (as it is evident it was not, and was so confest, when it appeared *usefull* to the *Objectors* that it should not) yet it being the *singularity* of the person, wherein our *argument* is founded, our *argument* is not founded on that which is *mystical*. For certainly this *number* is a plaine *Grammatical* notation of a *singular* person, and that is prooffe enough that it was not a *collective* body, a *Presbytery* or *Consistory*, that is meant by it. And in this all the controversie betwixt us and the adversary consists, whether it was in *many* or in *one* in each *Church*, that the *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction was vested, and that is sufficiently decided by that which is cleare and *unfigurative* in this *Text*, and cannot be imagined otherwise, but by forcing some *figure* on it, by which one *Angel* may be set for more *Ministers*, which if it be done, would not by their rule be *argumentative*.

4. *Thirdly*, Whereas it is suggested, that this which we conclude from hence, is *opposite to many expresse testimonies of Scripture*, I have no more to say in this place, where this is onely:

only affirmed, but not attempted to be proved, but to profess my perswasion and assurance (the truth of which must be in the proceſſe of this discourse contested) that there is no such thing, but on the contrary, that the whole *Scripture*, and practice, and writings of the first ages of the Church, and the succeeding through all the world, agree directly with what I conclude from the singularity of the *Angel*; And when in the following words the testimonies are expressed to be those which make *Bishops* and *Presbyters* to be one and the same, This also will immediately vanish, when it is remembered, what is largely deduced in the *Dissertations*, that the word *Bishop* in the *Scripture* is never used for a *Presbyter* in our *Moderne* notion of the word, but constantly for the one single Governor in a Church or City, and that if there be any truth in that which is here affirmed, *Presbyters* must be taken in a notion distant from that in which now we use it, and signifie, as Πρεσβύτερος hath already been said to doe, the singular *Bishop* in each Church, and 'tis certaine such an identity of the names, will never be deemed contrary to what we have concluded from the *Angel*, but directly confirme it for us.

5. And although here is no occasion in this place to prove and make good this assertion in each part of it, (the first positive, that Ἐπίσκοπος or *Bishop* in *Scripture* alwayes signifies the singular *Bishop*; the second suppositive, that if Ἐπίσκοπος, *Bishop*, and Πρεσβύτερος Elder, be one and the same in *Scripture*, it must be by interpreting Πρεσβύτερος Elder, so as to signifie a *Bishop* in all place:) yet 'tis certaine, that this is already done at large in *Dissert. 4. cap. 6. Sect. 19, 20, 21, 22.* and shall here againe be repeated and vindicated, when the proper place requires it, which I foresee it will speedily doe.

6. In the meane, I must take leave to expresse my present sense, and hope that others will not thinke it too hasty, that no one of these five Considerations, nor consequently all of them together, have at all prejudged our Conclusion (now in hand) inferred from that of the *Epistle of Christ* to the 7. *Angels* of the 7. Churches.

Section VIII.

Of the singularity of each Angel. The objections from the use of the plurall number.

THESE considerations being thus laid as their foundation (and I suppose being already removed from superseding or hindring our *superstructure*) The next part of their method is, having mentioned our objection from the singularity of each Angel's person, to whom Christ's message or Epistle is sent, and the conclusion of an high Prelatist from hence, that these Angels are not onely Bishops but Archbishops, to apply solid and every way sufficient answers to this Objection. Num. 1.

2. In this proposall of our Objection, I shall not need to inquire who this high Prelatist is; The former intimations and directions have perswaded me that I am lookt on as this Objector, though it be sufficiently knowne that the most Reverend Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate of Ireland, bath many yeares since deduced this conclusion in every part from this Text, and might, if they had pleased, have secured me from the opinion either of novelty, or singularity in the Assertion.

3. But I shall most willingly assume the burthen, and proceed to the view of the solid and every way sufficient answers, which are said to be given to this Objection; which though they be, it seemes to be fetcht out of *Sme'tymnus*, &c. yet it happens well, that we shall (without need of consulting those larger volumes) find them here with more ease, reduced to two heads, One, that the word Angel signifies not a singular person, the second, that if it did, it will not at all advantage the Episcopal cause.

4. These two, I confesse, if either of them be solidly proved, will utterly drive us from our hold: The onely question at present is, whether in either part the proofes be solid, and of this we must now inquire, and first of the former of them.

5. This they thus propose, That the word Angel is not to be taken *Idiōlinōs* but *συναντιλινōs*, not individually, but colle-

lively, for all the Pastors and Ministers of the respective Churches.

6. But before their probes for such an assertion (that the *Angel* of such a *Church*, which is certainly an *individual*, as much as the *Bishop* of such a *Diocese*, is not yet to be taken *individually*) they first adde their *confession* that this answer is called a *poore shift*, a *vaine conceit*, &c. but promise such *reasons* for the *justification* of it, which cannot be answered.

7. To the view of these *unanswerable Reasons* therefore we shall now horten; And the first reason is, because our *Saviour* speaks to the *Angel* often in the *plural* number, *Rev. 2. 24. But unto you I say, and the rest of Thyatira*, and so *Rev. 2. 10. and 13. By which*, say they, *it is evident, that by the word Angel is not meant one singular person, but the collective body of Rulers.*

8. To this first reason I shall answer, by separating that one text of *Thyatira* from the other two, and all that are of the same nature with them, and speake first of these two, and remind them 1. that in an *Epistle* unquestionably address'd to a *particular person*, others under his care and charge may be, and are *occasionally* mentioned, so in that to *Titus*, *Paul's owne Sonne*, i. e. under the *particular character* of the *beloved person* converted by him; in the conclusion we finde these words; *Grace be with you all*, i. e. not with him as he must signifie a whole *Presbyterie*, but all the *sincere lovers of Christ*, and *Saint Paul*, *they that love us in the faith*, in the former part of the verse.

9. Secondly, that though the *one Angel* of the *Church* be the person to whom each part of the *Epistle* is address'd, yet in it are set downe the *sins* and *fate* of the *whole Church*, i. e. of all the *believers* in it; Thus when the people of *Israel* or *Judah* were fallen into foule sins and provocations against *God*, it was ordinary for *God* to send a *Prophet* to the *King* of either of them, and admonish him what *reformations* were to be wrought, and what *judgements* were a coming in case of neglect. In which kind of messages of the *Prophet* delivered to the *King*, 'tis certaine that the whole people were

concerned, and so without question was it here, Rev. 2. 10. the *Devill shall cast some of you*, i. e. some *Members* of that *Church*, into prison, &c. and so ver. 13, among you, i. e. among you of that *Church* or *City*.

10. And indeed if each of those *Churches* had been governed by a *Consistory* of co-equal *Presbyters*, and those (as is pretended by our *adversaries*) signified by the *Angel*, yet there would be as little reason to doubt, but the sins of the people, as well as the *Clergy* were here reprehended by *Christ*, and the judgement threatned to one as well as to the other, And to this can be no reason to inferre the *Angel* to be no singular person, the *Church* ruled by one, making up a multitude, as well as if it were ruled by a *Presbytery*.

11. As for the place, cap. 2. 24. concerning *Thyatira*, that hath a different appearance, For the *Greek* copie ordinarily reading it [ὁμῖν δὲ λέγω ἡ λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείρῃ, But I say unto you (in the plural: and to the rest which are in *Thyatira*)] the [you] in the plural, is by the *Objectors* thought necessarily to belong to the *Angel* of that *City*, as [the rest] to the community of the people. To this place therefore we have formerly answered, that the reading in the *Ancient Manuscripts*, particularly in that belonging to the *Kings Library* at Saint *James's*, leaves out the [καὶ, and] and reads thus, ὁμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς, But to you I say the rest which are in *Thyatira*. And this takes away all force from the objection, for the former part of the *Epistle* belonging to the *Angel*, who permitted *Jezebel*, and to them that committed fornication with her, the [But] in the front separates the [ὁμῖν λοιποῖς, you the rest] from the *Angel*, and those other formerly spoken to, and therefore the ὁμῖν, you, cannot possibly be the *Angel*, wherein all the strength of the *Objection* consists.

12. But this Answer, though taken notice of, is disliked: For, say they, he that shall view the Antecedent and Consequent, and consider that ver. 23. it is said, I will give to every one of you, &c. and then followes, but I say unto you, and then in the conclusion of the verse, I will put upon you no other burthen, will confesse that the old copies are better than that which is said to be *Tecle's Manuscript*.

13. And here I shall desire the Reader to beare me company in obeying their *directions*, and observe what the *Antecedents* and *Consequents* can afford to the prejudice of that *Ancient* copy 'Tis most true, that v.23. we read, *I will give to every one of you*, and that then it followes v.24. *But I say unto you*, and in the conclusion of the verse, *I will put upon you*—But I demand, what will they conclude from hence? That by the word [you] in all these places the *same* persons are to be understood, and that those persons are the interpretation of the *Angel* v. 18? These two things they must conclude, or else they will faile in their designe, which is to shew that by the word *Angel* the collective body of *Rulers* is meant. But the first of these is evidently false, whatsoever reading be retained, for besides that the [*scilicet*, But] doth clearly separate the second [you] from the first, and makes them distinct persons, The very matter of the speeches will convince it: For in the 23.v. the [you] are those that were corrupted by *Iezabel* v.20.22. who are now to be exemplarily punished and destroyed, *I will kill her* (i. e. *Iezabels*) *children with death* (as also those that had committed Fornication with her v.22.) and all the Churches shall know that *I am the searcher of hearts*, and *I will give to every of you according to your workes*; But the second [you] and so also the third, are the quite contrary to these, *As many as have not this Doctrine*, and *who have not knowne these depths of Satan*, and consequently, who are not to be punished, nor so much as admonished, but onely confirmed in their present practice, to hold fast what they have already.

14. So contrary is it to all appearance of truth, that the *Antecedent* and *Consequent* should favour their pretension.

15. This matter is so evident (the contrary conditions and fates of the [you] in v.23 and the [you] in v.24.) that if the ordinary reading were to be retained [*ὑμῖν δὲ ἡ λοιπὴ*] and that rendred [to you and the rest in Thyatira] so as to difference [you] and [the rest] another *Antecedent* to the *Relative* [you] must necessarily be sought out, and then that can be no other but the Churches incidentally mentioned

v.23. who had not been charged for this crime. For as for the Angel v.18. if hee were not so remote (6. verses off) and if the singular number could be the Antecedent to the plural [*ὁ αὐτὸς, you*] (as it cannot) yet still he is charged for suffering the Woman Jezebel, and so is numbred among the guilty persons, that are to repent or be punished, and not to have no other burthen laid on them, save only to hold fast what they have, as is said of the second [*ὁ αὐτὸς you*] v.24.

16. But the truth is, that of making the Churches the Relative is so inconvenient (and yet no other way imaginable to reconcile the ordinary reading) and the whole sense is so much more cleare and current in the reading of the King's M S. [*But to you the rest in Thyatira* (those that had not beene guilty of the misbehaviours censured, and threatned in the former Verses) that I professe I cannot discern any appearance of reason to question the truth of it, much lesse to conceive that the ordinary copies are better; which yet however they read it, must oppose the [*ὁ αὐτὸς you*] to those before mentioned, and so cannot apply it with any appearance of probability to the Angels, or consequently prejudice ours, or confirme their pretensions.

Section IX.

Of the Elders at Ephesus Act. 27.

A Second reason to prove the Angel to be a collective body, is this, because it is certaine that the Church of Ephesus was a collective body, and that there were many Presbyters to whom St. Paul, at his small departure from them, committed the charge of that Church: And these Presbyters are called Bishops, and were all of them Stars of the same magnitude, and Angels of the same order without a difference or distinction.

Number 11.

2. But this is a way of proving a thing which is denied, by another which they know is equally denied by him, against whom they dispute, and therefore that argument can be of no force with us.

3. 'Tis most true indeed, what they begin with, that the Church of Ephesus was a collective body, for so 'tis certaine every Church is, whether governed by one or more Rulers; But the Church is not the Angel, any more than the candle-sticks are the Stars, but punctually distinguished from them Rev. 1. 20. But this I suppose was a mistake hastily fallen from them, and I shall not pursue it any farther.

4. Their argument, I conceive, depends upon the plurality of Elders [πρεσβύτεροι] which were at Ephesus Act. 20. when Paul takes his leave of them, and calls them Bishops. But to this they know I have answered clearly, that as in other places of Scripture, so in that, the word πρεσβύτεροι Elders, being all one with ἐπίσκοποι, Bishops, denote (not the many Presbyters of the one City of Ephesus, but) the many Bishops of that and other Cities of Asia, which at that time by S. Paul's summons sent to Ephesus, the chiefe Metropolis of Asia, were called and met together at Miletus.

* L. 3. c. 14.

5. To this purpose * Irenaeus is a witness beyond exception, who speaking of these Elders or Bishops, adds, *ab Epheso & proximis civitatibus convocatos esse, that they were assembled from Ephesus and the next Cities*, in which as the faith was planted, as well as in Ephesus (even in all Asia) so there is no reason to doubt but there were Bishops in them, as well as in Ephesus (seven such Churches we know are here mentioned in the Revelation) and that Paul was as carefull to take his leave of them (as many as could conveniently come to Miletus in his hasty progresse) as of the Bishop of Ephesus hee is justly deemed to have been.

6. Other arguments and authorities I need not here accumulate for this notion of Elders Act. 20. because here is no appearance of reason offered to prove their, or impugne our Assertion. This perhaps will be afterward attempted, and then I shall, as occasion requires, farther enlarge: In the meane it sufficeth that it yet no way appeares, that Ephesus was governed by many Presbyters, and not by one Bishop, and therefore this second offer of reason is as deficient as the first, to prove the Angel of that Church to have been a collective body.

Section X.

Of expressing a number by singulars. A Church by a Candlestick. Of the seven Angels Rev. 8.

THEIR third reason is, because It is usuall with the Holy Num. 2.
Ghost, not onely in other Bookes of Scripture, but in this very Booke of the Revelation, in mysterious and prophetick writings, and visionall representations (such as this of the Starres and Golden Candlestick is) to expresse a number of things or persons in singulars. And this in visions is the usuall way of Representation of things, a thousand persons making up one Church is represented by one Candlestick, many Ministers making up one Presbytery by one Angel. Thus Rev. 8. 2. It is said that John saw seven Angels which stood before God. By these seven Candlesticks (I suppose it should be seven Angels) Dr. Reynolds doth not understand seven individuall Angels, but all the Angels; For there are no seven individuall Angels that stand before God, but all doe, Dan. 7. there are many more instances brought in the Bookes forementioned.

2. To this third Reason I have no obligation or notice to give credit, any farther than the evidences perswade, for many of which, though we are referred to *Smectymnuns*, &c. yet having received promise from these, that they would borrow a few things from those others; I shall with reason hope that what they have upon choise borrowed, leaving, as they say, much more behind, is the most satisfactory and solid of any thing by them produced; and consequently if there be no force in these instances to oppugne our conclusion, we shall not expect to finde more convincing ones by travailing farther, and gathering up out of those *dispersions*, what they have refused to take up and offer to us.

3. The thing they would prove is, that 'tis usuall with the Holy Ghost in this (as in other mysterious prophetick Bookes) to expresse a number of things or persons by singulars. Their proofes are but three, and the first is of no force, because the word Church denotes a singular thing, as well as Candlestick that represents it; for though a thousand men make up one Church,

Church, yet one Church is but one thing, considered as a Church, and proportionably as one Candlestick in the singular is set to denote each Church, so there are seven Candlesticks to represent the seven Churches.

4. As for the second, that of the Angels, that that signifies many Ministers, that cannot be offered as a prooffe, being it selfe the matter of the question. And indeed though Church be a collective body, and so one Church is knowne to consist of many men, yet Angel is not of that nature, one Angel neither signifies many men, nor many Angels.

5. And whereas the parallel is set betwixt the word Candlestick, and the word Angel, that they (each) are singular words, by which multitudes are represented, that is a mistake, for the parallel lyes betwixt Church and Angel (and on the other side betwixt Candlestick and Starre, as appeares Rev. 1.20.) and both these are individual things, the Church an individual Church, and there be seven such individual Churches, and the Angel an individual Angel, and there be seven such individual Angels, and there can be no more pretense that one Angel should signifie many Ministers, than that one Church should signifie many Congregations.

6. Lastly, for the third prooffe, that of seven Angel, Rev. 8. 2. if that were granted to Doctor Reynold's authority, that the [seven Angels] there signifies all the Angels, yet would it not at all contribute to the prooffe of the point in hand, which is, that many shall be signified by a singular, for we know that seven are not a singular, but the custome indeed being ordinary to use a certaine definite number, for an uncertaine or indefinite, and the septenary being a perfect number, and so fittest for the turne, 'tis more tolerable that the number of seven may represent some greater number, one plural a larger plural, than that a singular one should doe so.

7. And yet secondly, there is no great reason to doubt, but that the seven Angels are indeed very seven Angels, and no more; This I collect, 1. from the seven Trumpets that were given them, ver. 2. and the specifying them by that Character, the seven Angels, which had the seven Trumpets, ver. 6. Secondly, by the severall employments assigned them in the sub-

subsequent parts of the vision which brings them upon the scene one after another, the first Angel, ver. 7. the second Angel, ver. 8. and so to the seventh. Thirdly, by the distinction that is evidently made between those seven Angels and another Angel, ver. 3. And another came and stood at the Altar: which makes it certaine that the former seven did not signifie all the Angels, unlesse after all, there could yet be one more. Fourthly, from the mention of the seven Spirits, cap. 1. 4. which are said to be before Gods throne, that sure is all one with standing before him here, and it being certaine that Angels are Spirits, I have no reason to doubt but that these seven Angels are those seven spirits, and so still a definite number of seven, and no more. Fifthly, from the mention of the seven Eyes, Zach. 4. 10. which seeme to be interpreted to this sence, Rev. 5. 6. seven eyes which are the seven Spirits of God sent into all the Land.

8. And though in some of these places other men have had other notions, yet δουλεύουσιν τὰς ἀγγέλους τὰυτά νοῶν, 'tis more to be approved that we understood Angels by that phrase, cap. 1. saith *Andreas Casariensis*, And of the whole matter, Ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσὶν οὐδὲ τῶν μεγίστων δυνάμεων ἔχοντες, πρῶτοντος Ἀγγέλων ἀρχόντες, there are seven which have the greatest power, the first borne Princes of the Angels, saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*. In which words of his, the first borne Princes are evidently taken from Dan. 10. 13. where the Hebrew reads הַרְאֲשֵׁנִי שָׂרִים the Principal or first rulers or Princes, of which Michael is the first, and thence called *Archangel*.

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9. And so in *Tobit*, cap. 12. 15. we find seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, which description of them and their office, to present the prayers of the Saints, if it be thought unagreeable to their standing here before God or being before his throne, it will soone be reconciled by that speech of Christ, that the Angels of the infant tender Christians alwayes behold the face of God, and by that meanes are qualified to make their wants knowne unto him, which is all one with presenting of prayers.

10. Sixthly, from the mention of the seven Lamps, Rev. 4. 5.

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(styled *Lamps*, in reference to the like number of *Lamps* on the *Candlestick* in the *Sanctuary*) which *burne before the throne*, as cap. i. they are *before the throne*, For of these it is added *αι νοι τα εν τα κηρυματα τω θεω*, which are the *seven* (by way of eminencie, or the *seven Principal*) *spirits of God*.

11. *Seventhly*, from the no appearance of the least reason produced to the contrary; For as to that which is introduced with a [*For*] and supplies the place of a *reason*, it is evidently a bare *assertion* of the contrary, [*there are no seven individual Angels that stand before God*] without any offer of prooffe, that testimony out of *Dan. 7.* that all doe, being far from concluding that there are not such *seven principal Angels* which these so many evidences assure us there are.

12. In that of *Dan. 7. 10.* upon that solemn occasion of *God's judgements* exprest by a *fiery streame*, *thousand thousands* are said to *Minister to him*, and *ten thousand times ten thousand* to *stand before him*. But how doth that hinder but at another time, *seven principal Angels* may be employed by him, and in order to that *stand before him* too, and when we so oft reade of such *seven*, what question but they were *individual Angels*? And so much for the *third reason*.

Section XI.

Of the Epistles being sent to the whole Church, not to the Bishop only. Of Timothy, Onesimus and Polycarp, being Bishops of some of the Asian Churches, without any charge of Apostacy falling on them by this means.

Numb. 1.

THERE is a fourth behind: still, that though but one Angel be mentioned in the fore-front, yet it is evident that the *Epistles themselves* (though we are farre from thinking that in formal denomination, the *Angels* and the *Candlesticks* are the same) are dedicated to all the *Angels* and *Ministers* in the Church, and to the Churches themselves, as appears, *Rev. 1. 10. Rev. 2. 7. 11. 17.* And therefore when it is said in the singular number. *I know thy workes, This thou hast, Repent and doe thy first workes, &c.* All these

these and the like places are not to be understood as meant of one individual person, but of the whole company of Ministers, and also of the whole Church, because the punishment threatened is to the whole Church, Rev. 2. 5. 16. 2. Now we have no warrant in the Word to thinke that Christ would remove his Gospell from a Church for the sin of one Bishop, when all the other ministers and Churches are farre from those sins.

2. To this I shall need make no reply, having done it sufficiently already, by concession that the *Angel* being the Ruler of a Church, the whole *Epistle* belongs to him and the Church promiscuously, and agreeably those expressions, which are used in the singular number, doe not all belong to the Bishop, but to the Church wherein he *presides*: But certainly this is farre from inferring that the Bishop and Church are all one, or that the word *Angel* signifies the collective body of the Church, for, besides that the Text is expresse in making a signall difference between the *Starres* and the *Candlesticks*, the *Angels* and the *Churches* (and the *Assemblers* are here forced to confesse that the *Angels* and *Candlesticks* are not the same) the confounding them will be as disadvantageous to them as to us, and I shall as regularly be able to conclude that the word *Angel* signifies not the *Presbytery*, but the whole diffusive body of the Church, as they can pretend to doe upon their owne *postulatum*, that the *Angel* denotes not the Bishop but the whole Church, it being as certaine that they make a difference between the Church or multitude of believers, and the *Presbytery* that is set over them to rule, as we doe between the same Church and the Bishop.

3. Thus have we viewed all the reasons produced by them to assert or confirme their first answer, and shewed divers wayes how no manner of validity there is in any one or all of them, to evidence it to be a solid and every way sufficient answer. And therefore there was some use of the next part of the Method, to call in the authority of other men to countenance this interpretation, Master Brightman, Master Perkins, Master Foxe, (who citeth *Primasius Haymo*, *Beda*, *Richardus*, *Thomas*, &c.) Doctor Fulke, Master Meade, Gregory and Saint Austin; But although they have thought fit to

set downe these names, yet having omitted to adde their *Testimonies*, and indeed having resolved to forbear, because *Smeectymnuns* hath done it already, I shall confesse my selfe willing to leave this *chase*, and in stead of leading the Reader so wearisome a walke, to examine the severall *comments* here named (and but named) give him more shortly my *conjecture* what truth may be in them.

4. Master *Brightman*, I know (and some others 'tis possible) may have interpreted the *Angel* to signifie the whole College of *Pastors*, and truly I should much sooner take up an *Interpretation* upon the bare word of these *Assemblers*, than I would upon no better evidence from M. *Brightman*; He was one learned man, long knowne to be unkinde to our *Pralates*, and here are many, for ought I know, as learned, though under the same *prejudices*.

5. Some others here cited, I cannot believe are brought to testifie this, but onely that what is said to the *Angel* in each part of the *Epistle*, was said to the whole Church, and not onely to the *Bishop*; and if that be all they say, it is that which we cannot doubt to affirme with them, and have oft confest to understand *Christ's Epistle* so, without any incommodity to our *pretensions*.

6. If I mistake in these *conjectures*, I desire pardon, and shall hope to give a better account, when I reade the *testimonies* in the *Authors* from whence they are cited. For in these *derivations* of *testimonies*, the *Assemblers* citing them from *Smeectymnuns*, *Smeectymnuns* from Master *Foxe*, Master *Foxe* from *Primasius*, &c. there is great possibility of mistake, and therefore I shall follow the example before me, *forbears* adding any more of this matter.

7. In the next place they are pleased to take notice as of an *objection* against their *interpretation*, that some *Authors* say, Timothy was *Bishop* of Ephesus when our Saviour wrote this *Epistle*, others that Onesimus was *Bishop*, others that Polycarp was *Bishop* of Smyrna at that time, and therefore these *Angels* must needs be taken individually for so many single persons.

8. Of this *Objection*, which they have thus formed for us, there

there is onely thus much of truth, that out of authentique Records we bring undeniable evidences for *Timothies* being constituted by *St. Paul* Bishop of *Ephesus*, for *Onesimus* being placed in that *See* at the time of *Ignatius's* writing to the *Ephesians*, that *Polycarpe* was constituted Bishop of *Smyna* by *S. John*, of all which we have spoken enough already.

9. But of all or any of these being Bishops in those Cities at the very time of *Christ's* addressing this *Epistle* to the Angels of each, this had no where been our affirmation, nor would it have been usefull to us in any considerable degree, if we had grounds positively to affirme it. All that is needfull to us is this, that by the *Antient* Records, which evidence them to have been so early Bishops in two of those Churches, to which *Christ's* *Epistle* was sent, and Bishops in the notion wherein we now use the word, we are secured of the truth of our collections, when from the mention of the seven Angels of the 7. Churches, we assert the Ecclesiasticall power in the hands of a single Bishop in each Church to be owned and confirmed by *Christ*; And supposing some other persons, and none of these three to have been those very numericall Angels to whom those *Epistles* were written, this conclusion of ours stands yet as firme, as if we could demonstrate it of those very numericall persons, there being no reason to doubt but the same manner of Government continued all the *Scripture* times; and to *Timothies* successor and *Onesimus's* predecessor, being as certainly Bishops, as either *Onesimus* or *Timothy* himselfe; when withall we have already produced mentions from the *Antients* of the Catalogues of those Bishops which succeeded *Timothy* in that *See*.

10. Having thus set right the *Objection* for them, so as it is owned by us to be an *Objection* against them, it will now soone appeare what force there is in their answers to it, and those are three.

11. First, that they that say that *Timothy* was then Bishop, offer no little injury to him, for they thereby charge him to be guilty of *Apostacy*, and of losing his first love, and so out of a blind zeale to *Episcopacy* they make that glorious Saint to stand charged as an *Apostate*. The like injury is offered by *Objections* to *Onesimus*,

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12. But first you see whatever our *opinion* is exprest to be we have not *affirmed* either of these, as to the *person* either of *Timothy* or *Onesimus*, but lest it uncertaine who the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Ephesus* was, whether either or neither of these, but some *successor* of the one, and *predecessor* of the other, and so what charge soever falls on that *Angel*, it falls not necessarily on either of these.

13. Secondly it is already agreed betwixt the parties, affirmed by them, and acknowledged by me, that the *Epistle* being addrest to the *Angel* of *Ephesus*, the *Church* or *diffusive* body, the *Christians* in it, were concerned in the *contents* of it; And then whatsoever charge be found in the *Epistle*, of how heavy a nature soever, even of *Apostacy* it selfe, yet there is no necessity the *Angel* or *Bishop* should be *personally* guilty of it, and so whosoever the *Bishop* was, though *Timothy* himselfe, our zeale to *Episcopacy* hath not beene so *blind* or *transporting*, as to put us on any *uncharitable* *censure*, to affix any *unhandsome* character upon so *glorious* a *Saint*.

14. Lastly, to remove this answer yet one degree farther from being satisfactory, it no where appears that *Apostacy* is in that *Epistle* laid to the charge, whether of the *Church* or *Angel*; The first part is all in commendation of their former zeal, and the later, wherein their charge consists, v. 4. is only this [*ἀγάπην οὗ τὴν πρῶτην ἀφῆκας*] which is not (as is suggested) *losing* their first love, but *remitting* it; Their love to *Christ* had formerly been strong as death, pure and vehement, such as had cast out all feare of dangers, and evidenced it selfe in couragious confession, but now, though it were not quite lost, yet it was remitted, lessened in the degree, not so intense as formerly, and therefore when they are bid remember from whence they are fallen, that fall doth not necessarily signifie *Apostacy* or renouncing of *Christianity* (for then it had been an impertinent threatening to remove their *Candlestick* v. 5.) but a falling from the former degree, a cooling of the intense heat, which had been so laudable in them. And so still there is more invalidity in this first answer.

Section XII.

Of *Timothies being an Evangelist, that it hinders not his being a Bishop.*

THe second is, that they have already proved that *Timothy* Num. 1. was an *Evangelist* in a proper sense, and therefore cannot be called *Bishop* of *Ephesus* in their sense.

2. To this I reply, 1. That *Timothies* being an *Evangelist* no way prejudgeth his being a *Bishop* in our sense, An *Evangelist* is one commissioned by any of the *Apostles* *Ευαγγελιστας* to preach the *Gospel* to any *City* or *People*; And a *Bishop* is one commissioned by the like *Apostle* to preside in, and governe a *Church* already planted. And what hinders but that he that hath beene employed in the former capacity to plant, may elsewhere or in the same place be appointed to Governe, and so the *Evangelist* be a *Bishop*?

3. Whatsoever *Objections* can be brought against this, I shall not doubt will be easily answered, but there is no offer of any here, and therefore it will not be pertinent farther to treat it in this place.

4. Secondly, it must againe be remembred, that what is here said of *Timothy* is proper to his person, both from *Onesimus* and *Polycarpe*, and all other *Angels*, whether succeeding *Timothy* in *Ephesus*, or presiding in the other 7. *Asian Churches*, and therefore though *Timothy* by being an *Evangelist* were rendred incapable (which yet he was not) of being the *Bishop* of *Ephesus* in our sense, yet those other seven *Angels* at the very time of the writing this *Epistle* of which none have been proved to be *Evangelists*, may still be *Bishops* in our sense.

5. Thirdly, I shall demand upon the *Assemblers* principles, who allow a *Primus Presbyter*, a *Prolocutor* in their consistory or Councell of *Presbyters*, might *Timothy* be that first *Presbyter* in the *Church* of *Ephesus*; or did his being an *Evangelist* hinder him from being so; when he was by *St. Paul* exhorted or appointed *μενεσθαι* to abide in that *City*? I cannot imagine they will say he could not, who give both *St. Peter* and
St.

St. John leave to call themselves *Presbyters*; But if he could in their opinion, then why might he not be a *Bishop* in our sense (notwithstanding that he was an *Evangelist*) as well as a *Presbyter* in theirs? I foresee not what answer can be adapted to this *Dilemma*.

Section XIII.

Of the Bishops at Ephesus. Of the plurall number in the Epistle to the Angel of Smyrna.

Num. 1.

There remains a *third* branch of the *Answer*, that it will not follow because Onesimus was *Bishop* of Ephesus in St. John's dayes, that therefore he was the onely person to whom Christ wrote his Epistle; For St. Paul tells us there were many Bishops at Ephesus (besides the supposed Onesimus) and Christ may very well write to him, and to all the rest as well as him. The like may be said concerning Polycarpe, for our Saviour speaks to the Angel of the Church of Smyrna in the plurall number, Rev. 2. 10. And therefore hee may truly be said to write to all the other Angels that were at Smyrna, as well as to one.

2. Here is nothing in this branch but what hath beene distinctly forestall'd, and spoken to largely already, it will suffice that we repeat the heads, and leave the Reader to view the places, where they are more explicitly handled. And 1. though St. Paul should tell us that there were many Bishops at Ephesus, as there might be from other Cities occasionally met there, yet it would not follow that there were more than one Bishop of that City, or consequently that Christ in a peculiar addresse to the Angel of that City could write to more Bishops there.

3. But then secondly, the whole truth is this, that S. Luke (and not St. Paul) tells, that upon St. Paul's summons sent to Ephesus, many Bishops met him at Miletus; Ephesus being the chiefe Metropolis was the fittest meanes to convey the summons to the Cities neer it, and from them and not onely from

from them, and not onely from *Ephesus* came the *Bishops* to him, as hath been declared out of *Irenaeus*.

4. Thirdly, for our *Saviour's* speaking to the *Angel* of the *Church of Smyrna* in the *plurall* number, that is not punctually true, for though the letter be written and inscribed to the *Angel*, yet, as hath oft been said, the *whole Church* is concerned in the contents of it, and so speaking to the *Angel* in the *singular*, he may yet speake to the *Church* or any members thereof, in the *plurall* number. And so much againe to demonstrate the inefficualnesse of the first Head of Answers.

Section XIV.

Of Beza's Interpretation, of the President.

THe second followes upon a supposition (but not grant) that these Angels were *persona singulares*, and that the word *Angel* is to be taken individually, yet they conceive this will not at all advantage the *Episcopall* cause. For 1. Mr. Beza (no great friend to *Episcopacy*) acknowledgeth that by these words to the *Angel* is meant *το πρῶτον* to the President, as whom it behooved specially to be admonished touching those matters, and by him both the rest of his Collegues, and the whole Church likewise; but then he addeth, But that *Episcopal* degree which was afterward by humane invention brought into the Church of God, certainly neither can nor ought to be from hence concluded. Nay, not so much as the Office of a perpetual President should be of necessity as the thence arising *Oligarchical* tyranny (whose head is the *Antichristian* beast) now at length with the most certaine ruine, not of the Church onely, but of the word also, maketh manifest; By which quotation it is evident, that though Beza held the *Angel* to be a singular person, yet he held him to be *Angelus Praefes*, not *Angelus Princeps*; and that he was *Praefes pro tempore*, just as a *Moderator* in an Assembly, or as a *Speaker* in Parliament.

2. To this I reply, 1. that Mr. Beza's interpretation, as it was foreknown and formerly mentioned by us, so was it

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not

not in reason to be of any force or authority with us, if it be but upon the score intimated here, that he was not onely no great friend, but a knowne profest enemy of Episcopacy, and so was obliged to be, by the course wherein he was engaged at Geneva. All that his authority concludes, is, that to avoid a plaine testimony, which is not for his turne, a man may be induced to affirme that confidently, for which he hath no ground of prooffe, nay, wherein all wayes of evidence, that the matter is capable of, are absolutely against him.

3. Thus 'tis certainly in this matter, for when Beza hath here acknowledged that the Angel was the *πρεσβυς* President, who will be the most competent Judge or Witnesse, to determine what was meant by the *πρεσβυς* President] in the Primitive Church, what kind of Presidency he had, whether onely of place or order, and that onely for a time, or of superiority of power and office, and that perpetuall? In all reason this is to be fetcht from those first Writers which speake of it, and either use the very word *πρεσβυς* President, for such a Bishop, as we now assert (a singular person in every Church, having a power for life over all the Officers and Members of the Church, and succeeding some Apostle, or Apostolicall person in that power) or else in other words affirme the same thing.

* Dissert. 4.

4. Of this store of evidences are * elsewhere produced, in the explication of the severall titles, by which this singular presett was antiently knowne, whether of Apostle, in a secondary use of that word, of Angel, of Bishop, of Elder, of Ruler, of Pastor, of Doctor, of Steward, of President, of Priest; Against which the bare authority of Mr. Beza's name, who hath fancied a temporary President or Prolocutor, and brought no manner of reason to confirme it, will have very little validity in it.

5. What is proved by the bare testimony of Beza, is farther confirmed by a like citation out of the Reverend Divines at the Isle of Wight, who by the example of the King sending a message to both Houses, and directing it To the Speaker of the House of Peeres, which inferres not that either the Speaker is alwayes the same person, or the Governour, or Ruler of the two Houses.

Hausles in the least, conclude, that notwithstanding this direction of Christ's Epistle to the Angels, yet they might be neither Bishops nor yet perpetual Moderators.

6. But the authority of those Divines, which had this answer from Beza, adds nothing of weight, because nothing of prooffe to it; As for their *similitude*, it concludes nothing but this, that these Divines thought fit to make use of this instance of a *Speaker* in *Parliament*, to shew the thing possible to have been, not to prove that so it was, And the matter of our present inquiry is not, what a kinde of *president Christ* and his *Apostles* might, if they would, have left in each *Church*, but what really they did; And that must be contested by the best *Records* of those times, not by a *similitude* of a *Speaker* in our *Parliaments*. And that is all I neede to say to that *Section*.

Section XV.

Of Dr. Reynolds interpretation, of the Bishop in Cyprian. Of Ordination by Bishops not without Presbyters, from the Testimonies of Cyprian, and Fermilian.

After the authority of Mr. Beza, backt with that of the Divines at the Isle of Wight, is added, in the second place, the authority of Dr. Reynolds, who as he hath a *Letter in print* against the *Divine Rights of Episcopacy*, so he acknowledgeth also in his conference with Hart, Dial. 3. That this Angel was *persona singularis*. For he saith, Numb. 1.

2. The whole place of Dr. Reynolds is set down at large by the Archbishop of Armagh in the front of his learned *Dissertation* of the *Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans*, and I shall not neede here to recite it, being of some length, and indeed nothing in it defined or exprest of his opinion, that the *President*, when he was made such, either continued to be equall with the rest of the *Presbyters*, or lasted but for a time, so as the *Prolocutor* of an *Assembly* doth; I am sure he affirms him to have had the *Presidentship* (not among, but) over *Elders* (which I suppose must imply some power) and that

this was he that in the *Primitive Church* the *Fathers* called *Bishop*; and applies to him the mentions of *Bishops* made by *St. Cyprian* (and *Cornelius*) of whose notion of *Bishops*, that it belongs not to a bare *Prolocutor* of an *Assembly*, nay, that in nothing it differeth from ours, I am sufficiently assured, and so will the *Reader* by what is cited from him *Dissert. 2. c. 3. §. 13.* And because from some other intimations in this Book I see there is neede of it, I shall here *recapitulate* out of many, mention this one evidence more.

* *Append. p. 219*

*Ego & Collega
mei qui presen-
tes auctores.*

3. In the 60 *Epistle* to *Rogatian* a *Bishop*, who had beene wronged and contumeliously used by a *Deacon* of his *Church*, and had written an account of it to *Cyprian* and the *annuall* *Councell* of *Bishops* with him, *Cyprian* returns this Answer, that it was his *humility* to make this complaint to the *councell*, *Cum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedrae autoritate haberes potestatem, quā possis de illo statim vindicari, when by force of his Episcopall power, and by authority of his chaire, hee had power himselfe to inflict punishment on him immediatly, and that punishment afterward specified, ut eum deponas vel abstineas, either to depose him or suspend him.*

4. Here it was a part of *Rogatian's* *Episcopall* power, without any joyning with him, to judge and censure the inferiour *Officers* of the *Church*, and they were bound *honorem sacerdotis agnoscere & Episcopo preposito suo*—as it followes in that *Epistle*, to acknowledge the honour of their *Priest*, and with full *humility* make satisfaction to the *Bishop* which is set over them. All power in the hands of one set over all, call'd promiscuously *Priest* and *Bishop* in *Cyprian's* style.

5. And therefore when in the *Appendix* to this Book, these men to prove that *Ordination* by *Bishops* without the assistance of *Presbyters* was alwayes forbidden and opposed, tell us of *Aurelius* being ordained by *Cyprian*, and his *Collegues*, *Ep. 33.* and then assure us from *Ep. 58.* that by his *collegues* he meanes his *Presbyters* (where yet there is no other prooffe of it; but the using of these words in the *Inscription* of the *Epistle*, *Cyprianus cum Collegis, and Ego & collega, Cyprian with his collegues, and I and my collegues*) This is a great, but discernible fallacy put upon the *Reader*, as will soone appeare

1. If we but observe that the 33 *Epistle*, where he tells of *Aurelius*, was written by *Cyprian* to his *Presbyters*, and so they are the persons whom he advertiseth, what he and his *Collegues* had done, and so sure were not those *Collegues* that did it with him. Or secondly, if for the understanding *Cyprian's* notion of *Collegues*, *Ep.* 58: we shall but looke forward to the next *Epistle* 59. for that will fully discover it, being this, *Cyprianus & ceteri Collega qui in Concilio assuerunt numero LXVI.* where *Cyprian's Collegues* are evidently the 66. *Bishops* that were in *Council* with him.

6. The like might be also observed of the *Testimony* out of *Firmilian*, which they there subjoyne, of the *Seniores* and *Præpositi* that have power of ordaining, by whom, say they, the *Presbyters* as well as the *Bishops* are understood; But againe 'tis cleare by the expresse words of the *Epistle*, that by them are meant the *Bishops* in their annual *Council*, *Necessario apud nos fit ut per singulos annos Seniores & Præpositi in unum conveniamus* — 'Tis necessary that every yeare we the *Elders* and *Governors* should meet together to dispose and order those things which are committed to our care, adding concerning the *Church* (in opposition to *Hereticks*) that all power and grace is placed in it, *ubi præsident majores natu, qui & Baptizandi & manus imponendi & ordinandi possident potestatem*, wherein the *Elders* *præside*, and have power of *Baptizing*, *absolving* and *ordaining*, an evident description of the *Bishops*. But this by the way, as an essay, what their *testimonies* out of the *Fathers*, scattered sometimes in this *Book*, would be found to be, if this were a place to examine them.

7. Lastly *Dr. Reynolds* acknowledges another *Præsident* even among *Bishops*, the *Bishop* of the chiefest *City* in the *Province*, and so a *Metropolitan*. All which are contrary enough to the pretensions of the *Presbyterians* (what amends he hath made them in his *Printed letter* I know not.)

8. Yet after all this, there lyes no obligation upon us to regulate our *Doctrin* by *Doct^r Reynolds's* scheme in this matter, being sufficiently instructed by the *Primitive* records and practice, what kind of power and dignity belonged to the *Presb^{ts}* or *Præsident* among them, the very same that we now

pretend to be the *Bishops* due, And if *Christ's* letter were addressed to the *Angel*, as to such a *Presbiter* or *President*, 'tis all that we desire, to erect our fabrick of *Episcopacy* on this one place, if there were not (as there are) others able to support the weight of it.

9. And so we see what reasons have been brought to make good their second head of *Answers*, of which we had promise that they were *solid and every way sufficient answers*, and yet in the issue there is nothing so much as offered toward it, save onely the *testimony* of *Master Beza*, the *Divines* at the *Iste of Wighs* (which is by interpretation themselves) and *Doctor Reynolds*, who yet is not perfectly of their party neither.

Section XVI.

Of the Churches of Asia being Metropolitcal. Of the paucity of believers.

Num. I.

HAVING thus done, they say *It is objected by some men that the seven Cities, in which these seven Asian Churches had their seat, were all of them Metropolitcal, and so had relation to the rest of the Towns and Cities of Asia, as unto daughters rising under them, and that therefore these Churches were Metropolitcal Churches, and their Angels Metropolitcal Bishops.*

2. How this comes to be styled an *objection* I cannot well guess, or what it is, against which it is thought to be *objected*. The truth of it, as farre as any *Episcopal* person I know, is interested in it, is this, It is not onely evident of the *Angels* of the *seven Asian Churches*, that they were *Bishops*, which is sufficient for us against the *Assemblers*, but there is over and above that, all reason to deem them *Starres* of a first magnitude, i. e. *Bishops* of *Mother-Cities*, *Metropolitanes* and that very pertinent to be urged in this matter of the *Asian Angels*, not to secure the proofes of *Episcopacy* taken from thence, but to render a reason why in all *Asia* but *seven Churches* and their *Bishops* are named there. To this purpose the

the discourse is enlarged (above what it needed to have been) *Differt. 4. 5.* to set downe the nature of *Metropolitanes*, the exemplars of them among the *Jewes*, the expresses of the Institution in the *Apostles* writings, and the signal evidences of it in the *Primitive Church*, and the *Antient Canons* in the *Council of Nice* and *Antioch*, and *Ephesus*, all owning them as *Primitive* and *Apostolical Institutions*, and all this exemplified in *Jerusalem*, in *Antioch*, in *Rome*, in *Alexandria*, in *Gortyna* of *Creer*, and at length in all the *seven Churches of Asia*.

3. What is there thus set down, if it have not perfect truth in it, I shall be very glad to see the weake parts of that discourse discovered, and therefore though I never proposed or meant it as an *Objection* of ours against the *Presbyterians*, having no need of such *auxiliaries*, and the whole matter being sufficiently proved without it, and this onely added *ex abundanti*, yet I shall most willingly attend their motions, and see what answers they will adapt to this *Objection*, as they call it.

4. And 1. they answer, that it will hardly be proved that these seven Cities were all of them *Metropolitical Cities* in *S. John's* dayes, And the situation of most them lying neerer together on the *Sea side* makes it very improbable.

5. To this I reply, that for five of them, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Sardis*, *Pergamus*, and *Laodicea*, *Pliny*, that lived and wrote in the beginning of *Vespasian's* reigne, is a competent witness, that they were Cities wherein the *Roman Proconsuls* fixt their Courts or Seats of Judicature, and administred justice there to all the Cities about them, and that is the interpretation of a chiefe City or *Metropolis*, in the secular account, and agreeably *Ulpian* mentions *Ephesus* as the chief of these *Metropoles*. And for the other two, *Philadelphia* and *Thyatira*, the latter of these by * *tolomee*, the former by the *Council of Constantinople sub Menâ* is punctually affirmed to be a *Metropolis*. To these are added other evidences and reasons, and the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* hath written (besides his *Original of Metropolitanes*) a very learned Dissertation of the *Lydian Asia*, on purpose to cleare this matter.

Lib. 5. c. 29. 30.

* Greg l. 5 c. 2.

6. And

6. And when a thing is so largely proved already, and when a satisfactory proof of it in any one of the seven Cities is abundantly sufficient to the asserting of *Metropolitans*, (for then the *Angel* of that one was a *Metropolitan*) 'tis then certainly a very incompetent confutation barely to say, that it will hardly be proved, that these seven Cities were all of them *Metropolitans* in *Saint John's* dayes, for if it be proved, it matters not how hardly, and if any one were so in *S. John's* dayes, it matters not, if possibly some other were not, that one was a *Metropolitan Angel*, which is all we need insist on.

7. And for the *Argument* to make it improbable, drawn from the situation of the Cities, that is as infirme; for this, as all other controversies of matters of fact, must be waged by authorities of those which were likely to know the truth, and to testifie aright, and to those we have all reason to adhere, and not to be moved by arguments that seeme probable to those that live 1600. yeares after, and are not perhaps so perfect Masters of the *Geographie* of the place as duly to be able to judge even what is in that respect most probable.

8. Nay for the distances of these Cities, though I have not now Mr. *Brightman* by me, yet my notes out of him tell me, that in his scale of furlongs, *Pergamus* was distant from *Smyrna* 540. furlongs, i. e. about 68. *English miles*, and *Ephesus* from *Smyrna* 320. i. e. about 40. miles, and *Thyatira* from *Pergamus* 80. *English miles*, which is a distance very reconcileable with their being *Metropoles*.

9. But they are content to suppose this was true, and then have answers ready another way, 1. That it is no good argument from the greatnesse of the Cities to inferre the greatnesse of the Churches, for though the Cities were great, yet the Churches were but small, and the number of believers very few in comparison of the rest of the people.

10. To this I reply, 1. by concession, that in all places and times the greatnesse of the Church cannot absolutely be concluded from the greatnesse of the City, because it is possible that a great City may have utterly resisted the faith, and a
lesser

lesser City received it; or againe a greater City, that hath received the Faith in some of the Members, may yet have fewer believers in it, than another City, which is not so great. This therefore is not our way of concluding, from the bare greatnesse of the Cities, to infer the great number of believers in them.

11. Our way of concluding is this; Paul had spent three yeares, *Act. 20. 31.* in this Lydian or Proconsular Asia, ver. 18. In this time he had pursued his worke very diligently and zealously, not ceasing to warne every one night and day with teares, and herein his harvest was proportionable to his labour: After two years space and upwards spent at Ephesus, it is said, ver. 19. that by the continuance of his preaching and gathering Disciples, all they that dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord both Jews and Greeks, and though many were hardened and believed not, and spake evil of that way, ver. 9. yet ver. 17. by some extraordinary workes of his, which were made knowne to all the Jews and Greeks dwelling at Ephesus, feare fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified, a conversion in a manner general, and therefore it followes, and many that believed—ver. 18. and so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed, ver. 20. Whereupon Saint Paul himselfe speaking of these successes, calls it a great dore and an effectual, *1 Cor. 16. 9.* which at Ephesus, v. 8. was opened unto him.

12. From hence we conclude, and sure safely may, 1. that in Asia generally, and especially in Ephesus there was a great number of Christians, before this time of Christs Epistle, (which is not a concluding it barely from the greatnesse of that or any other Cities of Asia). Secondly from hence, together with Ephesus's being in the secular account (the *Notitiæ Imperiales*) a Metropolis, where the Assizes were kept, we conclude that Ephesus was in the Christian account also a Metropolis, and the chiefe of all Asia; and this I hope is not so improbable infirme a way of concluding, as the other imposed on us seemed to be.

13. Thirdly, from hence, and from other exemplifications of it (as that Trallis and Magnesia, which appeare to be

under the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*, are by *Ignatius* written to as all *Episcopal Sees*, in our present notion of the word *Bishop*) we conclude that other *Cities* of *Asia* beside these *seven*, had received the *Christian* faith, and were certainly taken care for by *Paul*, which had planted it among them, and agreeably had *Rulers* settled in them, i. e. *Bishops* subordinate to the *Metropolitans*. And all these inferences I doubt not will appear regular enough, and I should farther enlarge on them, if there were any thing in the answer, which could render it needful or seasonable.

14. As for the paucity of *Christians* in those times in comparison of the rest of the people, that cannot be pertinently opposed to our pretensions, because still the number of *Christians* in a great *City* might beare the same proportion to the number of the *Christians* in the smaller *Cities*, that the people in the one did to the people in the other, one thousand bearing the same proportion to one hundred, that an hundred thousand doth to ten thousand.

15. And it being the affirmation of *Clemens*, that the *Apostles* in each *City*, where they received any *profelytes*, though never so few, before their parting constituted a *Bishop* (with his *Deacon*) who was to be governor τῶν πολλόντων πιστέων, of those that should after believe, it followes unquestionably from thence, that in the *Cities* which had but few *Christians*, *Bishops* might be and were constituted, and those very regularly depending on the greater (their *Metropolitcal*) *Cities*, from whence the faith was derived to them, (as from *Ephesus*, where *Paul* chiefly resided, to the *Cities* about it) and all this without any need of ballancing the parties, or considering what comparison the number of the *Christians* in one, or the other, bore to the number of the *unbelievers* in either *City*. And let this serve by way of Reply to the first branch of the second answer.

Section X V I.

Of modelling Churches according to the Government of the Roman state. Of exemplars of Metropolitans among the Jewes. Testimonies of the Apostles instituting Metropolitans.

THeir second answer is, we doe not believe that ever it can be proved that the Apostles did modell the Government of the Church, according to the Government of the Roman state. This was the after policy of Christian Emperours and Bishops, but no part of Apostolicall policy; And therefore it doth not follow, that because there were divers Cities under the jurisdiction of those 7. Cities, that therefore there should be divers Churches subordinate to the 7. Asian Churches. Numb. 1.

2. That the Apostles, which designed to plant a Church in the Heathen World, should doe it in that manner as would be most advantageous to their end, will not I hope be accounted strange. This generally was by betaking themselves to the Cities, rather than the villages, and first to the greater Cities, unto which was the most frequent resort, that by that means the faith might be most compendiously and successfully propagated. If a greater City resisted their preaching, or fewer Saints were gathered there, I do not then pretend to prove, or to believe that that was constituted a Metropolitan Church with superiority over others of greater antiquity, or larger growth in the faith whatsoever the dignity of it were in the secular account; But when a whole Nation is converted, and the greatest and most populous Cities first, and from thence the sound gone out into all the Region, and lesser Cities in it, that then the Apostles, which certainly constituted Bishops in every believing City (and therefore what is reported to have been done καὶ ἐκκλησίαν in every Church, Acts 14.23. is appointed to be done κατὰ πόλιν in every City, Tit. 1.5) should set up the principall Sees in those most Christian Cities, which had formerly the priority in the Romane state, as it is the wisest method, and fittest for the wisest planters to take, so we have all reason to believe it was done particularly in the

Lydian or *Proconsular Asia*, in which there being many more *Christian Cities*; than those *seven*, to whom *Christ's Epistle* is address'd, those are in all reason to be accounted the chiefe of that *Region*, and those which are not named, lesse *principall* than they: which concurring with what we finde recorded in *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* of the accounts of them in the *imperiall* *noticia*, if it *demonstrate* not, is yet matter of exceeding great *probability*, and may perswade with any reasonable man, as long as there is nothing in any degree such, which is offered to be *confronted* against it.

3. If that which scandalizeth the *Assemblers* (for we are left to *Divine* what it is) be the *unfinesse* that the *Apostles* should modell the *Church* according to the *Roman state*. I shall first demand how it is possible to imagine a *plantation* of a *Church* in any, whether *Jewish* or *Heathen* state, without doing somewhat *equivalent* to this? For suppose *Joseph of Arimathea* to have (as * *Gildas* saith) converted the *Britannick church* in *Tiberius's* time, is it to be imagined that he should meddle with the *civill* power of this Nation, as it stood in respect of it's *separation* from other Nations, *toto divisâ Orbe*, or with the *divisions* or *distributions* of this Nation within it selfe, into *Cities*, and *Provinces*, &c. or goe about to innovate any thing in that matter? Is it not certaine that it was no part of the *Christian faith* to be such a *judge* or *divider*; but on the other side that all should remaine as it did (in that respect) before the coming of *Christianity*? And therefore supposing 1. That this Nation were governed by a *King* of its own; is it not certaine that this *national Church* should follow the boundaries of the Nation, and so be modell'd according to the *government* of the (formerly *Heathen*) *Britannick state*? And supposing againe (what hath already been proved by the *testimony* of *Clemens*, and by comparing *Act. 14. 23.* with *Ti. 1. 5.*) that a *Bishop* were constituted in every *Church*, in each *City*, will there be any reason of doubting but that those *Cities* being *subordinate* one to another, according to the *customs* of the Nation, the *Churches* in those *Cities*, and the *Bishops* in those *Churches* shall be so also? This I hope will not be deemed an *impious* compliance with

* De excid. &
Conqu Brit.

with *heathenisme*, or conformity with the *World*, nay, though the *Emperour of Rome* (by his conquests here) were the author of these distributions.

4. But then secondly, it is already cleared in the *Dissertations*, that this *Ecclesiastick* division of *Cities* into *Mothers* and *Daughters*, *Metropoles* and *inferiour Cities*, was by the *Apostle* copied out from the *Jewes*, as when *God* commands by *Moses*, that *Judges* and *Officers* should be ordained in every *City*, *Deut.* 16. 18. and that in matters of weight and doubt they should resort to *Jerusalem*, to the *Judge* and *Sanhedrim* there, according to which it appears that *Jerusalem* was the *Metropolis* of those other *Cities*, and so is evident, *Act.* 9. by the story of *Saul* carrying Letters of *Commission* from the *Sanhedrim* there to the *consistories* in *Damascus*, and by many other evidences. So likewise *Numb.* 3. when three *Families* of the *Levites*, the *sonnes* of *Aaron*, were separated for the service of the *Tabernacle*, and an head or *Prince* or *President* of every of these, called נשיא *v.* 24. 30. 35. *Eleazar* *Aaron's Sonne* is constituted over all these, and styled נשיא נשיא the head of the heads of the *Levites*, This is clearly a patterne of the *Metropolitans* in the *Christian Church*, which may therefore owne it's derivation from thence, and not from the *Heathen models* of *Government*, which yet it was not reasonably to disturb, being found so concordant to, and commodious for it.

5. And that what was done in this kind, was done by the *Apostles* themselves and *Apostolicall* persons, the first founders of *Churches*, and not onely by the *after policy* (as is suggested) of *Christian Emperours* and *Bishops*, might have appeared abundantly by these few testimonies, if they had been worthy to be taken notice of. First, of the *councell* of *Nice* *An. Domini* 325. not many yeares after the conversion of *Constantine*, the first *Christian Emperour*, *Can.* 6. which takes care for the preserving the *priviledges* of the *Metropolitans* (by name that the *Bishop* of *Alexandria* should have power over the *Churches* in *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, that in *Antioch* and the rest of the *Provinces* τὰ περιεχόμενα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, the *priviledges* should be preserved to

the Churches) begins with this rule τὰ ἀρχαία ἔδει καλεῖσθαι. *Let the ancient customs continue in force*, which certainly refers to that which was long before the Christian Emperours, and (without any reason of doubting) to the first constitutions of those Churches by St. Marke, and St. Peter, and then the Canon goes on to exact this by way of conformity with other places, with Rome it selfe, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστίν, *for this is the custome of force with the Bishop of Rome*, and upon these grounds the Canon requires καθόλου universally, that if any man be made a Bishop χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ Μητροπολίτου, *without the judgement of the Metropolitan, he ought not to be Bishop*—

6. So in the 9. Canon of the Conncell of Antioch, in the year 341. which begins thus, that the Bishop, which presides in the Metropolis, ought to know the Bishops in every Province, and to take care of the whole Province, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει πασχεῖν σωτρίχων πάντας τὰς τὰ περὶ ματα ἔχοντας, *because all that have businesse, resort from all sides to the Metropolis* (which is the very thing we now contend, to be the reason of conforming the Ecclesiastick to the civill models) and then proceeds to forbid other Bishops acting any thing of such a nature without him, this is backt with these words, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον καλῆσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν νόμον, *according to the ancient Canon of our Fathers, which hath been in force*, referring againe to the immemoriall custome of all Churches since the first plantation, and not the after-politic of Christian Emperours and Bishops, as is here suggested.

7. Lastly, in the last canon of the Great conncell of Ephesus, in the year 431. (which is the defining a speciall matter of Metropolitically right) where the occasion of the controversie is rehearsed, how the Bishop of Antioch invaded the privileges of the Cypriots, contrary to the ἀρχαῖον ἔθος the ancient custome, and the decree is made that the Bishops of Cyprus shall retaine them inviolate, κατὰ τὰς καλῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συνήθειαν, *according to the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and the ancient custome*; The Canon extends it selfe to all other Dioceses and Provinces, that no Bi-
shop

shop shall meddle with another Province in ἡσαν ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡγῶν τὰν πρὸς αὐτὸν χῆρας, which was not upward and from the beginning under his, i. e. his predecessors power, where it is most evident that the Metropolitick power, and primacy Ecclesiasticall is derived from the beginning of the plantation of each Church, and consequently that this was a part of Apostolicall policy, and not onely an after policy of Christian Emperours, &c.

8. And upon these grounds of probation, I shall be competently secured that this is proved, which they doe not believe ever can be, and have no other argument to prove their negative, but their not believing the affirmative.

Section XVII.

Of the objection against Metropoles from the seven Starres in seven Churches.

OF the same temper is their third answer, that they are fully Num. 1. assured that it can never be made out, that any of these Asian Angels were Archbishops or Bishops over other Bishops, or Bishops over divers settled Churches. The seven Starres are said in Scripture to be fixed in their seven Candle-sticks or Churches, not one Starre over divers Candle-sticks or Churches.

2. What they are already fully assured of, that it can never be made out, I shall have little confidence to perswade them was formerly done to their hands; Otherwise I should hope that by what had long since been said, and hath now been more largely deduced in Reply to their last answer, they might find cause to alter their judgements, and retract their so definitive sentence of full assurance.

3. As for the onely appearance of reason, which is here superadded, viz. that the seven Stars are found fixed in seven, not one over divers Churches, this I conceive not to be of any force. For it being by us granted and presumed that each of the seven Asian Angels was Bishop of his particular Church, one of Ephesus, another of Smyrna, &c. It is perfectly reconcilable

cibleable herewith, that in case these *seven* were not the onely Cities and Churches in *Asia* (as it is certaine they were not, all *Asia*, consisting of many more Cities, being before this converted to the Faith) all the other might have dependance on these *seven*.

4. For this we know, that two Bishops in *England*; that were each of them, first in one City, for example in *Canterbury* or *Yorke*, had yet each of them a *superiority* or *Metropolitick* power over divers other Cities, and when any Record styles one of them Bishop of *Canterbury*, as the Scripture doth Angel of *Ephesus*, we should sure acknowledge it a very infirme inference from the words of that Record; to conclude that being Bishop of *Canterbury* he could not be Metropolitan of *London*, *Rochester*, &c.

5. And this is the very parallel to the present instance, and if it were not *invalid* enough, by being a bare *negative* argument [they are not said in Scripture to be one Starre over divers Churches] (all things that are, are not said in Scripture, those Angels have not therefore no names, because they are not there recorded) this parallel instance, which supposes the contrary to their pretensions, would be sufficient to *invalidate* it.

Section X V I I I.

Of the use of the word Bishop for Archbishop in Tertullian: Of Angel in Christs Epistle.

Numb. 1.

A Fourth answer, or rather confutation, is added, That if this opinion were true, then Tertullian did not doe well in saying that St. John made Polycarpe Bishop of *Smyrna*, but he should rather have said that he made him Archbishop. And our Saviour Christ had not given to these seven Angels their due Titles, for he must have written to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, together with all those Churches in the Cities subordinate to *Ephesus*. And so likewise of the other six.

2. To this I reply, that the affirming the seven Angels to have been *Metropolitanes*, no way obligeth us to find fault either

either with *Tertullians* or our *Saviour's* style. Not with *Tertullian's*, for 1. an *Arch-Bishop* is a *Bishop*, though dignified above some others of that order. Secondly, supposing *Smyrna* to be a *Metropolis* (as no doubt, if it were, *Tertullian* knew and supposed it to be) then his styling *Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna*, is æquivalent to his calling him a *Metropolitau* or *Archbishop*, As acknowledging *Canterbury* to be a *Metropolitcal See* in *England*, the affirming *William Laud* to be constituted *Bishop of Canterbury*, is all one, as to affirme him *Archbishop*.

3. Thus when * *Chrysostome* saith of *Titus*, that ὁλόκληρος νῆσος καὶ τούτων ἐπισκόπων κείνης, an intire Island and the judgement of so many *Bishops* was committed to him, what is this but to affirme *Titus Arch-bishop of Crete*? And yet * *Eusebius*, who believed this, and adverted to it, as much as *Chrysostome*, uses this phrase, τῶν ἐν Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εἰληφέναι, that he was *Bishop of the Churches of Crete*, calling him *Bishop* distinctly, though by the mention of the *Churches* in the plural, 'tis evident he meant the same that we doe by *Arch-Bishop*.

* In Tit. 1.
Hom. 1.

* Lib. 3. cap. 4.

4. So againe * *Eusebius of Irenæus*, that he τὰς κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικίας ἐπισκοπεῖ, was *Bishop of the Provinces of France*, which must needs signifie *Archbishop of Lyons*, for so he was. And 'tis certaine that other of the *Antients* use the word Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος *Arch-Bishop*, of those which were no other-wise qualified for that title, as when Saint *Cyprian* the *Bishop of Carthage*, under which the whole *Province of Africk* is comprehended, is by the * *Council of Constantinople* called Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀφρικῶν χώρας, *Arch-Bishop of the region of Africk*.

* Lib. 5. cap. 23.

* In Tralla.
can. 2.

5. The same answer will competently suffice, for the reconciling *Christ's* style and ours, for supposing *Ephesus* to have been a *Metropolis*, the writing to the *Angel* of that *Church*, implyes writing to those other *Churches* in the *Cities* subordinate to *Ephesus*, and need not be more fully exprest, as when the *Apostle* wrote to the *Church of Corinth*, and not onely so, but to all the *Saints* (and so all the *Churches*) in all *Acbaia*. 2 Cor. 1. 1. 'tis certaine that the former *Epistle* was

written to those very same Churches (viz. all under the *Metropolis* of Corinth) and yet it is inscribed to the Church of God which is at Corinth, 1 Cor. 1. 1. without mentioning of *Achaia*, save onely in a general indefinite phrase, *with all that in every place call on the name of Jesus*.

6. Secondly, the word in *Christ's Epistle* being not *Bishop* but *Angel*, is not at all lyable to this exception, For why may not an *Arch-Bishop* be as fitly called an *Angel*, as a *Bishop* would be? nay if it be remembred what was formerly cited out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom 6. that there are seven Angels which have the greatest power, by him styled ἀρχαγγελοι ἄγγελοι ἀρχαγγελος, the first-borne rulers of the Angels; parallel to the phrase in Dan. 7. 10. 13. שרים הראשונים the head, Lords or chiefe Princes, or, as we ordinarily stile them, the Archangels, of which number *Michael* is there named to be one, There will then be more than a tolerable propriety of speech in *Christ's* style, a most exact critical notation of their being *Arch-Bishops*, and withall a farther account of *Tertullian's* calling *Polycarp* a *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, though he were *Arch-Bishop*, just as the Archangels in *Daniel* are more than once called *Angels* in the *Revelation*.

7. For a close of this mater they are pleased to adde their Character, not over-benigne of those by whom this device, as they stile it, was found out for the honour of *Archepiscopacy*, [that they did aspire unto that dignity.]

8. If hereby be meant the *Lord Primate* of *Ireland* in his discourse of the *Original* of *Bishops*, this character can have no propriety in it, he having quietly enjoyed that dignity many yeares before the writing hereof. If it be designed for a reproach to me, I shall elude the blow by not thinking it such. For as at a time when *Episcopacy* it selfe was by the *Parliament* abolisht, and that *Act* of severity actually put in execution) it had been a great folly in any to hope that he should ever attaine to that Office of Dignity in the Church, (and what ever other follies I have been guilty of, truly that was none of them) so I thinke there could not a point of time more commodiously have been chosen in the space of above 1600. yeares, wherein a man might have better secured

cured a *Discourse* for *Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, from the *Censure* of *aspiring* to either of those *Dignities*, than was that, wherein that Book was *published*.

9. To this if I adde by way of *retortion*, that it is evident that they which write this *In Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, doe aspire every one of them to their part of a *Ruling Presbytery*, which their *brethren* that have not those *Ambitions* are farre from thinking to have any *Divine Stamp* upon it, I shall have given an account of the unskilfulnesse of their *Reproaches*, as well as of the *invalidity* of their *Answers*.

10. As for the *feare* which their *Discourse* on this matter suggests to their more *moderate brethren*, that if a *In Divinum* be stamped on *Archbishops* and *Primates*, and *Patriarchs*, they may be forced by the same proportion to put a *Divine stamp* upon the *Pope* himselfe, I perswade my selfe that I have given the *ingenious* reader a satisfactory account of the inconsequence hereof, in a *Discourse* of *Schisme*, to which I shall refer him, if he need, or desire farther trouble or *direction* in this businesse.

Section XIX.

Of Division into *Parishes*, and Union into *Diocesses*. Of *Diocesan Bishops* in the *Apostles* dayes. *Elders* in every Church, A&.14. *Elders* of the Church, A&.20. That place vindicated from exception.

After all this, they adde a *fourth* (whether *Answer* or *suppletory Consideration*) for the conclusion of this *Discourse* concerning the *Asian Angels*, and I shall follow them to that more cheerfully, because it lookes like a *conclusion*. Numb. 1.

2. It is this, That it can never be proved that these *Asian Angels* were *Bishops* in a *Prælativall* sense, much lesse *Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans*. For it is believed upon all parts, that *believers* in great *Cities*, were not divided into set and fixt *Congregations* and *parishes*, till long after the *Apostles* dayes, and that

Parishes were not united into Dioceses till 260. years after Christ. And therefore sure we are that there could not be Diocesane Churches and Diocesane Bishops formerly so called in the Apostles dayes; These Angels were Congregationall, not Diocesane. In the beginning of Christianity the number of Believers, even in the greatest Cities were so few, that they might well meet *ὅμι τὸ αὐτὸ* in the same place. And these were called the Church of the City, and therefore to ordaine Elders *καὶ ἐκκλησίαν* and *κατὰ πόλιν*, are all one in Scriptur.

3. To the preface of this conclusion, that it cannot be proved —] it is againe very sufficient to answer, that when a proposition hath already been proved so farre, that no answer hath been rendred, which at all satisfies, or invalidates the force of the proofes, it is very unlike Artists to say, that it cannot be proved. Nay, although some inconvenience were producible, which would presse our assertion yet the old rule would require it's place, *incommodum non solvit argumentum*, the mention of an inconvenience ensuing, doth not take off the force of an argument.

4. But we need not that warinesse here; the reason which is here annext to prove that it cannot be proved, is of no force against us, For 1. as Congregations and Parishes are synonymous in their style, so I yeld that Believers in great Cities were not at first divided into Parishes, while the number of the Christians in a City was so small, that they might well asseemble in the same place, and so needed no partitions or divisions.

5. But what disadvantage is this to us, who affirme that one Bishop, not a College of Presbyters, presided in this one Congregation, and that the Believers in the Region and Villages about, did belong to the care of that single Bishop of the City-church? May not these be ruled by a Bishop as well before, as after the division into Parishes? Or is this division more necessary to the Government by one Bishop in each City, than to the Government of more Presbyters in every City? In all reason the division of this one into severall Parishes should make Presbyters more necessary after than before such division, that each Parish might have one Presbyter, to officiate

ficiate among them in things of daily use; and upon that account I suppose it was, that when the number of Believers was so farre increased, that all the Christians of a City could not meet commodiously in one place, and when the Regions and Villages so abounded with *Profelytes* that in respect of them also it was necessary, then the *Bishop* of each City thought fit to constitute *Presbyters*, in our moderne notion of them, many in every City, and many in every Region, one in every Village, though as yet the word *Parish*, in our moderne sense, was not come into the World.

6. And so this is farre from being *Argumentative* against us, it is rather usefull to confirme what is asserted by us, that it is against the whole *Scheme* which the Scriptures or first writers give us of Churches, to imagine that in every City there was by the *Apostles* a college of *Presbyters* constituted, when as they agree to assure us a *Bishop* and his *Deacon* were sufficient at the first (so thin) Plantations.

7. So againe when they take it for granted that *Parishes* were not united into *Dioceses* till 260. yeares after Christ; I shall aske 1. whether they were sooner divided into *Classes*, &c. and if not, what they have gained to their *Jus Divinum* by this observat on?

8. But then secondly, 'tis cleare that there might be *Dioceses* before this division into *Parishes*, in our moderne notion; For what is a *Diocese* but a *Church* in a *City* with the *Suburbs* and *Territorie* or *Region* belonging to it? And this certainly might be, and remaine under the Government of a single *Bishop*, as well before as after any more minute distributions into such, as we now call *Parishes*.

9. For it is one thing for the *Church* of this *City* to be divided from the *Church* of every other *City*, another thing for the same *Church* to be divided into many *Assemblies*; The first is it which is required for the setting up of Government; and of any such *Church* so bounded there may be a *Bishop*, and that whole *Church* shall be his *Diocese*, and so be a *Diocesan Bishop*, though as yet this *Church* be not subdivided into more severall *Assemblies*.

10. And therefore when they adde, that there could not

be Diocesan Churches and Bishops formerly so called in the Apostles dayes, unlesse they have some little equivocation in the word *Diocesan*, It is most certaine they have no reason on which to found their confidence, For that there was a Church in each City, and it's territory (howsoever governed by one or more) is most certaine, and equally affirmed by them and us, and equally their interest and ours, that it be affirmed. As for the use of the word *Διοικησις*, that hath oft varied, and hath sometimes been of a larger, sometimes of a narrower signification, and so hath *Παροικία*, the originall of our *Parish* also, but I hope our contentions mult not be alwayes about words, when the matter is sufficiently agreed on among us, and the words sufficiently explained to expresse that matter.

11. And therefore when they adde these *Angels* were congregational, not *Diocesan*, the reply is obvious, they were every of them *Angels* of a Church in a City, having authority over the Region adjacent, and pertaining to that City, and so as Church and Congregation are all one (as in ordinary use in all languages they are) they were Congregational and Diocesan also.

12. What followes of the paucity of believers in the greatest Cities, and their meeting in one place, as also of a Church and City being all one, is willingly granted by us, and hath not the least appearance of being usefull to their pretentions, or hurtfull to ours, and therefore I have no temptation to make any the least Reply to it.

13. That which next followes, though it concerne us not to examine it, our interest being equally secured, be it true or false, yet I cannot but take some notice of it in passing, because it is a little extraordinary.

14. Afterwards, say they, we conceive that believers became so numerous in these great Cities, as that they could not conveniently meet in one place; Thus it was in the Church of Jerusalem, *Act. 2. 41. and 4. 4. and 5. 14.* and thus possibly it might be in most of these Asian Churches in *St. John's* time.

15. Here certainly the word [Afterwards] is relative, and
re,

refers to the *Antecedent* in the former Paragraph, and that is, [*In the beginning of Christianity*] Hereupon I demand, what time is that which they call [*the beginning of Christianity* ?] Is it that wherein Christ continued on the Earth ? If so, they will easily believe us, that we do not think, that *Diocesan* Bishops were placed in the Church, within that period. If it be the time immediately following the Resurrection of Christ, when the Apostles began to preach and propagate the Faith, then how come they to divide that time, which is spoken of *Act.* 2. 41. from that time of the *beginning of Christianity*, by this word [*Afterward*] for tis certain what is there storied of the 3000. Converts, is the effect of the *first Sermon* preached by any of the Apostles immediately upon the descent of the *Holy Ghost* upon them, and the *gift of Tongues*, the wonderment whereof brought those so many Auditors together.

16. So secondly when they say of this point of time, *Act.* 2. 41. *The believers were so numerous that they could not conveniently meet in one place*, This is contrary to the evidence of the *Text*, which saith expressly v 44. *That all the believers were ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*, which in the last paragraph, they interpreted, *meeting in one and the same place*. The like might be said of the other places *Act.* 4. 1. and 5 14. for certainly, as yet though the number of Believers increased, yet they were not distributed into severall Congregations. But this by the way, being assured that this disquisition is perfectly extrinsecall to the matter in debate betweene us, because as at *Jerusalem* the antients are clear in affirming, that soone after Christ's Ascension, * *Peter* and *James* and *John* chose *James* the just, the Brother of the Lord, and constituted him Bishop of *Jerusalem*, which is all that we need pretend to from the story of that Church, so it matters not much at what point of time that was done, whether at the very beginning or afterwards, much lesse how soone it was that that Church was distributed into severall divided Assemblies, the Creation of the Bishop not at all depending on that, as hath formerly been shewed.

17. Hence will it appeare to how very little purpose are those

* Παῖδον,
φροῖ, καὶ Ἰά-
κωβον καὶ Ἰω-
άννην—καὶ
ἐκτελέσαντες
δότες, ἀλλ'
Ἰάκωβον τὸν
δικαίον ἐπι-
σκοπον ἱερο-
σολύμων ἐλέ-
ξαν. *Enseb.*
Eccl. Hist. l.
2 c. 1. *Ex.*
Clem. ὁπέρ
πῶς εἰ

those cautions added, and observations made in the remaining part of this sixth Chapter.

18. Thus, say they, possibly it might be (i.e. the believers be so numerous in great Cities, that they could not conveniently meet in one place) in most of these Asian Churches in St. John's time. But yet notwithstanding all this, there are three things diligently to be observed; First, that these meeting places were frequented promiscuously and indistinctly, and that believers were not divided into set and fixed Churches or Congregations in the Apostles days.

19. But first I demand, Is there any truth in this observation? was not the Church of Jerusalem in the Apostles dayes a set and fixed Church, so as to be perfectly severed from the Church of Alexandria and Ephesus? Was not James the Brother of the Lord Bishop of the one, and not of the other?

20. Secondly, why was this for the Presbyterians interest to be so diligently observed? If one of these Churches were not thus divided and severed from others, how could it be governed by a Presbytery, as they pretend it was? Must it not be a determinate fixed body that is governed by any, whether Bishop or Presbyter? I professe not to be able to discern by my most diligent observation, why this was so necessary to be so diligently observed.

21. Secondly, (say they, it must be as diligently observed) that notwithstanding these different meeting places, yet the Believers of one City made but one Church in the Apostles dayes, as is evident in the Church of Jerusalem, which is called a Church not Churches, Act. 8. 1. & 15. 6. & 22. 16. And so likewise it is called the Church of Ephesus, and the Church of Thyatira, &c. not Churches, &c.

22. This Observation I acknowledge to have perfect truth in it, and not to be confutable in any part (save onely that the two latter Texts are certainly misquoted, and not rectified in the Errata) and therefore instead of rejecting, I shall imbrace it, and from thence conclude, that there is no manner of incongruity in assigning of one Bishop to one Church, and so one Bishop in the Church of Jerusalem, because it is

a Church not Churches, being forced to acknowledge that where there were more Churches there were more Bishops, and so likewise one Angel of Ephesus, and of Thyatira, &c. This I suppose was not the thing they meant to inferre from hence, nor indeed doe I conceive it necessarily inferred from (onely very agreeable to) the onenesse of each Church, without other arguments to joyne with it. But I am still to seek, and emand what advantage accrues to their cause, or disadvantage to ours by this observation?

23. But then thirdly they adde, that this Church in the City was governed in the Apostles dayes by the common counsell of Presbyters or Bishops.

24. This indeed were worth their diligent observing, if it could be defcried, and would abundantly recompence them for the no-profit their two former observations brought them in, if it could be obtained by all their diligence. But this being the τὸ ζήτημα, the onely thing in question betwixt us, whether the Church in each City was in the Apostles dayes governed by the common counsell of Presbyters or Bishops, or by one single Bishop, called sometimes πρεσβύτερος Elder (as that signifies simply a Governour, not with restriction, a member of a College of Governours) this I say being the onely question in debate betweene us, it must not be any farther yeilded to them, then their proofes and evidences will enforce it: And these of what virtue they are, must now appeare by the view of them. And the first they produce is this.

25. The Apostles went about ordaining Presbyters in every Church, Act. 14. 23.

26. But surely this is an infirme argument. Every Church signifies without question more Churches than one, viz. Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, v. 20. 21. And if in each of those one πρεσβύτερος be supposed to be ordained, that certainly will satisfie the importunity of that Text, and the mention of πρεσβύτερος Elders in the plurall, viz. foure Elders in those so many Churches. And if because ἐκκλησία is in the singular number, they therefore thinke that those plurall Elders must be ordained in each of those Churches. This is too grosse a

mistake for *Scholars* to be guilty of, it being certaine that that is not the importance of the phrase καὶ ἐκκλησίαι, any more than of the *English* [Church by Church] or [in every Church] i.e. more Elders in more Churches, one in every one.

27. Their next prooffe is from *Act*. 20. 17. Paul called for the Elders of the Church of Ephesus (one of these seven Churches) and calls them Bishops, and commits the whole government of the Church to them; The like may be said of the other six Churches.

28. What may be said of Ephesus, I grant may be said of the other six Churches, but the Text no where affirms it of Ephesus, and so the analogy will no way prove it of the rest. All that the Text saith, is this, And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called the Elders of the Church. This is not to say the Elders (as that signifies Presbyters in our moderne notion) of the one City, and so Church of Ephesus, but the Elders, i.e. Bishops either of the Asian Church of that whole Region, or at least of the Ephesine Province, the neighbouring Bishops of the Churches or Cities that were under that Metropolis of Ephesus, who by St. Paul's sending his summons to Ephesus, the chiefe City of the one, and chiefe Metropolis of the other (which consequently had daily meanes of communicating intelligence to those other Cities) might thus most commodiously be advertised of St. Paul's coming, and provide to meet him at Miletus.

29. That this is no strain'd interpretation or answer, is elsewhere evidenced, and may summarily appeare by these two testimonies, one of Irenaeus here formerly mentioned, l. 3. c.

14. ab Epheso & reliquis proximis civitatibus convocatos esse, that they were called from Ephesus and the rest of the neere Cities adjoyning to it, This is an expresse evidence, which being allowed puts the whole matter out of question. And although in a matter of fact, a testimony of so credible a person that lived so neere the times, being an auditor of Polycarpe the first Bishop of Smyrna, and is not contradicted by any contemporary, is of a competent authority, and need not any other Topickes to assist it, yet for the removing all possible

possible prejudices from it, and rendring it yet more *indubitable*, I shall a little farther enlarge for the confirming of it.

30. And 1. the *Apostle* at his meeting with them, v. 18. begins in this style, *ye know from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons*; An addresse to them, either as to the *Elders of Asia* indefinitely, as many as could conveniently come to *Miletus* at that time, or at least as to more than to the *Elder* (or *Elders*, if that could be truly pretended) of one City of *Asia*, peculiarly, or *exclusively* to all others.

31. So againe v. 25. *And now behold I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the Kingdome of God, shall see my face no more*; This evidently addresses the speech not onely to the inhabitants of one City, but to all those (as many as were then present) among whom hee had gone preaching the Faith of Christ, and that we know was done by him to the other Cities, and not onely to that of *Ephesus*, κατὰ τὸν παρόντων τὸν αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ διαλέγων κύκλον, in passage (though not so solemnly as at *Ephesus*) going through all the Region and preaching the Gospel to all, saith *Oecumenius* on 2 *Joh*. And so tis expressly said *Act*. 19. 21. that after the two yeares and three moneths spent at *Ephesus*, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ οἱ τρεῖς μῆνες ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, he staid and spent some time in *Asia*, And accordingly v. 26. *Demetrius* truly saith, that not onely at *Ephesus* but almost throughout all *Asia*, Paul had perswaded and turned away the people.

32. Secondly, then the Faith being before this time successively propagated through all *Asia*, and not onely in this one City of *Ephesus*, there were without question Churches accordingly gathered and compacted in many other Cities, as well as in *Ephesus*, before this time of *Paul's* parting never to see them againe. And not onely in the other *Metropolis*, (six more of which are owned by the *Objectors*, *Smyrna* and the rest *Rev*. 1.) but also in the lesser Cities, which were not *Metropolitick*, and yet more especially in those Cities which were nearest *Ephesus*, and which as belonging to that *Metropolis*, had frequent resort thither to the *Assises* which

were there kept *Act.* 19. 38. and so must be supposed to have received speciall influences from the *Apostle's* residing there for the space of two yeares and three moneths, *Act.* 19. 8. 10.

33. To which purpose it must againe be remembred, that as *Timothy* is by *Eusebius* styled τὸς ἐν ἑοῖσιν επαρχίας ὁρισκο-
πῶ, Bishop of the Province that belongs to Ephesus, 1. 3. c. 4. which is all one as to make that a Metropolis over other Cities, and accordingly in the order of Metropolitick Sees at the end of *Codinus*, the Bishop of Ephesus is called ἐπὶ ἑοῖσιν ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἡ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, Primate of all Asia, so *Ignatius* in *Trajan's* time is by joynt consent of the antients affirmed to have written *Epistles* to two Churches, *Magnesia* and *Trallis*, which are known to be Cities under this Metropolis of Ephesus, and to have named the Bishops of each, *Damas* of the one, and *Polybius* of the other.

* Anacletum
& Clement
Patri Ministros
facit Ignatius
in Epistola ad
Trollenses, Wal.
Me p. 222.

34. And as there is no question among any but that *Ignatius* wrote such *Epistles* to those Churches (*Salmasius* cites that to the * *Trallians* ex. resly as the *Epistle* of *Ignatius*, which certainly he would never have done, if he had doubted whether ever *Ignatius* wrote to them; and indeed all that is questioned by him and *D. Blondell* is but this, whether the *Epistles* now extant under his name be genuine or no, not whether *Ignatius*, as all writers accord, wrote seven *Epistles*, of which these which we now speake of, are two) so there is no ground of imagining that they were of a later plantation, than that which is here recorded to be wrought by *St. Paul*, *Act.* 19. All Asia having then heard the Faith, v. 10. and received it in a remarkable manner v. 20. and a great dore, faith *St. Paul* being opened to him at Ephesus peculiarly, which must needs have influence on the Cities next adjoyning to it in a speciall manner.

* Or. ad Ajust.
Glv. de concord.

35. To this I shall adde thirdly, that as * *Aristides* saith of Ephesus, that it was ταμείον κοινόν τῆς Ἀσίας, the common magazine or store-house of Asia, ἡ τὴν χρείαν καὶ ἀπορῶν, their refuge for all wants, so it must needs be the fittest way of conveying intelligence speedily to all the Cities of Asia, especially the proxima civitates, as *Irenaeus* said, the Cities next adjoy-

adjoyning, and so most commodious to assemble those other Bishops to Paul at Miletus and not only him, or those that are supposed to have resided at Ephesus.

36. And accordingly we finde in Eusebius, that the Epistle of Antoninus concerning the Christians, which was to be communicated to all Asia, *πεφανερωθη εν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας*, was proclaimed or divulged at Ephesus, in the common meeting of Asia, as the readiest way to make it universally knowne. Ecc. Hist. l. 4. c. 23.

37. All which being premised, and withall that there is no reason to imagine, that St. Paul at the time of his small parting, (taking his solemne last leave) of them v. 38. should not so much consider, as to call for, or desire to see any of the rest of his Sonnes, the Governours of the Inferiour Churches, to whom he had committed that numerous flock (which was now so universally in such danger of Wolves) save onely those of the one Church, of that one City of Ephesus (supposing there had been more than one there.) This will be a very competent confirmation of Irenæus his testimony, that indeed thus it was, as he hath delivered, that the Bishops of the Cities neereſt adjoyning to Ephesus (as many as by summons from thence could speedily be called together, in all reason the Bishops of the Cities which were under that Metropolis) were sent to meet the Apostle at Miletus, and accordingly met him there.

38. The second testimony is that maxime of the Greeke Scholiast on 1 Pet. 1. 5. *Πρεσβυτέρους γὰρ τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων βίβλη· οὕτως λεγόμενοι.* The Booke of the Acts calls the Bishops Elders, which being avowed by me in the Dissertations, and cleared through all the places in the Acts, they ought, by all Lawes of disputing, either to have endeavoured the refuting of what is there said, or the proving that *Πρεσβύτεροι* Elders must needs there signifie Presbyters in the moderne notion, which having not here attempted to doe, there is no kinde of force in what is here dictated, nothing said but what had beene long since largely and clearly answered.

39. Yet because in the next Chapter, where this place of

the Acts is viewed againe, one argument I see produced in favour of their *pretensions*, which they found in an *observation* of mine, I shall thinke my selfe concern'd to give an account of it.

40. It is this, Pag. 85. If the Apostle by the Elders of the Church had meant the Bishops of the Church of all Asia, he would have said, not the Elders of the Church, but of the Churches. It is an observation made use of by one of those that makes use of this answer we are now confuting, That when the Scripture speaks of Churches in Cities it alwayes useth the singular number, as the Church of Jerusalem, the Church of Corinth, &c. but when it speaks of provinces where there are many Cities, then it uses the plurall number, as the Churches of Judæa, and the Churches of Asia, Rev. 1. 11. According to this observation, if the Apostle had meant of the Bishops of all Asia, he would have said the Elders of the Churches, whereas he calls them Elders of the Church, v. 17. and so must meane the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, and so meere Presbyters, not Bishops.

41. But herein is a manifest mistake; For the observation is not made as is here suggested, of Churches in Cities and Provinces, that the former of them are constantly to be understood where there is mention of a Church in the singular number (without any name of particular City added to it) and that when a Province is mention'd, 'tis alwayes done by Churches in the plurall number; This is the sense on which their argument is founded. But if the Reader consult the *Dissertations* p. 190. He shall finde there is no such thing, 'tis onely this, That in the *New Testament* there is mention made of Churches in the plurall number, the Churches of Judæa, of Samaria, of Galilee, of Syria, of Cilicia, of Galatia, of Asia, of Macedonia, whereas in other places there was as frequent mention of a Church in the singular, the Church in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Cenchrea, in Corinth, of the Thessalonians, of Ephesus, of Smyrna, of Pergamus, of Thyatira, of Sardis, of Laodicea.

42. The cause of that difference is there said to be this, that Judæa, &c. was the name of a Province, in which there being

being many Cities, there were consequently many Churches and Bishops in them, whereas one City with the *territory* adjoining to it being ruled by one *single Bishop*, was to be called a *singular Church*, and therefore that which is said to be done in *every Church*, Acts 14. 13. is said to be done in *every City*. Tit. 1. 5. The sum of which observation is onely this, that one City, with the *territory* adjoining to it never makes above one Church in the *Scripture* style, whereas a *Province* or *Country*, or *Nation* consists of *many Cities*, and so of many *Episcopall Sees* or Churches.

43. This was all that was said in that place, or that was usefull to be said in order to the end (to shew the *Originall* of *Metropolitans*) there. And what a wresting of a plaine obvious observation is it, to conclude it from hence to be my *assertion*, that when ~~that~~ must be, *whenever*, or else the *conclusion* cannot be deducible from it) the *Scripture* speaks of a *Province*, it is in the *plurall number*? It doth sometimes do so, and that was all that was usefull to me. If it had done so but once, though twenty times it had done the contrary, it had been sufficient (for some reasonable account there must be for the doing it *once*, and what could that be, but the *number* of the Cities and so of Churches in each *Province* or *Nation*) much more when there were so *many* examples of it.

44. But this is not to *affirme* that it alwayes doth so, especially when being left at large without any restraint, not the Church of *Ephesus*, or the like, but *indefinitely* the Church, it is very capable of another *interpretation*. For sure when I wrote that, I had not forgotten my *Creede*, or in it the name *Church* in the *singular number*, which by the adjunct of *Catholike* must needs be more than the Church of one City. And having read *Mat. 16*. where the whole *Church* of *Christ* is called *my Church* in the *singular*, a like phrase to that of the *Church of God*, which the Bishops here are commanded to feed, and in the one *Epistle* to the *Ephesians* having six examples of the word *Church* in the *singular*, each signifying evidently the *universall Church*, I might very well be allowed to discern the word *Church* in the *singular*, without any

any addition of *Ephesus* or the like, which restraines it in all the *examples* there produced, to be applicable to a farre larger body, than the *Church* of one City, and consequently be quit from all obligation of making the *Elders* of the *Church*, *Act. 20. 17.* the *Elders* of the one City of *Ephesus*.

45. There is little doubt I suppose but the *Church* of the whole *World*, consisting of many *Churches*, as the parts thereof, may be, and is in *Scripture* called the *Church* in the singular, and so certainly may the *Church* of a *Nation* or a *Province*, especially if it be united together under one *Primate* or *Metropolitane*, as it is certaine the *Churches* and *Cities* neer *Ephesus*, nay over all *Asia* were, according to the plaine words of *St. Chrysostome*, who when * others affirme of *Timo. by* that he was by *Paul* ordained *Bishop* of the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*, expresseth the *same* thing thus, *Διὰ τὸ ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λατὸν ὡς ἑμπροσθεν ἡ Τιμόθεος, ἢ ὡς ἔδον ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, It is manifest that Timothy had a Church committed to him, or indeed an intire Nation, that of Asia.* The like is ordinarily observable of *Crete*, a whole *Island* with an hundred *Cities* in it (in each of which *Titus* was appointed to ordeine a *Bishop* or *Elder*) which yet is styled in the subscription of the *Epistle* to *Titus*, ἡ τῶν Κρήτων ἐκκλησία, the *Church* of *Crete*, and the subscription never questioned upon that score by any, that it spake improperly herein.

46. And consequently there can be no harshnesse in this interpretation, *Paul sent to Ephesus and call'd the Elders of the Church* to come to him to *Miletus*, and in his *Oration* addrest to them called them *Bishop* of the flock and of the *Church* of *God*, meaning them singular *prelates* of severall *Cities* of the *Church* of *Asia*, especially of those which were neerest *Ephesus*, the chiefe *Metropolis* of the whole *Nation*.

47. And so much in answer to that *Objection*, in defence of their argument from the *Elders* of *Ephesus*, as they call them.

48. Another *proofe* of the same is there added *Pag. 85.* Thus, *The Syriack translation reads it, he sent to Ephesus,*
and

* Τιμόθεος
ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου
Παύλου
χειροτονήσεται
τῶν ἑρε-
σιῶν μὴ ἐσπόμε-
νος Ἐπίσκο-
πος. Anon.
ap. Phot.
num. 254.

and called the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, so Hierome, *Presbyteros Ecclesia Ephesina*, so *concilium Aquisgranense*.

49. What authority St. Hierome's testimony is to carry with us in this matter, hath been elsewhere largely shewed, and we may hereafter have farther occasion to declare it, and our reasons of it. At the present it is willingly confest that St. Hierome on *Tit.* 1. doth indeavour to prove that in Scripture, Bishop and Presbyter is the same, and from him *Isidore Hispalensis de officiis Eccl.* 1. 2. hath the same, and both have according to that *prolepsis* changed the words of the Text in the Acts, and instead of what there we read, *sent to Ephesus and called the Elders of the Church*, they read, *sent to Ephesus and called the Elders of the same Church*, expressing themselves the same of the Church of Ephesus. And the councill of Aken (*Aquisgranense*) having transcribed nine Chapters from *Isidore verbatim*, consequently doe the like. So that the authority of *Isidore* and that councill being as great as St. Hierome can make it, from whom evidently it proceeds, may yet be allowed to yeild to the farre greater authority of *Polycarp's auditor Irenaeus*, who hath sufficiently cleared it to the contrary.

50. As for the Syriack translation, it is not here recited exactly accordingly to the truth, For in that, thus the words lie: *וזנה מן מילי טוס שרר איתי לקשישא דעררתא* And from Miletus he sent and called for the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, where is but one mention of Ephesus, not two, as is here suggested from the translation, that it reads, *he sent to Ephesus and called the Elders of the Church of Ephesus*. The short of it is, Ephesus being but once named in that verse, the Greeke placeth it in the beginning *ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πέμψας εἰς Ἐφεσόν*, from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and this being the Originall must certainly over-rule all translations, and accordingly all translations but one to read it, onely the Syriack hath mis-placed the word Ephesus, put it in the later part of the period, quite against all Syntaxis, and for doing so, are here cited, and their testimony made use of to assist Presbytery, when the manifest truth in the

Originall, and by all other translations acknowledged, would not allow them any the least advantage.

51. After they had produced these two arguments, to prove that the Church in the City was governed in the Apostles days by a Common-councell of Presbyters, the Reader would hardly expect that which now next follows in these words.

From all this we gather, that the Asian Angels were not Dissentan Bishops, but congregationall Presbyters, seated each of them in one Church, not any of them in more than one.

52. This conclusion, as the words lie, consists of two parts, 1. That each of these Asian Angels, under the title of Congregationall Presbyters, was seated in one Church; This, if it were meant, as the words sound, were we granting to us all that we contend, and would hardly be reconciled with the third observation, that the Church in the City was governed by the common councell of Presbyters; For sure each of those Presbyters is not a common councell; But I rather believe they have not so soone disclaimed their *promises*, and therefore that it is more reasonable to interpret their words by their principles, than their meaning by their words, and so that by congregationall Presbyters they meant so many Colleges of such Presbyters, seated each of them, i.e. each of those Colleges in one Church; And if that be their conclusion, I must acknowledge it to accord perfectly with their *promises*, which being already answered, there remains no force in the conclusion.

53. And for the second part, that not any of them was seated in more than one, understanding it againe as the words sound, it is no way contrary to our pretensions, for we doe not thinke that the Angel of Ephesus was seated in Smyrna, or in any Church but that of Ephesus, and the territory thereof; and although as that was a Metropolis, other Cities were under it, and so other Bishops subordinate to the Bishop of Ephesus, yet was not any other City the Seat of that Metropolitane, but onely Ephesus, whereof he takes his denomination, as although Rochester be under the Metropolis of Canterbury, yet the Archbishop of Canterbury is not seated at Rochester, but

but some other *Bishop* affix to that *City* and *Dioceſe*. As for any other meaning of it, proportionable to that which we were faine to affixe to the former, I confeſſe my ſelfe ignorant what it can tend to, For it is as if they ſhould ſay, not any *concell* of *Presbyters* was ſeated in more *Churches* than one. Which is as if they ſhould ſay, no one body is in ſeverall places. And I know no *Prelatiſt* that either directly or by conſequence hath affirmed it is.

54. What remains in the laſt Paragraph of this Chapter, is onely to ſtate the *Queſtion* betwixt us, which is all the while no more but this, whether *Tertullian* and *Irenæus* that call *Polycarpe* and *Onesymus* *Bishop* of *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, meane *Bishops*, *Πατριάρχως* in a peculiar ſenſe, or in a generall phraſe, as all *Presbyters* are called *Bishops*. And this I acknowledge to be the only *queſtion* between us, and if *Bishops* doe ſignifie *Bishops*, I cannot doubt but the cauſe is by them adjudged on our ſide; And why it ſhould not, they have, to conclude, onely this offer of argument, that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* had all one name in the *Apoſtles* dayes, and long after in *Irenæus's* time.

55. I am truly weary of the length of this Chapter, and cannot but by conſent have ſome *compassion* on the Reader, and therefore I ſhall bring the matter to this ſhort iſſue. This *reaſon* of theirs is no *reaſon*, unleſſe the word *Bishop*, both in the *Apoſtles* dayes and long after *Irenæus's* time, ſignified a *Presbyter* in our moderne notion; For if both *ἐπίσκοπος* and *Πατριάρχως* *Bishop* and *Elder* ſignified *Bishop* in our notion, this againe gives the cauſe to us from them. And upon theſe termes I am content to leave it, if ever they finde in *Irenæus* that *Episcopus* ſignifies a *Presbyter* in our moderne notion, I will confeſſe them Conquerours, but this they have not offered here to doe, and I have ſome moderate aſſurance they never will.

And ſo much for that Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the equivalence of the words Bishop and Elder in the New Testament.

Section I.

Four sorts of equivalence of these words proposed.

Num. 1.

THE next place where I find my selfe call d forth, is about the midt of their *seventh Chapter*, toward the bottom of *pag. 92. Onel. for the conclusion of this Discourse, &c.* For although in the former part of that *Chapter* they undertake to vindicate their *chiefe proofes of Scripture, Act. 20 17, 28. Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 5. 1 Pet 5.* and to make replies to the *Answers* given to them, and although it is most certaine that in the *Dissertations* every of those places are answered, and shew'd to be fully reconcileable with our *pretensions* for *Pralacy*, yet they have not pleas'd to take any notice of what is there said, which if they had done, I might, without insolence, undertake to shew, that it had prevented all appearance of force in any of their *Replies*; And therefore being by this meanes perfectly freed from all obligation to view any *Paragraph* of that former part of the *Chapter*, and having already said somewhat to the *chiefe* of their places, *Act. 20.* and fore-seeing a fit opportunity for the rest, I shall for mine own, and the *Readers* ease, punctually expect and obey the summons, appeare when I am call d before them, but no sooner, avert their *charge*, and not multiply debates above what is necessary.

2.

Thus then they begin, that *there is a Doctor, a high Pralatif, &c. That in a late Booke of his hath undertaken to make out these two great Paradoxes, 1. That wheresoever the word Bishop is used in the New Testament, it is to be taken in a pralaticall sense. 2. That wheresoever the word Presbyter is used in the New Testament, it is to be understood, not of a mere Presbyter, but of a Bishop properly so called. And whereas we say that the Scripture-Bishop is nothing else but a Presbyter, and that there was no Bishops distinct from Presbyters in the Apostles*

postles dayes, this Author on the contrary saith, that the Scripture-Presbyter is a true Bishop, and that there were no single and meere Presbyters in the Apostles dayes. For our parts we do not thinke it necessary to take a particular survey of all that is said in justification of these Paradoxes, onely we desire it may be considered.

There is so much of the sense of some passages in the *Dissertations* set downe in these words, that I am forced to believe, that I am the Author here charged for these two Paradoxes. That they are so styled by those who are contrary minded, and who have assumed a power, which, if either of these propositions be true, they must be obliged to part with, I cannot thinke strange; And if I should stile their assertions as perfectly Paradox (i.e. as contrary to all the antients sense or Doctrine in this matter) when they say that the Scripture-Bishop is nothing else but a Presbyter, &c. this were certainly an introduction fit to be confronted to theirs, as being equally argumentative. But because this verball eloquence hath little of efficacy in it, and will never be a meanes of evincing the truth of our pretensions, by affirming the contrary to be errors or Paradoxes, and because what is affixt to me, is not intirely my sense, though it recite it in some part, and approach neere to it, I shall here begin with a briefe relation of what is affirmed by the *Dissertations* in this matter, and then inquire what is here produced to invalidate it.

Dissert. 4. c. 6. the method leading to the consideration of the word [Bishop] and [Elder] in the Scripture, the first thing taken notice of was the *ισοδυναμία* or equivalence of these words in the opinion of many. To which purpose Theodoret, Chrysostome, Oecumenius, and St Hierome are cited, as favourers of this opinion, but this with some difference of the one from the other. And for the distinct stating of the *Question*, foure senses were set downe, wherein it was possible that this equivalence of the words might be understood. 1. That both Bishop and Elder should signifie one and the same, viz. a Bishop in our moderne notion. 2. That both should signifie the same thing, viz. a Presbyter. 3. That both of

them should signifie promiscuously, sometimes a *Bishop*, sometimes a *Presbyter*, i. e. that the word ἐπίσκοπος should sometime signifie a *Bishop*, sometime a *Presbyter*, and in like manner πρεσβύτερος signifie sometime a *Bishop*, sometime a *Presbyter*. 4. That the word *Bishop* should alwayes signifie a *singular Bishop*, and the word *Elder* sometimes a *Bishop*, and sometimes a *Presbyter*.

5. Of these *four* senses of the *equivalence* of these words, it was sure no error to conclude, that they were not all of them true, each being *exclusive* of the other three; and although some of the *antients* might be brought in favour to one, more than to the other, yet this was eminently observable, that those that favoured that *species*, which is most for the *Presbyterians* interest to be accepted, doe yet assert the cause of the *Prelatists* as confidently as any. So *Theodoret*, who seemes most to assert the *second species*, doth yet propugne the μίζων τιμή, the *superiour dignity* of *Bishops* above

* τὰς νῦν καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπος Ἀποστόλος ἀνάρχων, &c. *Theo.* saith he, *Titus* was *Apostle* of the *Cretanes*, and *Timothy* of the in 1 *Tim.* 3. 1 *Asiaticks*.

6. So when *Chrysostome*, and *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* approve of the third *species*, and affirms *Bishops* to be called *Presbyters* (and *Deacons* also) and on the contrary *Presbyters* to be called *Bishops*, yet of each of them it is notorious, that they asserted the *superiority* of *Bishops* over *Presbyters*, not onely in their owne, but in the *Apostles* time. And to that purpose the *concession* and *testimony* of *Peter Moulin* was produced, that the most famous *Bishops* of the *antient Church*, *Chrysostome*, &c. did not thinke it any diminution to their dignity that the words *Bishop* and *Elder* were at first conceived to be used in the same sense, which observation being premised, and thereby the *Prelatists* pretensions competently secured, which soever of those senses should be accepted, so long as they that were authors of the *assertions* be permitted to give their owne *interpretation* of them; It was then,

Epist. 1. ad
Episc. *Winion*.

I thought, perfectly *seasonable* and safe to discusse the *question* freely, and to set downe what to me appeared most *probable*, without *prejudice* to any other *dissenter*, and upon those termes, and not otherwise, these two *propositions* were offered to farther consideration of *learned men*.

1. That the word Ἐπίσκοπος in Scripture constantly signifie a singular Bishop. 7.

2. That the word Πρεσβυτερος either constantly signifies a Bishop also, or else commonly a Bishop, and sometime, but rarely, a Presbyter.

These are somewhat different from the two *paradoxes* affixt to me, And in these termes I shall now resume them againe; and cleare them to be no *paradoxes*. And begin first with the former of them, concerning the word Ἐπίσκοπος Bishop. And this is already done, 1. By considering the *originall* notation, and use in the *Old Testament*, of the word Ἐπίσκοπος, then by going over every place in the *New Testament*, where the word Bishop is used. 8.

Section I I.

Of the word Ἐπίσκοπος.

THE word Ἐπίσκοπος naturally signifying an *overseer*, and used by *Aristides* for ἡγέμων the *Governour*, the same *Num. 11.* that *Justinian* calls Ἀρχων ὑπαρχιῶν ἢ Μητροπολίτης, the *Ruler of Provinces and Metropoles*, and by *Cicero* ad *Atticum* rendered *speculator* & *custos*, one that *lookes to*, and *guards* a *Province* (and so fitly styled *Angel*, who is generally deemed to have those two *Offices*, and is in the *Scripture* called an *eye*, and vulgarly a *guardian*) doth in the *Greek* of the *Old Testament* sometime render the *Hebrew* עֵין, which is common to *God*, *Lord*, *Angel*, and generally denotes *Dominion*; sometimes ממוקד a *Preselt* or *Commissary*, intrusted with the *administration* of some *affaire*, whether in *army*, as a *Commander*, *Numb. 31. 14.* in *Mechanicall* working, as a *Master-workman*, *2 Chron. 34. 12. 17.* in a *City*, a *Ruler* or *Prince*, *Nehem. 11. 9.* peculiarly the *chiefe* of the *Priests*; v. *10.* in the *Ministry* of the *Temple* as *Eleazar* (the *Ruler* of the *Levites*)

vites Num. 4. 16. and lastly in the House of the Lord, the Ruler set over that, 2 Kin. 11. 18. And the result of all this is, that it generally signifies an office of charge and dignity and power and superiority over others, all one with ἐπισδτης, πρεσδτης, ἀρχον, ποιμενηνης, τοπάρχης, which are all used to render the same word that Ἐπίσκοπος doth, and so is most fitly qualified to signifie the like, viz. a prefecture in the Christian Church under the New Testament.

2. Accordingly there we finde it applied, 1. to Christ himselfe, the Bishop of our soules, who though he ministred to his Disciples, yet owned the title of Lord and Master, as that which from them belonged to him, Job. 13. 13. Secondly, to the Apostles Act. 1. 20. And for all other places where it is used, it is evidently capable of a sense very agreeable to these premisses, being never once used in the New Testament, but where it will be very commodious to render it Bishop in our moderne notion of the word for a singular prefect in each Church, not a colleague in a Presbytery.

3. This is at large shew'd by a survey of every of those places; First, that of Act. 20. 28. where the Apostle takes leave, and exhorts the Bishops set over the flock by the Holy Ghost: They are there bid to feed the Church of God, i.e. the Christians of the severall Cities of Asia, or neer about Ephesus, as was in the last Chapter evidenced out of Irenæus, auditor to Polycarpe made Bishop of Smyrna by St John, and therefore may well be resolved to be the singular Bishops of those Cities, and not onely of the one City of Ephesus, as was largely shewed in the last Chapter.

4. The second place is that of Phil 1. 1. where after the mention of all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, is added, with the Bishops and Deacons; where although some of the Greeke Commentators, which at the same time assert Episcopacy, do for that very reason, because there could not be

* ἅπτε τὰς πρεσβυτέρας, ὡς γὰρ θεὸς ἐν μίᾳ πόλει πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι, ἔπω γὰρ ἦσαν διακεκριμῆνα τὰ ὀνόματα, Theophyl. in Phil. 1. 1.

Pres-

Presbyter, yea and *Deacon* too, were not as yet distinct, but promiscuously used, the one for the other; here the word *Bishops* for *Presbyters*, as elsewhere the *Presbytery* is used for *Bishops*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 4. adding this reason *, because *Presbyters* ordeined not a *Bishop*; And although many expedients were ready at hand to keepe the *Text* from being usefull to the *Presbyterians*, in case it were granted that by *Bishops* the *Presbyters* were meant, as that *Epaphroditum* their present *Bishop* (as is acknowledged by *Theodoret*, *Chrysostome* and *Theophylact*, who are most favourable to that interpretation) was with *St. Paul* at the writing that *Epistle*, c. 4. 18. yet I have the authority of *Epiphanius* to affirme, that ἐπίσκοποι there signifies peculiarly *Bishops*, and I doubt not but it may doe so, referring it to all the *Bishops* of the severall Cities belonging to that *Metropolis*.

* ὅτι γὰρ πρεσ-
βύτεροι τῶν
ἐπίσκοπων
ἔχειαν ἴσταν.

For such was *Philippi*, both as the first fruits of all *Macedonia*, first converted to the Faith, *Act.* 16. 9 & πρώτη τῆς μετέπειτα Μακεδονίας πόλις, a prime City of that Province of *Macedon*, v. 12. of it selfe, before it's conversion, and so saith * *Photius* distinctly, ἡ φιλιππων πόλις τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπαρχίας μητροπολις ἔσται, and accordingly *Polycarp's Epistle* to them is inscribed τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεικύσθη φιλιπποῖς to the whole province that belongs to *Philippi*; In which there being diverse Cities, and *Bishops* in them, the *Epistle* to *St. Paul* is to be conceived written to them all, (as the *Epistle* to the *Corinthians* appeares to have been written to the Saints of all *Achaia*) and being inscribed to *Philippi*, was to be communicated to those others, as the *Epistle* to the *Colossians* was to be communicated to the *Laodiceans*, *Col.* 4. 16. and that which the *Laodiceans* had received (whether, as *Tertullian* seemes to believe, that to the *Ephesians*, or any other) in like manner to be communicated to the *Colossians*, and the *Epistle* of the Church of *Jerusalem* to the Church of *Antioch* did belong and was communicated to all the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, *Act.* 16. 4.

5.

* *Epist.* 247.

And then all that the immediate subjoyning of the *Deacons* in that place, will conclude, is onely this (which is farre from yeilding the *Presbyterians* any profit) that as

6.

○

* *Epi-*

* πλήθος μὴ * *Epiphanius* saith, οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ ἐν-
 ὁρῶν ἐκ ἐν- but newly planted, there were not *Presbyters* as yet constituted
 ῥέθησαν ἐν among them, onely a *Bishop* with one *Deacon* or more in each
 αὐτοῖς πρεσ- City, in like manner as it was at *Jerusalem* *Act. 6.* where
 βύτεροι κα- after *James's* assumption to the *Bishoprick*, which the *Eccle-*
 λασαδῶται, siasticall writers tell us of, the seven *Deacons* are soone insti-
 ἡ ἐκείνησαν tuted, no *Presbyters* being created in the middle, betwixt the
 ὅτι τῷ κατὰ *Bishop* and them, that either *Scripture* or antient *Record* in-
 τόπον μόνῳ forme us of.
 ὁπισθόκω, *ἀνευ δὲ διακόνου ὁρίσκοτον ἀδελφόν εἶναι. l. 1. Contr. Aër.*

7. And † *Clemens*, *St. Pauls* fellow *Labourer*, mentions it as
 † *Clem. Rom.* the generall practice, that the *Apostles* preaching through
Ep. ad Corinth. *Regions* and *Cities* constituted their first fruits into *Bishops* and
Deacons of those which should come in to the faith.

8. Thus farre is this from being a forced interpretation being
 perfectly regular, and conformable to what we read of those
 times, out of the best and antientest *Records* of them; And
 if in any circumstance we should be lyable to mistake, yet for
 the maine, the *Reader* will hardly thinke it possible, when
 he remembers this very *Church* of the *Philippians* to be one
 of those expressly named by *Tertullian*, among whom in
 his time, *Apostolorum Cathedra suis adhuc locis presidebantur*,
The Chaires of the Apostles were yet extant presiding in their
 due places, which concludes some *Bishop* or singular *praefect*
 to have succeeded the *Apostles* in this *Church* (as in those
 other, *Thessalonica*, &c.) and by *Theodoret*, whose authority is
 most used against us in this matter, to prove that the *Bishops*
 were *Presbyters* here, *Epaphroditus* is expressly affirmed to be
 that *Bishop*.

9. The next place is that of 1 *Tim. 3. 1, 2.* If any man desire
 the Office of a *Bishop* he coveteth a good worke: A *Bishop* there-
 fore must be blamelesse—where there is no reason of doubt-
 ing, but the *Bishop* is the singular *praefect* or *Governour* of the
Church; For the onely appearance of the contrary being
 againe (as in that to the *Philippians*) the immediate subjoy-
 ning of *Deacons* and their qualifications, v. 8. that presently
 vanisheth,

vanisheth, if againe we remember the observation of *Epiphanius*, which he had out of the most *antient Records*, and was found exactly conformable to the expresse words of *Clemens Romanus*, the contemporary of the *Apostles*, that at the beginning of the Church τὰ πληρώματα τῆς διοικήσεως ἔπαυον, before the government was compleate in all the Offices, the *Apostles* and *Apostolicall* persons placed in the Church by them, such as *Timothy* to whom here he gives the directions, created no more but a *Bishop* and *Deacon* (one or more) in each Church, the present state of things neither requiring nor being well capable of any more, in respect of the paucity of the Christians to be governed or instructed, and of those which were fit to be made *Presbyters*.

And although *Theodore* againe (with some few others) interpret the place of *Presbyters*, yet 'tis as evident, he doth it not to the disadvantage of *Bishops*, adding in the same place, that the *Bishops* especially should observe these Lawes ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ λαχέρας τιμῆς, as those which had attained to a greater honour.

Meanewhile *S. Chrysostome* interprets it distinctly of *Bishops*, as I have done, and in that notion of *Bishops* which severeth them from *Presbyters*, such as governe in each City, and addeth the qualifications to be such, as being spoken of *Bishops*, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει, doe agree to *Presbyters* also. And accordingly *Theophylact* interprets it of the πρεσβυτεροὶ and ἀρχόντες, the President and Ruler, without any mention of *Presbyters*.

There remains but one place, and that of the very same nature with this last, and must certainly be regulated by it, Tit. 1. 7. For a Bishop must be blamelesse, as the steward of God (answerable to that notion of the word *Bishop* in the Old Testament for the Ruler set over the House of the Lord, 2 Kin. 11. 18. i.e. the Steward, to whom the Keyes of the House were committed, Isa. 22. 22.) That this is the singular *Bishop* in every City, signified before v. 5. by the Elders, which Titus was left in Crete to constitute, is the joynt affirmation of *St. Chrysostome*, *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* on those words of v. 5. Elders in every City, ἐπισκόπος ὅπως ἐκλήθηται ὁ σῶς, ὡς

* L. 3. c. 4.
 † Arg. Ep. Pastor (or Bishop) that so the labour might be the lighter, and the care more exact. In Crete there were certainly many Cities, Eusebius mentions an hundred, of all which, * saith he, Titus was made Bishop by St. Paul, that under him, saith † Theodoret, he might ordaine Bishops: to which * Chrysostome and Theophylact adde τῶν κείνων ἐπισκόπων, that he might have power to judge or censure those Bishops, as a Metropolitan and Primate over them.
 Arg. Ep.
 13.

ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον, &c. By Elders he there meanes Bishops, as in the Epistle to Timothy, appointing them to be constituted in every City, for he would not have the whole Island administr'd by one, but that every City should have it's proper Pastor (or Bishop) that so the labour might be the lighter, and the care more exact. In Crete there were certainly many Cities, Eusebius mentions an hundred, of all which, * saith he, Titus was made Bishop by St. Paul, that under him, saith † Theodoret, he might ordaine Bishops: to which * Chrysostome and Theophylact adde τῶν κείνων ἐπισκόπων, that he might have power to judge or censure those Bishops, as a Metropolitan and Primate over them.

There is now no other place wherein the word Bishop is used, and by this briefe view of these, I hope the first proposition is competently rescued from meriting the censure of Paradox, whether that signifie novell or strange; this being so conformable both to the nature and use of the word, to the tradition of the antient Church, and the importance of each Scripture, where it is used, that Bishop should signifie ἰδιὸς ποιμήν, the singular Pastor or Governour in each City or Church.

Section III.

Of the word Πρεσβύτερος Elder.

Num. 7.

NOW to the second proposition, which pretended not to so much positiveness, but is set down in a greater latitude of defining, that the word πρεσβύτερος either constantly signifies a Bishop also, or else commonly a Bishop, though sometimes, but most rarely a Presbyter. Of this I shall now need to premise but these few things.

2.

* First, that the nature of the word ἱπὶ commonly rendred πρεσβύτερος Elder in the Old Testament, doth denote most properly, and signifie most constantly (as in all Languages the word is found vulgarly to doe) a Ruler or Governour. This is so largely deduced and demonstrated in the Annotation

on *Act.* 11. 30. that I shall not indeavour farther to manifest it.

Secondly, that as in some places of the *New Testament* the word is necessarily to be understood of *Bishops*, so in every other place it is very fitly capable of that *interpretation*; This is againe so particularly evidenced to the *Latine Reader*, *Diff.* 4. c. 19, 20, 21, 22. and to the *English Reader* *Annot.* on *Act.* 11. b. and 14. a. that I cannot deeme it reasonable to tire my selfe farther with transcribing it.

Thirdly, that if any one or more places shall be thought by any man to belong to *Presbyters* in our moderne sense, as that of *1am* 5. 14. or the like, I shall onely desire, that he will bring any convincing prooffe or *authentick Testimony*, that in that or those places it so signifies, and I shall most willingly grant it to him, and be so farre from thinking it, in the least degree, disadvantageous to our pretensions, that I shall not doubt to evidence it a *demonstrative* argument to confirm them, but shall not need to insit on that, till such prooffe be offered.

Fourthly, that by this it is already most evident, that my *assertion* was not truly cited p. 92. in these words, that *where-soever the word Presbyter is used in the New Testament, it is to be understood not of a meere Presbyter, but of a Bishop properly so called*; Certainly neither my words nor sense extended to the *where-soever*—and, *it is to be*—being onely in a *disjunctive* forme, either constantly so, or sometimes but rarely otherwise.

Fifthly, that if I were not misreported, and the *Paradox* were as high and as *positive*, as it is represented, yet I conceive not the reason why they that have with great confidence affirmed that both *Bishops* and *Elders* do alway signify in *Scripture* their *Presbyters* and no more, (for if either of those words do but once signify a *Bishop*, their *ius Divinum*, and whole cause falls to the ground irrecoverably) should be so much at leisure from excusing themselves, to accuse that for a *Paradox* in others, which is not imaginable to be more an *extreme* on one side, then theirs is on the other.

7. Lastly, that if they *doe not think it necessary to take a particular survey of all that is said in justification of these* (which they thus please to style) *Paradoxes*, which is in effect, as if they should professe to *deny* and declaim against the *conclusion*, without attempting to satisfie any *reason*, by which it is *inferred* ; It might be as just in me to tender them *answers* of the same making, and so to supersede any farther dispute in this matter.
8. But I shall not *imitate* their method, but rather prepare to attend them in it, and having thus farre served them, by undertaking the taske which was *due to them*, in giving the Reader a brieve view of the grounds of my Assertions, which were *too long* for them to *take notice* of, I shall now trace their steps, and follow them which way soever they lead.

Section I V.

Of Reverence to Antiquity, and the Interpretations of the Antients. Of Pralatiſts disagreement among themselves.

- Num. 1. **F**irst then, say they, we desire it may be considered, that these assertions are contrary to antiquity, which yet notwithstanding our Brethren doe so highly magnifie and boast of it in this controversy, and for receding from which, as they say we do, they doe most deeply charge us.
2. That these Assertions, as farre as they are owned by me, and are Assertions, are so distant from being contrary to antiquity, that they are founded in the Records of the most ancient reverend authority, hath appeared most plainly by what hath now been said, and had before been laid, as the ground of the interpretations, in the fourth Dissert. if they, which gathered the conclusion from thence, would have vouchsafed to take notice of the *premises*.
3. The utmost that can be with truth pretended, is, that some of the *Texts*, which we have insifted on here, and so likewise some of those where *πρεσβυτεροι* Elders are mentioned, are not

not by all the *antients* interpreted just in that manner, as I think they may safely and most probably be interpreted, and so as they will best accord with the opinions which those very *antients* appeared to have concerning the *Originall* of *Epi-scopacy*.

In this I hope I have not offended against the *antient Church*, or if I had, as I should have expected other *accu-sers*, than those I have, so should I waite for no other judge but my selfe, and immediately submit to any penance for it.

4.

But they which truly reverence antiquity, discern also wherein this Reverence is terminated, not in adhering to every interpretation of each *Text* of *Scripture* given by any *antient Commentator* or *Interpreter*, for truly that is absolutely impossible, severall of them being known in interpreting of *Texts* very frequently to differ one from the other; This can be no newes to any man, who hath but lightly viewed them, or but occasionally consulted *Tirinus*, or such like later *Commentators*, who have collected the *Interpretations* of the *Antients*, and marshalled their names, and told us how many have been for one, how many for another sense of such a *Text*.

5.

And in affaires of this nature, wherein they have neither taught *Doctrines*, nor testified *Traditions*, but onely exprest their single opinions, or conjectures of an *Apostles* meaning in words capable of more senses than one, I know no *Prala-rist* that ever denied later Writers liberty to recede from one, and adhere to some other of the *antients*, or if more convincing reasons appeared for any fresh interpretation, never given before, the like liberty hath been allowed; And indeed if it were not so, our studying of the *Originalls*, inquiry into the nature of words and phrases, observation of *customes* among the *antients*, and all wherein learned men differ from unlearned, consideration of the context and argument, τὸ λογικόν as well as τὸ ῥητόν of each difficult place, and all the other skills and advantages of a good *Interpreter* would all be unusefull first, and then dangerous, would tempt one oft to recede from some former Writers, to forsake the roade and method.

6.

method (so ordinary) of *transcribing* other mens labours , and by inciting him to say any thing which had not oft been said before, (which if it have, why doth he againe trouble himself and others to *repeat* it) would infallibly involve him under the *burthen* and *guilt* that is here laid on me, of being *contrary* to *Antiquity*.

7. But I am unwilling to discourage them from any sort or degree of *reverence* to *antiquity*, and on condition they will be fairly tried by it in any notion by which they can imagine to define that *Reverence*, or the word *Antiquity*, I will forgoe all my novell *interpretations*, and say no one word which the *Antients* have not distinctly said before me, and refer the whole fate of the cause to this *judicature*.

8. Their *second consideration* is, that *they are contrary to all that have ever written in defence of Episcopacy, from whence they conclude that till their brethren (i.e. we Prælatists) agree among themselves, they need not spend time to answer the private Opinions of one Doctor.*

9. To this I answer , that it hath alwayes been deemed lawfull to any man, which hath undertaken the *defence* of a *Christian cause*, asserted constantly by the *Church*, to choose his *arguments* (as *combatants* do their *weapons*) such as he thinkes are fittest for his *managery*, and will most probably (in his opinion) convince the *gainstayers* ; No obligation lying upon him by the *Lawes* of these *ages*, to use those *arguments* (and no other, nor otherwise improved) which *all* other writers of that side have done before him ; For if this were the manner of the *νομικὸς ἀδύναμις* the *legall combat*, to what end should any *second* writing on the same subject ever appeare to the World ? That which had been formerly said, needed not to be transcribed and said againe, but either the booke might be *Re-printed* or translated into a language more intelligible (as I have here been faine oft to doe) And though I might truly say, that for those more minute *considerations* or *conjectures*, wherein this *Doctor* differs from some others, who have written before him (as to the manner of *interpreting* some few *Texts*) he hath the *suffrages* of many the *learnedst* men of this *Church* at this day (and as farre

as he knowes, of all that imbrace the same cause with him) yet I doe not thinke it necessary to prove my agreement with others of my brethren by this onely medium; It being certaine that they who believe the same conclusion upon severall medinms or wayes of inferring it, are in that, and may be in all other conclusions at perfect accord and unity among themselves.

All that I can conclude from this and the former consideration (the double charge laid on me of contrariety to antiquity, and other asserters of Episcopacy) is onely this, that the authors of them are ill pleased, that I use any other arguments, or answers but what they were willing to assigne me: otherwise if there had been lesse, not more truth, or evidence in my way of defending the cause, they would have had the greater advantage against me, and I doubt not, have been, in the space of three yeares, at leisure to have observed it.

18.

Section V.

Inconveniencies objected, and answer'd. Of more Bishops in one City, No Presbyters in the Apostles dayes. The no Divine right of the Order of Presbyters.

But they are, in the third place, pleased to object some inconveniencies which the defending of these paradoxes must necessarily bring upon me; And to these I shall more diligently attend. Num. 1.

First, say they, he that will defend these Paradoxes must of necessity be forced to grant that there were more Bishops than one in a City in the Apostles dayes, which is to betray the cause of Episcopacy, and to bring downe a Bishop to the ranke of a Presbyter. 2.

To this I reply by absolute denying of this consequence (for supposing the Scripture-Bishop to be alwayes a Bishop, and so the Scripture Elder also, how can it follow from thence that there are more such Bishops in any one City?) 'Tis most evident that this is no way inferr'd upon either, or both of

3.

my *assertions*, nor is here one word added to prove it is, to which I might accommodate any *answer*. Tis on the contrary most manifest, that whensoever I find mention of *Bishops* or *Elders* in the *plurall*, as *Act. 20. Phil. 1 &c.* I interpret them of the *Bishops* of *Asia*, and the *Bishops* of *Macedonia*, *Bishops* of *Judea*, &c. (and render my reasons of doing so) and consequently affirme them to be the *Bishops* of divers (sure that is not of one) *Cities*.

4. The second inconvenience is, that I must be forced to grant that there were no *Bishops* over *Presbyters* in the *Apostles* days, for if there were no *Presbyters*, there could be no *Bishops* over *Presbyters*.

5. Here is an evident mistake, for I no where say, that there were no *Presbyters* in the *Apostles* dayes, but onely that in the *Apostles* writings the word [*Bishops*] alwayes signifies *Bishops*, and the word [*Elders*] either never, or but rarely, *Presbyters*; Now besides that it is possible for those to be in the time of the *Apostles* writing, which yet for want of occasion are not mentioned in those writings (and I that love not negative arguments à *testimonio*, should never have thought fit to conclude there were no *Presbyters* within the time wherein the severall Bookes of Scripture were written, upon that one argument, because I could not find them mentioned there) besides this, I say, Tis certaine that the *Apostles* times are somewhat a larger period than the time of the *Apostles* writings, and therefore that what is spoken onely of the later, was not meant to be extended to the former.

6. For 1. the *Apostles* continued alive some time after writing their *Epistles*, and secondly, some of the *Apostles* survived others; *John*, of whom *Christ*s will was intimated, that he should tarry, and not die till after the coming of *Christ*, and that *Kingdom* of his, commenced in the destruction of the *Jews*, did accordingly live till *Trajan*s time, and by that time I thinke it probable that the number of *believers* daily increasing, there were, as the wants of the *Church* required, *Presbyters* ordained in many *Churches*: And accordingly in the *Dissert. p. 229*, when I speak of this matter, I expressly except

except *S. John*, and p. 211. I make use of a testimony of *Clement Alexandrinus*, on purpose to conclude that this *Apostle* ordein'd *Presbyters* in *Asia*, after his returne from the *Island*, to which he was banished, ἐπεὶ μὲν ὁπισθόπους καλῶσιν, ἐπεὶ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀγούσιν, &c. and to the same matter I * else-^{* Dissert. 4. c. 4. Sect. 4. 5.} where apply that of *Ephiphanius*, out of the *profoundest*, i. e. *antientest* Records, that as *Moses* and *Aaron* tooke to them first the *Princes* of the people, and at length the *Sanhedrim* of the *seventy Elders*, so the *Apostles* first constituted *Bishops*, and in proceffe of time *Presbyters* also, when occasion required, as the *Bishops assistants*, and *Conncell*, and that upon account of this *Analogy* with the *Sanhedrim*, they were styled πρεσβυτέρους *Elders*.

And *Ignatius* making mention of *Presbyters*, as of a middle degree in the *Church* betwixt *Bishops* and *Deacons* in his, i. e. in *Trayan's* time, and that in his *Epistles* to severall of those *Asian Churches*, *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, *Trallis*, I thinke the argument of great validity to conclude, that in that *Province* that *Apostle* had in his life time instituted this middle order. And therefore I that had so carefully prevented, was not to be charged with this crime of affirming there were no *Presbyters*, or *Bishops* over *Presbyters* (which certainly there were, if there were *Presbyters* under them) in the *Apostles* dayes.

And third inconvenience they adde, that by consequence I must affirme that *Ordo Presbyteratus* is not *Jure Divino*.

But that is no more consequent to my assertion, than it was my assertion, that there were no *Presbyters* in the *Apostles* dayes, and therefore I that am guiltlesse of the assertion, cannot be charged with the consequents of it; *John* I know was an *Apostle*, and *John*, I believe, ordained *Presbyters*, and thence I doubt not to conclude the *Apostolicall* institution, i. e. in effect, the *Divine* right of the order of *Presbyters*, though not of the government of the *Church* by *Presbytery*; and so I am still cleare from the guilt of that crime which the worst of *Papists* would abhorminate, which they are resolved I must have layen under, if I had questioned the *Divine* Right of *Presbyters*; though they can more than question the *Divine*

13. *Right of Bishops, and never have remorse or compunction, or dread any charge or sentence for it.*

Sect. VI.

A first confession objected and vindicated. Of the Ephesine Presbyters being all the Prælates of Asia, Elders, Aldermanni.

Num 1.

After these inconveniences briefly touched (and almost as briefly by me averted) they proceede to take notice in the fourth place, of some confessions of mine, *which the justification of my opinion have forced from me.* By this method thinking (as at length they say) *to render Episcopacy*, that is thus maintained, or else my way of maintaining it, *odious and contemptible to all sober, and godly, and moderate Christians, i.e.* to all those, who for the attaining of those titles, good opinion, and good words from them, shall be invited to *contemne*, or *hate* those, whom they are yet pleased to call their *brethren*. And this I confesse is the most compendious way of *confuting* that which would not otherwise be *confuted*.

2. What those *confessions* of mine are, which are like to render my *assertions* so *odious*, I must next take a view, and consider with what *justice* this is said by them.

3. The first is, *that the Ephesine Presbyters, whom Paul sent for to Miletus, were all the Prælates of Asia.*

4. To say that the *Ephesine Presbyters*, in their sense of the phrase, are *Prælates of Asia*, were, I confesse, a *ridiculous*, and so, if they please, a *contemptible confession*, but I have yet been under no such *torture* from their *arguments*, as should constrain such *confession* from mee. What I say is sufficiently known to be my free *opinion*, (and no *forced confession*, such as the necessity of a *desperate* enterprise might extort from me) that the Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *Elders of the Church*, who by summons sent to *Ephesus*, the chiefe *Metropolis* of all *Asia* (and by that convenient way communicated to other *Cities*) were assembled to *Paul* at *Miletus*, *Act. 20. 17.* were, as *Irenæus* assures mee, the *Bishops* of the other *Cities*.

Cities in those parts, and not only of the one City of *Ephesus*.

What harshnesse there can be in this *assertion*, to be rejected as *odious* at the first hearing, I confesse I divine not; That those Cities had *Bishops*, as well as *Ephesus*, cannot be strange, or that *Paul* desired to speake with them before his finall parting. And that the *Bishops* may be called *Elders*, will be as little strange, if it be but remembred, what is at large shewed in the *Dissertation*, that the word *Elder* had in the *Old Testament* denoted dignity and *Præfecture* in single persons, as when *Eleazer Abraham's Oeconomus*, who was set over his servants, is styled *πρεσβύτερος τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ*, the *Elder of his house*, and *Ruler of all that was his* (by *Elder* and *Ruler* signifying the same thing) and so the *Elders πρεσβύτεροι*, of the *Moabites*, Num. 22. 7. are the *Princes of Moab*, v. 8. and the *Elders* of *Israel* are the heads, or *Præfects* of the principall Families of *Israel*, Exod. 6. 14. the *Rulers of the people* c. 16. 22. the *Elders of the Tribes*, Deut. 31. 28. and all this, and much more, before they were called into a *Conneell*, or *Senate*, to assist *Moses*, as appeares Num. 11. 16.

And proportionable to this hath been the use of the word among all Nations, ὁ πρεσβύτερος αἰ τοῦ ἡγεμονίας ἔχει, καὶ τὰς πᾶσις πείθεται, the *Elder* alwayes hath the *Rule*, and all obey him, saith * *Diodorus Siculus*, and so *Seniors*] in all languages is a title of honour and dignity. * L. 2.

And peculiarly among us, as when *Aethelstane* the halfe *King* (as he was called) of the *East Angles*, was saluted by the title of * *Aldermannus*, i.e. *πρεσβύτερος*, *Elder of all England*, and so *Aethelwold* and *Elwin*, so in *King Alfred's Lawes* c. 34. there is mention *Regis Aldermanni* and *Presbyteri Regis*; And accordingly *Mat. 20. 25.* those words of the *Princes of the Nations exercising dominion over them*, are by the *Saxon* interpreted *Ealþowmen pealdras hira ðeodra*, *Elders have dominion over their Nations*, and *Luke 9. 22.* the *Elders and chief of the Priests* are by them rendred *Ealþowm* and *Ealþowmannum*. All taking the word *Elder* for a title of *Dignity* and *præfecture* (and from that notion of it the *Presbyterians* are not observed to decline.)

And then finally that the addition of τῆς ἐκκλησίας the

5.

6.

7.

* *vid. Autho-
rit. Rames. Sec. 4.
and 33. and
S. Hen. Speimans
Glossary. p. 28.
29.*

8.

Church, though in the *singular*, cannot make it unfit for these *Elders* to denote the *Bishops* of *Asia*, or neere *Ephesus* under that *Metropolis*, hath been already accounted for at large. And so still I hope they, and all *godly and moderate brethren* need neither *hate*, nor *contemne* *Episcopacy*, nor the defenders of it, upon pretense of this (so farre from *incommodious* or *inconvenient*) *confession*.

Section VII.

A second confession of the Bishops, Phil. i. i. being Bishops of that whole Province, Philippi a Metropolis, and a Colony.

Num. 1.

Like unto this first, is the second which they take notice of, *That the Bishops of Philippi, whom S. Paul salutes Ch. i. were not the Bishops of that City onely, but of the whole Province, whereas Theophylact saith that Philippi was μικρὴ πόλις ὑπὸ μετροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης τελευσα, a little City subject to the Metropolis of Thessalonica.*

2.

That the word *ἐπίσκοποι Bishops*, Phil. i. i. denotes the *Bishops* of the *Cities* of *Macedonia*, which were under this *πρωτὴ πόλις*, chiefe City, or *Metropolis*, as *S. Luke* calls it, *Acts 16. 12.* is already evidenced to be no strange or violent (I hope as little odious) *confession*. I neede not farther repeat, or enlarge on that, but beare in good part, whatsoever fate is decreed by them to attend that *Confession*.

3.

As for the *Objection* which is here subjoynd, and to which they were directed by *Dissert. 4. c. 10. Sect. 12.* they might, if they had been so pleased, have taken the *antidote* with the *poysen*, observed, and tendred to the Reader the *answer*, which in the five following Sections is solemnely rendred to it, and confuted that *answer*, if they had discerned any *infirm* part in it.

4.

First then, the *answer* is, that that description of *Philippi* in the *argument* prefixt to *Theophylact's* notes on that *Epistle*, was taken out of an *ancient Geographer*, and belonged to that
City

City, as it was built by *Philip*, having been formerly called *Κελωνίδες*, then *Δελφ*: not to the *later times*, under the *Roman Empire*, and that it is no new, or strange thing, that under the *Romans* those *Cities* should become *Metropoles*, which formerly had not been such, to which agrees that of the *Council of Chalcedon*, *Can. 12.* which mentions, *πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῆς τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐνόματι τιμηθείσας* *Cities* honoured by the imperiall *Letters* with the name and dignity of *Metropoles*.

And indeed the saying of * *Strabo* is of evident truth, ordinarily experimented, that *Provinces* were often confounded * *Geogr.* l. 13

Δια τὸς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ οὐλὰ διελθῆν αὐτὰς, ἀλλ' ἔτερον τῶν
 ποτὶ διαδιᾶσαι διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς ἀγορεύει ποιεῖναι, by cause of the
 Romans *distributing* them not according to the distributions
 of Regions or Nations (such as the Geographers antiently
 had made use of) but after another manner, according to the
 Cities, in which they kept their Courts or *Affises*, as before was
 said of the Cities of Asia.

Accordingly when *S. Paul* first comes to *Philippi*, *St. Luke* mentions it under the title of the *prime City* of the *Province* of *Macedonia*, and is not that more to be heeded, speaking so expressly of that *City* at that time, then that *Geographers* description, which no way discovers to what time it belongs, and cannot belong to this time of the *planting* the *faith* at *Philippi*, if *S. Luke* may be believed?

Secondly, the same St. Luke saith of it at that time, that it was *κολονία* a colony of, i.e. a City replenished by the Inhabitation of the Romanes; And of those Colonies in chiefe Cities, there is no question but they were especially chosen to be places of their Assises, whither the Neighbouring Cities resorted for Justice, and so were Metropoles in the civil account.

Thirdly, of this City of *Philippi* tis as evident, that it was the first converted of all *Macedonia*, and that from thence he went after to *Theſſalonica* ; And ſo the right of *Primogeniture*, which ordinarily gave claime to the *Metropolitick* dignity in the *Eccleſiaſtick* account (as in the caſe of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem* appears) belonging to *Philippi*, over and above

above the forementioned precedence thereof in *civill account*, there is no reason to doubt, but this was a *Metropolitick Church*, an Elder Sister to *Thessalonica*, and each a Mother to the *Churches* of lesser Cities of *Macedonia* that belonged to them.

9. According to which it is, that *Polycarpe* in his *Epistle*, mentions *St. Pauls* Epistles in the *plural*, written to these *Philippians*, which learned men interpret of the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and it cannot commodiously be understood any other way.

Sect. VIII.

A third Confession, of Timothies being an Archbishop. Of the qualifications, 1 Tim. 3. 2. belonging to Bishops. Of the Bishops being worthy of double honour, though he never preach. Of the word, and Doctrine. Of the Presbytery, 1 Tim. 4. of Rebuking and receiving accusation against an Elder.

Num. 1.

THe third Confession is, that *Timothy* was Archbishop of *Ephesus*, that when *Paul* sets downe the qualifications of Bishops, though he mention none but such as are common to a Presbyter with a Bishop, yet he is to be understood to speake of Bishops in a *'Pralaticall sense*, and not at all of Presbyters; And when he saith the Elders that Rule well are worthy of double honour—, this is, saith this Author, the Bishops that Rule well— thereby holding out this great error, that a Bishop that Ruleth well is worthy of double honour, though he never preacheth; And when *St. Paul* bids *Timothy* not neglect the gift that was given him by the laying on the hands of the Presbytery, that is, saith he, of *Episcopacy*; And when the Apostle chargeth him not to rebuke an Elder,—and not to receive an accusation against an Elder,—this is to be understood of Bishops, saith he, and not of meere Presbyters.

2. To this accumulative crime affirmed to be confess by me in so many particulars, I answer by avowing my Confession thus farre, 1. that I take *Timothy* to have been Bishop of

of *Ephesus*, and conclude it from 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. then that *Ephesus* was a prime *Metropolis* of *Asia*, from the testimonies of *Pliny* and *Ulpian*, and generally the *Antient Church-writers*: And from those two put together, I hope I may gaine liberty to confesse, that *Timothy* was *Archbishop* of *Ephesus*.

Secondly, That *Paul* 1 *Tim.* 3. 1, 2. speaking of *Episcopacy*, as of a good worke or office, and the *qualifications* required in the person to be promoted to it speakes of a *Bishop* in the *Prælati*cal sense; so I am sure *Chrysostome* doth understand him, and the testimony was lately cited out of him, and *Theodore*t that understands it otherwise, yet applies it first to *Bishops*, and saith on that occasion, that their degree in the *Church* is superior to that of *Presbyters*. And if no higher qualifications be required of a *Bishop*, than are fit to be required of a *Presbyter* (which yet I no where say, and the argument taken from the no-other qualifications here specified, than onely for the *Bishop* and the *Deacon*, are of no force to induce it, both because it is a negative argument, and there is another reason for the omitting *Presbyters*, because in this *infancie* of the *Church* there was not any such need of them, the *Bishop* with his *Deacon*, one or more, were sufficient in every *City*, and besides the qualifications assigned the *Deacon*, may be common to him with the *Presbyter*, as well as those assign'd the *Bishop*) yet that is no prejudice to the superiority of the office, or to my interpreting that *Text* of the *Bishop*; For sure I may as conveniently say, that the *Bishop* is named without the *Presbyter*, at a time when there were *Bishops*, but as yet no *Presbyters* in the *Church*, and that when there were *Presbyters* instituted, their qualifications were to be regulated by the rules given of *Bishops*, as it can be imagined to be fitly said by them, that the place is meant of *Presbyters* (when the *Apostle* names *Bishops* expressly, and when by many other evidences we know, that then there were *Bishops*, but by no footsteps can discern that then there were *Presbyters*) upon no other reason, but that the qualifications are common to *Presbyters*.

Thirdly, For the mention of the *Elders* that rule well, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. I doubt not but it may; very commodiously be inter-

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preted of the *Bishops* through all his *Province*, for as there the style is *πρεσβυτης*, *præside* or *rule*, so 'tis certaine, that in the use of the *Church* this was the title of the *Bishops*, as hath formerly been shewed out of *Iustin Martyr* and others, and the *διπλὴ τιμὴ* double honor *□'שׁו"ד* the priviledge of *Primogeniture*, being assigned as his *portion*, is an evidence thereof.

5. And the inconvenience that is here urged against that interpretation, is perfectly of no force. For 1. if from hence it might be concluded that a *Bishop* is worthy of double honour, though he never preacheth, then from their interpreting it of the *Presbyter*, it will as much follow to be their opinion, that the *Presbyter* is worthy of double honour though he never preach.

6. But then secondly the truth is, that neither of these conclusions follow either the one or the other interpretation, for the first phrase of *labouring in the word*, and the other of *labouring in the doctrine* (which by these are confounded, and so exprest undistinctly by *preaching*) denote two severall things; the former the planting of the faith where it is not yet received, which is constantly exprest by *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, κηρύττειν*, and *λόγος*, preaching the Gospel, and the word; the latter signifies taking paines in a *Church* already gathered, for the confirming and farther instructing of believers. And then as he that doth one of these, may yet possibly not doe both, occasion not requiring, and so not be so eminently worthy of the double honour, as he that actually doth both; so certainly, he that rules well in any *Church*, and beside the care belonging to *rule*, undergoes that other double hard travell (so *κοπιῶν* signifies) of *preaching the faith to Infidels*, and *confirming*, and *instructing believers*, doth very highly deserve the double honour and alimonie; And this as it is the exact meaning of that Text, so it utterly supercedes all force of this objection or exception against our understanding it of the *Presidents* or *Bishops* in the *Prelaticall* sense.

7. Fourthly, For the word *Presbytery*, 1 Tim. 4. 14. by which they say, I understand *Episcopacy*, I answer, that I interpret it of some combination either of *Apostles* or *Apostolical* persons and

Bishops, τῶν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς χάρει^ς & δειωμένων in Theodores's phrase, such as were vouchsafed the Apostolicall grace, i. e. of Paul assuredly, 1 Tim. 2. 6. and perhaps of Barnabas, perhaps of some other Apostolicall person with him, in like manner as both Peter and John style themselves πρεσβύτεροι Elders, and * Ignatius styles the Apostles πρεσβυτέρων ἐκκλησίας the Pres- * Ep. ad Philad:
bytery or Eldership of the Church, and as of Ignatius himselfe S. Chrysostome affirmes, μακαρίων ἀποστόλων χεῖρας, that the hands of more Apostles than one were laid on him, in his ordination to the Bishoprick of Antioch.

To which matter the Scholion of Chrysostome is expresse, & 8.
περὶ πρεσβυτέρων φησι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπων, he speaks not here of Presbyters but Bishops, adding the reason, because Presbyters did not ordaine Bishops, and so Theophylact and Oecumenius.

Lastly for the other two places of not rebuking and receiving an accusation against an Elder, though in those places it were clearly for my interest to interpret πρεσβύτερ^ς a Presbyter in our moderne sense, for then as * Epiphanius saith, there is an evidence of prooffe that the Bishop hath power over the Presby- Cou. Ha. l. 3.
ter (ὡς & πρεσβύτερον ἐξουσίαν ἔχει) Timothy over the El- 1. 1.
der, saith he, but never the Elder over Timothy: Yet I confesse my selfe inclined by other considerations to foregoe that advantageous sense of the place.

Because Timothy being placed in the prime Metropolis had power over the Bishops of lesser Cities, and that, as hath oft been shewed, κείν^{ος} as well as χειροτονία power of judging as well as of ordaining Bishops, which is * elsewhere evidenced to be the opinion of S. Chrysostome, in order to the understanding of this place. And so still the crime is not very great or reproachfull, which I am said to have confest, it amounts no higher than the former confession had done, that Timothy was Archbishop of Ephesus; and yet this you see without any necessity to extort it from thee, save that of speaking freely what I conceived most probable; For otherwise nothing could be more for the advantage of the maine cause I defend, than that πρεσβύτεροι Elders should signifie Presbyters in these two places. 10.

* Dissert. 4. c.
19. Sect. 11, 12.

Sect. IX.

A fourth confession of Titus being Archbishop of Creet.

Num 1.

THeir fourth charge is, that I am forced to confesse that Titus was Archbishop of Creet, and that he received no commission from S. Paul to ordaine single Elders, but onely for ordaining Bishops in every City. It seems, say they, this Author slights the Postscript, where Titus is called the first Bishop of Creet, and slights all those antient Fathers that are cited by his owne party, to prove that he was Bishop of Creet: But he must be an Arch-Bishop, and so must Timothy also, or else these assertions of his will fall to the ground. Now that they were neither Bishops nor Arch-Bishops hath beene sufficiently proved. (as we conceive) in the former discourse.

2.

* Lib 3. c. 4.

That Titus was Arch-Bishop of Creet, I confesse again that I cannot but believe, till I am shewed how the contrary were possible, i.e. how he that was fastned in (and, as * Eusebium saith, had ἐπισκοπῶν the Episcopacy of) a whole Island, which had an hundred Cities in it, and was there placed, that he might ordaine Bishops under him in each of those Cities, Tit. 1. 5. 7. and, as the antients adde, exercise jurisdiction over them, should be other than an Arch-Bishop.

3.

That this was his condition, hath been shewed already, And for the inconveniences that it is prest with, they will prove very supportable. For I shall not at all be obliged thereby to slight either Postscript or Fathers, but give the disputers example to pay them all reverence, being very well able to discern the Bishop through the Archbishop, & having never imagined that the styling Michael an Archangel was denying him to be an Angel. He certainly was an Angel, and that of an higher degree, or else could never have been justly called an Archangell; and 'tis just so with Titus, if I had not thought him a Bishop, I could never have affirmed him an Archbishop, and they that in common speech give him the title of Bishop, doe no way intimate their thoughts to be contrary to mine, for every Archbishop is certainly a Bishop, though every Bishop be not an Archbishop.

And

And therefore if all the danger of my assertions falling to the ground be consequent to this of *Titus* or *Timothies* proving to be no *Archbishop*, I shall deeme them competently safe, for each of them were unavoidably such, *Timothy Archbishop of Ephesus*, the prime *Metropolis* of all *Asia*, and *Titus* of the whole *Island of Creet*, and accordingly to those two, peculiarly as such, directions are given for the ordaining *Bishops* and *Deacons* in every *City*.

4.

And the proofes which were offered to the contrary, have I suppose already been answered, and being not here thought fit to be recited, the replies shall not be so impertinent, as to appeare without their antagonists. Onely because it is here inserted as part of my inconvenient confession, that *Titus* received no Commission from *Saint Paul* to ordaine single *Elders* (which I believe I no where say, any otherwise than that the Commission, cap. 1. 5. was to create *Bishops* in every *City*) I shal freely tell them my opinion of that, viz. that a greater power may very fitly be said to comprehend under it the lesser of the same kinde, and consequently that both *Timothy*, and he which had Commissions to ordaine *Bishops* in every *City*, had also by the same commission power to ordaine single *Presbyters*, where those were usefull to be ordained, as is evident by the qualification of *Deacons* and *Widows* after-mentioned in one certainly, and, as I conceive, in both *Epistles*, for that supposeth their Commission to extend to the ordaining of those, who yet had not been named in them, if we may guesse by that of *Titus*, cap. 1. 5. And so much also of that part of my confession, which is as free and unforced, as the former had been, and I believe as safe to the asserter.

5.

Sect. X.

A first charge of contrariety to Scripture answered. Of visitation of the sick, belonging to Elders, James 5.

Num. 1.

BUT the first and last charge is more severe than any of the former, that these *paradoxes*, as they stile them, are *contrary to the very letter of the Scripture*, as we have made it evident in our arguments against the *Jus Divinum of Episcopacy*, and would farther manifest it, if we thought it necessary.

2.

This I confesse of *contrariety to the very letter of the Scripture* (rightly understood) I lookt upon as so high a charge, that I verily expected somewhat extraordinary to binde it on me, and I suddenly resolved (as I read the first words of that *Section*) to examine those *Scriptures* that should now be produced, *ponderingly and exactly*, and either confesse my owne conviction, or give competent reasons why I was not convinced by them.

3.

But I soon found my expectations frustrated, for as here is no one such *Scripture* mentioned, so for their arguments against the *Jus Divinum of Episcopacy*, I know not where to seek them, and never heard (and verily believe there is no such thing) that they had formerly written any such *Book* against *Bishops*, wherein the *Dissertations* or any assertions of mine therein, were so much as arraign'd by them, much lesse evidenced to be *contrary to the very letter of Scripture*: If I had, I assure them I should then have been as ready to have made my reply, as now I have been to attend them thus farre.

4.

And for their evidencing this in any tract publisht by them before the *Dissertations* were written, by which notwithstanding the *Dissertations* were to be concluded, I have no reason to thinke that to be their meaning, because these *assertions* of mine are by them affirmed to be *Paradoxes*, contrary to all that have ever written in defence of *Episcopacy*, and therefore could not, unlesse it were by *divination*, be taken notice of, and prevented by them.

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After they had exprest their opinion that it was not necessary
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for them farther to manifest the contrariety of my Paradoxes to the very letter of the Scripture, they yet farther proceed in these words,

For When the Apostle saith, James 5. 14. Is any man sick among you: let him call for the Elders of the Church—who is there that can be perswaded to believe that all these Elders were Bishops (in the sense that Bishops are taken in in our dayes) Is this the proper worke of Bishops to visit the sick? And besides, if the Apostle by Elders had meant Bishops in that sense, he would have said, let him call for the Elders of the Churches, not of the Church, unlesse our brethren will say that there were divers Bishops in every Church in the Apostles dayes, in which there were many sick persons.

What the [For] in the front here signifies, I shall not goe about to conjecture, The antecedents would incline me to believe that it pretends to introduce a reason, which might make it evident that my assertions are contrary to the very letter of Scripture: But that sure it doth not any way attempt or appeare to doe, unlesse the πρεσβύτεροι Elders of the Church be supposed here to signifie Presbyters in our moderne notion of the word: But then that is so farre from being granted, that it is knowne to be the onely ἐπισκοπών, the matter of question betwixt us all this while, and so was to be proved not supposed or presumed in this matter.

But bating them this begging of the Question, I shall proceed to satisfie their wonderment, that I should goe about to perswade any, that πρεσβύτεροι Elders, in this place of Saint James, were Bishops in that sense that we now understand and use the word.

And 1. I shall not doubt to avow, that for all that space, that in any Church there were no other officers ordained, but onely the Bishop and Deacon, it must of necessity be resolved the proper worke of Bishops to visit the sicke. That there was at the first, when the Faith was but thin planted, such a time hath already been evidenced out of Clemens Romanus, and the profoundest antiquities that Epiphanius could meet with, And that then this office must either be neglected, or performed by either Bishop or Deacon, will not need any farther proofe.

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9. As for the the *Deacons* in their institution, we finde not that to be any part of their office, and indeede the suitableness of *absolution* to that state of dangerous sicknesse, and the mention of *καὶ ἀμαρτίας ἢ πεποιμένος* his having committed sins, and the command of giving it (in case he be qualified for it) *ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ*, *absolvetur ei*, *absolution shall be given him*, doth render the *Deacon* incompetent for that worke, and so, where there are no *Presbyters*, must needs divolve it on the *Bishop*.

10. And this account hath more than probability, no lesse than perfect evidence in it, if we onely suppose what hath been so oft cleared from the *Antients* to be matter of fact, that where the number of *believers* was small, and none qualified for the office of *Presbyters*, there the *Apostles* constituted no more but a *Bishop* and a *Deacon* in each City. For whilst this was the state of that City, I shall suppose a man sick, and by the force of *S. James's* exhortation, desirous of *absolution*, &c. Who is there supposeable in that City to give it him but the *Bishop*? And whom else can he call to him for this purpose? And then who can doubt but this is the worke, in it selfe very agreeable, and in this supposed case peculiar and proper to the *Bishop*? so that unlesse this supposition be false, nay impossible to be true, I may safely say, this was or might be the *Bishops* worke, to visit the sick, &c.

11. And indeed, if it were not, how could it be by the *Bishop*, when other parts of his office became his fuller employment, committed to the *Presbyter*? For 1. he could not commit this to others, if he first had it not in himselfe; and Secondly, this was the onely reason of ordaining inferiour officers in the Church, that part of the *Bishop's* taske might be performed by them (as when the whole burthen, which was too heavy for *Moses*, was distributed among other men) which in this particular could not be, if before this assignation of *assistents*, it were not originally the *ἐργον* worke or proper taske of the *Bishop*.

12. To this may be farther added the reall dignity, because necessary charity of this performance of visiting the sick, &c. and this arising both from the intimation of *Gods* owne finger, pointing

pointing out this a most agreeable season for all *spirituall* admonition and *comfort*, a *molte tempus fandi*, wherein a word *seasonably* spoken, may most probably find the due *reception*, and wherein the *prayers* and *blessing* of the most *Apostolical* person, or the most *highly* and *justly* dignified in the *Church*, & in the favour of *God*, may come in most *opportunely*, & in this respect we see in that place, that the *prayers* of the great *Prophet Elias* are made use of by *S. James*, to exemplifie the practice, which in this particular he recommended to the *Church*.

And I must needs tell the *Objectors*, that as meane an opinion as they seem to have of this work of *visiting the sick*, I cannot but *affirme* on the contrary, that if it were duely and advantageously managed, it were *extreamely* usefull and beneficiall to the good of *Soules*, and as proper for a *Bishop* personally to performe, when his other publick *necessarie* taskes (wherein many more are concern'd, and wherein he hath no *proxies* to supply his place) permit, as any one part of his *divine* office, differing from the rest only in this, (and in that respect yielding the *precedence* to them) that other parts of his office are, or may be at the same time *extensive* to many, whilst each act of this is terminated in some one, whose *soul* yet ought to be more *precious* in his eyes, than all other *acquisitions* in the world.

Accordingly it is in the * *Dissertations* evidenced out of *Polycarp's Epistle* (who was somewhat after the time of *James* the author of this *Epistle*) that part of the *Bishop's* office it was then esteemed to be, *ἐπισκοπῆσαι πάντας ἀδελφεῖς, τοῦ ἰσθῆναι τοὺς σκευαζομένους*, to visit all the sick, in like manner as in *Jusin Martyr* he is made the *Curator* of all that are in want, the grand *distributer* of all the *liberalities* of the *Church*.

As for the onely *objection* that is here tendered against this interpretation of the place, from the *singular* [ἐκκλησίας of the *Church*] not of the *Churches*, the answer is obvious, that this *Epistle* of *James* being written to all the *Jewes* in *dispersion*, *Jam. 1. 1.* these could not make up any one particular *Church* of any single *denomination*, but yet all conjoyne very fitly in that one *Universal* style of ἐκκλησία, the *Church*. In this respect we know 'tis called the *Catholick Epistle* of *James*, because written to the whole *Church* of the *Jewes*, all

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* *Dissert* 4 21,
21.

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the *believers* of that nation, wheresoever *disperst* out of their *Countrey*.

16. Now these inhabiting in *divers* Cities, it is as certaine there were *divers Bishops* in this *circuit*, and so the *πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, the *Elders of the Church*, are most commodiously set to expresse these severall *Bishops*, belonging to this *complex* body, the *Church* of the *dispersion*.

17. Not that there were more of these in *one City*, for that consideration would never have caused the *plural* expression, because were there never so *many*, the *sick person* needed not have called *more* at once (and upon that score I shall demand of them that argue from the *number*, was every *sick man* in their opinion, to call for the whole *Presbytery*?) nor againe because there were not as many *Churches* as *Elders*, but onely because these many *particular Churches*, of which there was an *equal* number of *Elders*, were very fitly comprehended under the one *general ἐκκλησία*, the *Church* in the singular number.

SECT. XI.

A last objection from ACT. 21. 18. and 14. 3. and 11. 30. answered. Elders for Rulers or Bishops.

Num. 1.

There yet remains one sort of *Objections* more against these *Paradoxes*, in these words.

Besides, when it is said, ACT 21. 18. Paul went in with us unto James, and all the Elders were present, It is supposed by our *Episcopall men*, that James was at this time *Bishop* of Jerusalem. Now we demand, who were these *Elders*? were these also *Bishops* of Jerusalem? Will this answer consist with our brethrens judgement? so likewise when it is said, ACT. 15. 4. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the Church, and of the Apostles and Elders, we demand, what is meant by the Church? Is it not meant the Church of Jerusalem, to which place they are said to come? And if so, then we aske farther, what is meant by the Elders? Must it not be answered, that by Elders are meant the Elders of Jerusalem? And then let any man tell us, how these Elders,

Elders can be said to be Bishops in a Prelatical sense, especially according to the sense of our brethren, who make James to be at this time the onely Bishop of Jerusalem. Adde farther, It is said, ACT. 14. 3. When Paul and Barnabas had ordained them Elders in every Church, ACT. 11. 30. They sent reliefe to the Elders, &c. Can any imagine that this reliefe was sent onely to Bishops, and that Paul and Barnabas ordained no Presbyters in any Church, but onely Bishops? Is not this to offer manifest violence to the Scriptures? and instead of upholding of Episcopacie, is not this sufficient to render it odious and contemptible to all sober, and godly, and moderate Christians? But we forbear.

It seems we have still remaining another heape of inconvenient Confessions that we labour under; And upon them, more socratico, they make their demands; And although I might justly wonder why they which have read the *Dissertations*, and know what answer I give to every of their demands, should be at the trouble to aske them againe, yet because I am resolved not to be weary of attending them, I shall answer them as punctually as they could wish, and patiently support all the odium that will result from thence, among all sober, and godly, and moderate Christians.

Here onely I desire two things may be remembred, which have already been evidenced, 1. that the word *πρεσβύτεροι* Elders, in the style of the *Old Testament*, in the continued use of all languages, being an expression of power and dignity, is in the *New Testament* upon all reasonable accounts as properly applicable to the Rulers and Governours Ecclesiastical, as the word *Apostles*, or *Bishops*, or *Presidents*, or *Rulers*, or any the like would be thought to be, and withall very fit to expresse single Rulers in each particular Church (in case any such may otherwise appeare to be mentioned in Scripture) there being no propriety in the word, or peculiarity in the usage of it, to incline it to joynt power of Collegues ruling in common.

Accordingly evidences have been produced in the *Dissertations* to shew the continuance of this usage among Authors after the Scripture-time, that it long remained in the language of the Antients, Polycarpe, Papias, Irenaus, Clemens Alexandrinus,

drinus and *Tertullian*, many of which are knowne and by the *adversaries* acknowledged to assert *Episcopacy* in our moderne sense, and yet use the word *Πρεσβύτεροι* *Elders*, to denote sometimes the *Apostles*, sometimes the singular *Bishops* in each Church.

5. And therefore the affirming this one thing, so attested and confirmed, viz. that the word *Πρεσβύτεροι* may very conveniently be interpreted *Bishops*, as oft as the circumstances of the *Text* will beare it, will not, I hope, still be so *unfortunate* as to fall under the *censure* of *Paradoxe* and *odious*, being indeed a plaine obvious observation, which hath nothing of difficulty or *harshnesse* in it.
6. Having præmised this, I shall onely adde, that the *Apostles* being by all *Prælatists* (I hope convincingly) affirmed and proved to have ordained *Bishops* in every *City* of *Converts* and *proselites* to the *Faith*, and there being many such *Cities* in *Judæa*, besides *Ierusalem*, and consequently many *Bishops* in those *Cities*, one in each, it can be no new thing to conclude, that when we read of *Bishops* in the plural within that pale of *Judæa*, these are the *Bishops* of *Judæa*, and so in like manner when we finde the *Bishop* of *Ierusalem* mentioned separately, and then those others with him, (expressed by any title which signifies *Bishops*, be it *Ἐπίσκοποι* or *Πρεσβύτεροι* it matters not) and with all, these never expressed to be *Πρεσβύτεροι ἐκκλησίας Ἱερουσαλήμ* *Elders of the Church of Ierusalem*, but either *Elders* simply, or else *in* or *at* *Ierusalem*, denoting onely the *place*, where, at that time, they were *present*, it will be as little harsh to inferre, that at such time there were assembled or met together at *Ierusalem*, *James* the *Bishop* of that *Metropolis*, and the other *Bishops* of the whole *region*, the *Bishops* of *Judæa* with him.
7. From hence there will now be no difficulty to make a briefe answer to each of their demands, 1. that *Act. 21. 18.* the *Elders* which were present with *James* the *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, were the *Bishops* of *Judæa* which were then, upon the emergent affaires of the *Church*, present at *Ierusalem*, whether all of them assembled in *Conncel*, to receive an account of *Saint Pauls* transactions and successes among the *Gentiles*,

titles v.19. or many of them on any other Ecclesiasticall concernment.

But that which puts it out of question, that it was *all* of them in *Councell*, is, what follows v.25. where they referre to the *decrees* which had been *conciliarly* delivered v.15. by them, who are now there present, *we have written and concluded*. And what *Paradox* can there be in this, that all the *Bishops* of *Judea* should be in *Councell* at *Hierusalem*. and *St Peter* and *St John* with them, and that *St. Paul* should come and give an account of his *travailes* and actions in their presence.

8.

The same answer certainly belongs to the place next mentioned c.15.4. where after mention of their *Reception* by the *Church*, follows [and of the *Apostles* and *Elders*] by the *Church* is meant the *Believers* that were at *Jerusalem*, whether *inhabiting* there continually, or now occasionally present there. By the *Apostles*, *James* the Brother of the Lord, the then *Bish.p* of the *Metropolis*, together with *Peter* and *John* the known *Apostles* of *Christ*, this *James* by them set over that *Church*, saith * *Clemens* and † *Hegeppus*, and by *S. Paul* himself reckoned among the *Apostles*, *Gal*.1.19. and so in the title of his *Epistle*, and named before *Peter* and *John* the two *prime Apostles*, as being in this his See, *Gal*.2.9. and exprest to pronounce the *decree* in the *Councell*, 'Εγώ κείνω, I *udge*, *Act*.15.19. and this confirm'd by the *testimonies* of those *Antients* that the *Presbyterians* make the most frequent use of, *Theodore*t and * *St. Hierome*; the former expressly affirming of those times, that they which were after styled *Bishops*, were then called *Apostles*, and the latter styling this *James* particularly, *Apostolum decimum tertium*, the thirteenth *Apostle*.

* *Πολύτ.* l.6.
† *Περύμει.*

* *Commen. in*
1/a.

And then what can be more agreeable to the *Context* (to make the *Councell* complete, a *Councell* for the *Church* of *Syria*, &c. to appeal to) then to render the *Elders* the *Bishops* of all *Judea*, which were certainly fitter for the turne to joyne in the *Councell*, and give *Law* to other *Cities*, then the bare *Presbyters* of the one *City* of *Jerusalem* could have been esteemed, if any such there had been in the *Church* so early.

10.

11. For though of the *Apostles*, who had an *universall* jurisdiction, and of the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem* (as that was the *prime Metropolis* not only of *Judaea*, but *Syria* also) with the *Bishops* of the whole *Province* in *Councell* with him, some reasonable account may be given, why they should be consulted by the *Church* of *Antioch*, and give binding decrees in that matter, to all that were subject to that *Metropolis*, yet supposing the *Church* of *Jerusalem* to be governed by *Presbyters*, and that (as these say) the *Elders* mentioned in the *Councell* were none but the *Presbyters* of that particular *Church*, there could no reasonable account be given, why they should joyn with the *Apostles* in this worke, wherein not *Jerusalem*, of which alone they were *Presbyters*, but *Antioch* and other *Cities* of *Syria* and *Cilicia* were immediately concerned, and concluded by the sentence of *James*, that must be, (according to their opinion) of one of the *Presbyters* of *Jerusalem*.

12. In the next place what is said of *Act. 14.23.* and *Act. 11.30.* is somewhat unhappily put together, and yet not rectified in the *Errata*. For 1. the ordaining *Elders* in every *Church* to which *Act. 11.30.* is affixt, is not mentioned there, but *Act. 14.23.* and the sending *reliefe*, which in the *Syntaxes* must be affixt to *Act. 14.23.* is not to be met with there, but *Act. 11.30.* But this were imputable to some haste either of *Scribe* or *Compositor*, were there not a second incongruity interweaved in it, viz. that when *Paul* and *Barnabas* had ordeined them *Elders*, &c. (which was not done till *Act. 14.23.*) They sent *reliefe* to the *Elders*, (which was done *Act. 11.30.*) which is an evident *παραδοξασμὸς* which I cannot discern how it was usefull for them to be guilty of.

13. As for their *Quæres* raised on these two *Texts*, the *Answers* are obvious, and here to be translated out of the *Dissertations* as formerly, that the *πρεσβύτεροι Elders Act. 11.30.* are the *Bishops* of the severall *Cities* of *Judaea*, not the *Presbyters* of that one *City Jerusalem*.

14. For 1. the *famine* that occasioned this charity of the *Antiochians*, was ἐφ' ὅλῳ τῷ οἰκουμένῳ, not upon *Jerusalem* alone, but all the *World*, i.e. in the *Scripture* stile, *Lu. 21.26.*

Rom.

Rom. 10. 18. over the whole Land of *Judea*, according to the manner of the *Septuagint*, who oft render *הארץ* the earth or the Land, when it signifies the Land of *Judea*, by *οικουμένη* the World, As *Isa.* 10. 23. and 13. 5. 9. and 24. 1. and accordingly *Iosephus* saith of this time of *Claudius's* Reigne *μέγαρ λιμὸν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γένεσθαι*, that there was a great famine over *Judæa*.

Secondly, the charity is distinctly said to be designed by the Donors, *τοῖς καλοῦντοσιν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς*, to the brethren that dwelt in *Judæa*, in no wise confined to *Jerusalem*, nor consequently can the *Elders* to whom it was sent, and in whose hands it was put, be any others than the *Elders*, i. e. say we, *Bishops* of all *Judæa*.

Thirdly, it is very agreeable to the office of *Bishops*, as we find the practice in the *Primitive Church*, to be the receivers and stewards and dispensers of the wealth of any sect, which was brought in to the Church, whether by the offertory of the faithful in the Sacrament, or by the liberality of other Churches, enlarged to those that were in want. It being *Iustin Martyr's* affirmation of the first times, that all the offerings were brought to the *Προσβύτης* or President, and that he was thereby made *κνδευμὸν* the Curator of all that were in want.

And when what is sent to the *Bishop* is supposed to be sent to him, as the *Oeconomus* or steward of the Church, not for the enriching himself, but to provide for those that wanted, I cannot imagine why this may not be as conveniently supposed, as that it should be sent to the *Presbyters* onely.

So in like manner the *Προσβύτης* *Act.* 14. 23. are *Bishops* againe, and such and only such (as farre as we have any footsteps of it) were at that time ordained in the Churches, one in every City where the Gospel was received with one or more *Deacons* to attend him.

And to this as the words so often mentioned out of *Clementis Romanus* are most evident, that the *Apostles* of Christ preaching through Cities and Regions, constituted their first *ἐπισκοπὴν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ διακόνους* for *Bishops* and *Deacons*, so the

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19.

context in this place of the *Acts* is very agreeable: For here when *Paul* and *Barnabas* had *preacht* and converted a competent number at *Derbe*, v. 12. and returned to the *Cities* of *Lystra*, *Iconium* and *Antioch* v. 22. *confirming the soules of the brethren*, i.e. the *faithfull*, there it followes, before their parting; that they *ordained Elders* καὶ ἐκκλῆσιας in every *Church*, that sure is in every of the *Churches* here named, not many in each, but *Elders* in all, one *Bishop* in every *Church*, which again is no news for me or any *Prelatist* to affirm, when in the *Epistle to Titus*, *St. Paul's* direction is conformable to his *practice*, appointing him to *ordaine Elders* κατὰ πόλιν, *City by City*, or in every *City*, c. 1. 5. and presently calling the *Elder* so to be *ordained Bishop*, as in the *Epistle to Timothy* he is also called.

20.

Thus much paines I shall not grudge to have taken, if it be but to rescue a small *booke*, very innocently meant, from the charge of two such *Paradoxes*, as they are called by those, who have not thought fit to *believe* them, and are as unwilling that others should, and therefore conclude their discourse against them with *tragicall expressions* of offering manifest violence to the *Scriptures*, of being *sufficient*, instead of *upholding Episcopacy*, to render it odious and contemptible, &c. And when they have said so much with so little weight of reason to justify it, they will then part with all *meeknesse* and perfect *temper* [but we forbear] i. e. *abstaine* to adde more, when they had said as much ill as could be. I am sorry there was still any *more bitterness* within, to be *supprest*, when there was so much *vented*. However it is, we are now at end of a *second post*, and to have time to breath a while after some *lassitude*.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Opinion of Antiquity in this
Question.

Sect. I.

The Testimonies of Clemens Romanus, Bishops and Deacons the onely offices at the first. Corinth Metropolis of Achaia. What $\chi\omega\epsilon\alpha$, signifies. The Apostles care to prevent contentions about Episcopacy. Hegesippus's testimony of the contentions at Corinth. Clement a Bishop.

Some things there are yet behind in their Appendix, Num 1.
Wherein I discern my selfe to be concern'd, in some directly and immediately, in others by remoter obligation, as when some of those testimonies of Antiquity, which are in the Dissertations manifested to be perfectly reconcileable with our pretensions, and some of them evident confirmations of them; are yet by these Writers crudely taken up, and made use of, as Testimonies on their side, without ever taking notice of that which is said in the Dissertations to cleare the contrary.

Of the former sort, wherein I am more immediately pointed at, there are *four* things. First, Concerning one testimony of St. Hierome. Secondly, concerning Ignatius his Epistles in generall, and the *appeales* that I make to his *authoritie*, which they will not allow to have force with them. Thirdly, concerning one testimony cited by them out of St. Ambrose on Ephes. 4. and answered by me, but that answer disliked and rejected by them. Fourthly, concerning the *Chorepiscopi*. Of the second sort, are the testimonies out of Clemens Romanus, Polycarpe, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, especially the two former of them.

I shall therefore briefly survey every one of these, and I suppose I have pitcht on the most convenient Method (and that which will give the Reader the clearest view both of the judgement of Antiquity concerning Episcopacy in generall

(to which their *Appendix* professeth wholly to be designed) and more particularly of the truth of those *two* propositions which have been accused as *Paradoxes* in me, but will now appeare not to be such) by taking these *testimonies*, as they lie in the order of *time*, wherein the *Authors* lived, and then that of *St. Hierome*, which happens to be first mentioned by them, p. 102. will fall to be one of the *last* to which we shall make reply.

4.
P. 104.

Clem. ad Corin.
P 54.

First then for *Clemens*, they thus begin, *sure we are that Clemens, who lived in the first century, in his famous Epistle to the Corinthians (an undoubted piece of antiquity) makes but two Orders of Ministry, Bishops and Deacons.* And having set downe the place which testifies this, * καὶ χρεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει κυριώτερος καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὰς ἀποστολὰς εὐλοῖν, δογματίζοντες καὶ πνεύματι, ἐκ ἐπακοῆς ἢ διακόνος τῶν πολλῶν πιστεῖν, and rendered it thus, *Christ Iesus sent his Apostles through Countries and Cities, in which they preached and constituted the first fruits (approving them by the spirit) for Bishops and Deacons to those who should afterwards believe.* From hence they observe, p. 105. *That Bishops and Deacons were the onely orders of Ministry in the first Primitive Church. And that the Apostles appointed but two Officers (that is Bishops and Deacons) to bring men to believe, because when he had reckon'd up three Orders appointed by God amongst the Jewes, High-Priest, Priests, and Levites: coming to describe Orders appointed by the Apostles under the Gospell, he doth mention onely Bishops and Deacons.*

5. And here one would think were little for the *Presbyterians* advantage, even no more than one of my *Paradoxes* would have afforded them, which, from this very *testimony* and some other, concluded that which was then so *strange* for them to heare (yet now can be confest by them) that the *Apostles* at their first *plantations* contented themselves with *Bishops and Deacons*, one of each, or perhaps more of the latter in every *City*.

6. But when these men thus grant the *conclusion* from this place, which I inferr'd, I have yet no reason to boast of their *liberality*, because I suppose in their meaning, that by *Bishops* *Clement* meant.

meant *Presbyters*, though this they do not so much as say in twice repeating of their conclusion.

And yet certainly it needed more than *saying*, proving by some evidence or argument, that *Ἐπίσκοποι Bishops* in that place signifies any thing else but *Bishops*. All that they offer toward a reason for this, must be contained in these words of theirs that follow in the former place.

The occasion of that *Epistle* seemes to be a new sedition raised by the *Corinthians* against their *Presbyters*, p. 57. 58. *Clemens* to remove their present sedition tell them how God hath alwayes appointed severall orders in his Church, which must not be confounded; in the Jewish Church he appointed High-Priest, Priests and Levites, And then tells them for the time of the Gospell that Christ Jesus sent his Apostles as before, citing the words of *Clement* already set down.

But certainly this doth not prove *Bishops* in that *Epistle* to be no more than *Presbyters*, but may as fully be argumentative for me, that *πρεσβύτεροι Elders* in that *Epistle* signifie *Bishops*. The onely imaginable medium of prooffe, which can be usefull for their turne, I shall suppose to be this, that *Corinth* was but one City, and therefore *πρεσβύτεροι Elders* at, and of *Corinth*, must needs be *Presbyters*, because according to our opinion there were not more *Bishops* in one City.

But to this I answer, 1. That what *Clement* saith in the testimony now produced, he speakes not of *Corinth* peculiarly, but of the Cities, and Regions in generall, which the Apostles converted, and of them in the plurall number, κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεως, through Regions and Cities, and then in those many Cities, there may well be many *Bishops*, and yet certainly no more than one in one City.

Secondly, that this *Epistle* of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* was not to the *Christians* of that one City, but to the whole Province of *Achaia*, of which *Corinth* was the Metropolis, and wherein the *Proconsul* of *Achaia* resided, and kept his Courts, Act. 18. 12. 15. So the Title of the *Epistle* inclines, being inscribed to the Church *κατακλησαν Ῥώμης*, which denotes the whole Province, then called *κατακλησαν*, as when in

7.

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11.

Polycarp's Epistle, the Church *παρχύσα φιλιπποῖς*] is not onely that of the *ity Philippi*, but of the *Province* belonging to it; and in the other part of the title of this *Epistle*, *ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ πατριάρχου πᾶσι*, the Church of God dwelling about Rome,] in the Church of Rome, and all that belonged to that *Metropolis*, called by *Ignatius* τόπος χωρὶς Ῥωμαίων, the place of the Region of the Romans, i. e. the City, and the whole Region about it; And so when *Eusebius* mentions *Dionysius* the famous Bishop of Corinth, he calls him Bishop τῆς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πατριάρχας, of the Province of, or about Corinth.

* L⁴ 6. 23.

12.

And that this is the truth of it, and no conjecture of mine may appeare by one character in the *Epistle*; He tells them that they had formerly received *Epistles* from St. Paul. This directs to resolve that these to whom this *Epistle* was addrest, were the same to whom St. Paul's were formerly sent, And it is evident that those were the *Saints* or *Christians* in all *Achaia*, 2 Cor. 1. 1. And the same is doubtlesse implied by the phrase in every place, 1 Cor. 1. 2. not in every place simply of the *World* (for it was no *Catholick Epistle*, but a particular admonition for particular faults, incest, &c.) but in that whole *Province* or *Region* of *Achaia*. So that which *Apollos* is said to have done among them (*Apollos* hath watered) 1 Cor. 3. 6. appeares by the story *Act.* 18. 27. to have belonged to all *Achaia*. And so what the *Apostle* writes to them of sending their offertory to *Judaea*, 1 Cor. 6. 1. 2 Cor. 8. and 9. doth appeare by *Rom.* 15. 26. to appertain to all *Achaia*, *Macedonia*, saith he, and *Achaia* have pleased to make a contribution; and 2 Cor. 9. 2. I know your forwardnesse, that *Achaia* hath been ready above a yeare agoe. Where the [*ὑμεῖν* you] and [*Achaia*] must needs be of the same latitude, and so againe it is c. 11. 9. compared with v. 18. And so those of St. Paul, and consequently this of *Clement* was not to the City of Corinth alone, but to all the Churches of *Achaia*, and if among them there were more Bishops than one, there will certainly be no newes in that, and if those Bishops (according both to the nature of the word, and the use of it in those dayes before and after *Clement*) were styled some-

sometimes ἐπισκοποι; sometimes πρεσβύτεροι also, then all is very agreeable to all that we contend for, that there was *one Bishop*, not a College of *Presbyters* in Clements dayes in every City.

And this is directly the importance of Clements words, as they lie in the *Epistle*, ἐξ ἐπιμνησθῆναι, saith he, ὁ Χρῆστος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Christ was sent out from God, and the Apostles from Christ (*As my Father sent me, so send I you*) And then to shew that the *Bishops* were in the same manner sent, i. e. *commissionated* by them, he addes, that they, i. e. the *Apostles* ἐξῆλθον ἐνταγγελίζουσι went out Preaching, κατὰ χῶρας αὐ, &c. Therefore Preaching through Regions and Cities, they constituted their first fruits—for Bishops and Deacons, Cities and Regions in the *Plurall*, and Bishops and Deacons proportionable thereto.

13.

And when he addes that they were thus made of their first fruits, i. e. of those that were first converted by them, and to this end, that they might be officers of those which should after believe (supposing that there were not many now that did so) this is directly a description of those times, of which Epiphanius speaks, saying, that when the Gospel began to be Preacht, there was yet no neede of Presbyters., but Bishops and Deacons served the turne.

14.

And accordingly Deacons in those dayes were immediately made Bishops, as is sufficiently knowne of Clement the Writer of this *Epistle*, who was St. Peters Deacon and Bishop after him, as is cleared in *Differt* 5. c. 1. Sect. 11. And so much for that first testimony.

15.

One thing onely more from hence they are desirous to conclude, that in the first and purest times the custome was to choose Bishops in Villages, as well as in great Cities, grounded upon this, that here the Apostles are said to have appointed Bishops κατὰ χῶρας, as well as κατὰ πόλεις.

16.

But there is no ground of this conclusion in this testimony, For 1. here is no mention of villages, χῶραι is not Greek for

17.

them, but *κομαι*, and 'tis the former, not the latter which here we finde. It is evident what is meant by *χωρὰ*, when it is joyned with *πόλεις* Cities, viz. Provinces, which have each of them many Cities in them, and when it is joyned with *κομαι* Villages, it fitly denotes Regions, in which there are many Villages.

18.

* Geo. lib. 13.

So saith * Strabo of Asia, *Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἀνέστησαν τῶν χωρῶν*, the Romans made that Region a Province, and so in the Ecclesiastical writings *χωρὰ* is a Province made up of many Cities, each of which had a Bishop over them, as when in the

* Can. 2.

* Council in Trullo. *Κυριεύς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀφρικανῆς χωρῆς*, Cyprian is said to be Archbishop of the Region of the Africanes, Region there signifying the whole Province under that Metropolitane, and so * Cyprian himselfe makes it his observation, *Imprimem per omnes provincias & singulas urbes instituti sunt Episcopi*. Antiently through all the Provinces and each of the Cities, Bishops were instituted. Where the Bishops in the several Provinces, as those differ from the Bishops in each City, are undoubtedly Archbishops.

19.

And if that place so very agreeable to this of Clemens may be allowed, to give us the meaning of it, we see what it will be, and how distant from these mens conclusion that the Apostles instituted Bishops in every City, and in each Region or Province, and in the Metropolis or chiefe City of it, a Metropolitane or Archbishop.

20.

But then 2. if *χωρὰ* should signifie, as they would have it, a company of villages or little townes lying neer together, so as to be here used in opposition to the Cities, yet could it not be from hence concluded, that the Apostles constituted Bishops in those villages. The words are, *they preached through regions and Cities, and constituted their first fruits* (earliest converts) *into Bishops and Deacons*, which will be perfectly true, though all the Bishops and Deacons constituted by them, had their seats of residence in the Cities; For that they constituted Bishops in the Regions, is not here affirmed.

21.

Much more might be said in this matter, to shew that the utmost concessions that the adversaries could demand from hence, would no way hinder or disadvantage our pretensions, but

but onely give the *Chorepiscopi* a greater *Antiquitie* in the Church, than either they or we have reason to thinke they had, of which whole matter the reader may see a full discourse, *Dissert.* 3. c. 8. *Sect.* 25 &c. and of it somewhat we shall anon have occasion to repere from thence.

The second Testimony of *Clement* is set down by them in these words, That the Apostles knowing by *Jesus Christ* that there would a contention arise, *μετ' ἀλλήλων* & τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν about the name of Bishop, & being inured with perfect foreknowledge they appointed the aforesaid (that is, the aforesaid orders of Bishops and Deacons) &c. Here they require two things to be noted, 1. that by name is not meant the bare name of Bishop, but the honour and dignity, as it is taken, *Phil.* 2. 9. *Ephe.* 1. 21. *Heb.* 1. 4. *Rev.* 1. 1. so that *ἐν τῷ ἀλλήλων* & *ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπῷ*, The controversy among the Corinthians was not about the name, but dignity of Episcopacy; for it was about the deposition of their guilty Presbyters, pag. 57. 58. 2. That the only remedy appointed by the Apostles for the cure of all contentions arising about Episcopacy, is, by committing the care of the Church to Bishops and Deacons: Afterwards the Church found out another way, by setting up one Bishop over another; But *Clement* tells us, that the Apostles inured with perfect foreknowledge of things ordained only Bishops and Deacons for a remedy of Schismes.

To this they adde (to supersede farther citations out of this Epistle) It would be too long to recite all that is said in this Epistle for the justification of our proposition, let the Reader peruse pag. 57. 62. 69. 72. and take notice that those which are called Bishops in one place, are called Presbyters in another, and that they are *ἐπισκοποι* throughout the whole Epistle.

What this whole Epistle will yeild toward the proof of their proposition, which is, [That after Christs Ascension the Church of God for a certaine space of time, was governed by a Common Councell of Presbyters without Bishops] I thinke it reasonable for any that hath not read it, to conjecture by these two testimonies, which these, who assert the proposition, and here undertake to prove it, have thought fit to chull out of it; having withall nothing more to collect for their turne from the rest of the Epistle, particularly from the comparing those four pages, 57. 62. 69. 72. but only this, that they which are called

Bishops.

Bishops in one place, are called *πρεσβύτεροι* *Elders* in another.

25.

Now this last they know is the very thing that I contend (as from the *Scripture*, so) from this and other *antient* writings, that *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, [*Bishop* and *Elder*] are words of the same importance; all the question is, whether at the first both imported *Bishops* or both *Presbyters* in our *moderne* notion. That there is no circumstance so much as offered by them to consideration, which may incline it their way, is evident by their owne words, neither of their *two notes* pretending to it, only their *conclusion* affirming, that they are *ἰσοδυναμῶντα*, words of the same importance. The whole matter therefore will still divolve to this one *Quære*, whether, when *Clement* saith of the *Apostles* that they constituted none but *Bishops* and *Deacons*, by *Bishops* a *College* of *Presbyters* in every *City* be to be understood, or rather one *Bishop*, with his *Deacon* or *Deacons* in every *City*.

26.

For the clearing of this one difficulty (for this being evinced, all that their *two notes* affirme, is directly on our side against them) I shall here intirely set downe the whole place last produced, of which they have left out one halfe. It is thus, Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τὸ Κυεῖν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔχεις ἔσσεαι ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς: διὰ ταῦτ' ἐν αἰλίᾳ, πρέβινωσιν εὐληφέστες τελείαν, καλίστησαν τὰς περιηγημάτων (ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν πολλῶν τισεύειν) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπιομνύοντες διδοῦσασιν, ὅπως, ἔαν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξονται ἑτέροις διδοκιμασμένοι ἀνδρες πλὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Our *Apostles* knew by our Lord *Iesus Christ* (that must be by revelation from him) that there would contention arise upon the name or dignity of *Episcopacie* (i. e. about the authority of *Bishops* in the church, some opposing it, and casting them out of their Offices, as here in the Church of the *Corinthians*, and through all *Achaia* was actually come to passe at this time, and occasioned this *Epistle* to them) For which cause therefore the *Apostles* having received perfect foreknowledge (that there would be such contentions on this occasion) did (for the preventing of them) constitute the forementioned (*Bishops* and *Deacons* of those which should come in to the Faith in their new plantations) and after them (so μετὰ τοῦτον)

μεταξὺ signifies in *Barnabas's Epistle*, Sect. 10. λαὸς ὁ μεταξὺ the people that should be after, and εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ, *Act. 13. 42.* that which should follow the next after) gave a Series or Catalogue, or manner of succession (i.e. set downe a note of them which in each Church should succeed the present Incumbent) that when they dyed, other approved men might succede to their office or ministry.

What can be more manifest, than that the dignity, which the Apostles conferred on the Bishops in each City and Province, which in the former Testimony hath been cleared to belong to single Bishops, not to any College of Presbyters, was by them foreseen, that it would be matter of Contention, occasion of Sedition in the Church: for the prevention of which, they used the probablest meanes imaginable, named successors to the present Bishops in every Church, who should supply the vacant places, as soon as they fell, and so prevent suing and contending for them, and were by the speciall Spirit of God directed, who those successors should be; so that the opposing their succession, or casting them out afterwards, must be a great sin, even of resisting the Spirit of God, who had designed them to this inheritance. Which, next to Christ's bearing them in his right hand, *Rev. 1. 20.* is the greatest character of dignity, and evidence of Christ's approving of the Order, and care of continuing it, as the originall of union (not division) in the Church.

27.

There is not by these men one word of objection offered against this conclusion, thus formerly deduced in the Dissertations, and therefore I need adde no more for the vindicating this testimony, yet will it not be amisse here to interpose the words of *Hegeſippus*, one that was present at the time of that sedition, and gives an account of it in * *Eusebium*, ἐπὶ μὲν, faith he, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Κορινθίων μετὰ Πρίμου ἐπισκοποῦντο ἐν Κορίνθῳ. The Church of the Corinthians continued in the right, untill Primus was Bishop of Corinth. Which is a testimonie as antient as that of *Clement*, and tells us what Bishops they were which *Clement* speakes of, such as *Primus* was at Corinth, i. e. one singular Governour in a City.

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* L. 4. c. 12.

The same will be yet more manifest, if we consider what by

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all *Authors* is affirmed of *Clemens* himselfe, the *writer*, at the time of writing this *Epistle*, that having been *Saint Paul's fellow-labourer*, *Phil. 4.3.* *Saint Peter's Deacon* (*Ignat. in Ep. ad Trall.*) he was now *Bishop of Rome*, by the joynt suffrage of *Irenaeus* and all the *Antients*, even of *Saint Jerome* himselfe in his *Catalogue*, and by him styled an *Apostolical* person on *Isa. 52.* a companion of the *Apostles* (in *Interp. Com. Orig. in Rom.*) and by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom. lib. 4.* an *Apostle* in the sense that *Theodoret* saith, those whom in his time they called *Bishops*, had been at first called *Apostles*.

30. Accordingly of him, saith *Irenaeus* in his *Catalogue* of the successive *Governors* of the *Church*, τέταρτόν τε τῶν Ἀποστόλων τῷ ἐπισκοπικῷ κληρῷ Κλήμης, in the third place from the *Apostles* *Clemens* came to the *Bishoprick*, Which how it is easily to be accorded with those who truly make him *Peters immediate successor*, see *Dissert. 5 c. 1. Sect. 6. &c.*

31. Other *testimonies* there are producible from this *Epistle* of *Clement*, which are all to the same purpose with the former; As when he findes an *image* of the *Ecclesiasticall* state under *Bishops* and *Deacons*, in the prophecie of *Isaiah*, cap 60. 17. where in the *Greek* translation, then in use, he had read καλίσσω ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίσει, I will constitute their *Bishops* in *righteousnesse*, and their *Deacons* in *faithfulnessse*, speaking of the *Judges* and their *Ministers* and officers in every *City*.

32. And so againe when he exhorts them to give due honour to the *Elders* among them, talkes of their *sedition* against their *Elders*, and casting them out of their *Episcopacy*, in one place (ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλλειν) and removing them from that *honoured office* (ἐκκλησιαστικῆς λειτουργίας μεταγαγῶν) in another, and the like; All of the same importance, and to be interpreted by the former.

Sect. II.

The Testimony of Polycarpe. That he was himselfe a Bishop. His mention of Ignatius's Epistles, fit to give authority to them, being so confirmed as it is by a series of the Antients.

IN the next place follows their *testimonis* out of Polycarpe, Num. 1. introduced in this manner,

The like Record we have of Polycarpe that famous Disciple of John the Apostle, who lived also within the first century, and wrote an Epistle to the Philippians, in which he makes also but two Orders of Ministry, Bishops and Deacons, and perswades the Philippians to be subject to their Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Christ.

To this *Testimony* from Polycarp there is no reason I should deny any part of my assent, being so perfectly such, as the cause which I defend requires; If there be with him but two orders of Ministry, Bishops and Deacons, and he perswades the Philippians (i.e. that whole Province, the same to which Saint Paul had written, consisting of many Churches, all under that Metropolis of Philippi) to be subject to their πρεσβύτεροι and διάκονοι, Elders and Deacons, and sets the former of them, in the comparison, to answer God the Father the supream Monarch of Heaven; and the latter to be the parallel to Christ who came out from Heaven upon his Fathers messages, then what reason have I to doubt, but that these Elders and Deacons are the very same which Saint Paul had called Bishops and Deacons, Phil. 1. 1. which that it belonged to the severall Bishops of that Province of Macedonia, hath before been sufficiently vindicated.

And therefore without farther debating this *Testimony*, I shall adde some few things concerning this Polycarp, which will helpe conveniently to cleere the whole matter.

First, That as it is most true, that is here said of him, that he was a famous Disciple of John the Apostle, so this is added to his titles by the authentic Epistle of the Church of Smyrna,

Ὁυτὸ γέγονεν ὁ Σαυαστήτης ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡμοῖς χρόνοις,

Διδάσκαλος Ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος. *This was the most wonderful person in our times, being an Apostolical and Prophetic Doctor, and that he was a most glorious Martyr; is the designed matter of that whole Epistle.*

5. Secondly, That this famous, most admirable Apostolical Doctor and Martyr, was the Bishop of Smyrna, and so constituted by the Apostles, as will appear by three Testimonies, each of them irrefragable. 1. By the Epistle of that Church of Smyrna, written on purpose concerning his Martyrdom, a reverend piece of Antiquity, fit to compare with any that remains in the Church. And there we finde in the close of his titles, Ἐπίσκοπος τε τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, that he was Bishop of the Catholike Church, which is in Smyrna, i. e. both of Jewish and Gentile Christians there.

6. So Polycrates (the eight Bishop of Ephesus, borne within a while after Saint Iohn's death) in his Epistle to Victor, Πολύκαρος ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μέγας, Polycarp the Bishop of Smyrna and Martyr.

7. So Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. speaking of him, saith, καὶ ὁ Ἀποστόλων κατὰ κράτος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἐπίσκοπος, that he was constituted by the Apostles Bishop of the Church of Smyrna in Asia.

8. And then what possibility can there be, that he being thus a Bishop, nay Metropolitane himselfe, (as hath formerly been shewed) writing to another Metropolis, and commanding to obey the Πρεσβύτεροι and Deacons, should meane any thing else but Bishops by Πρεσβύτεροι.

9. Thirdly, That this Polycarp, as in this Epistle he acknowledgeth to have received an Epistle from Ignatius (Ἐγὼ Παλμοὺ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνατίος, You wrote to me, and to Ignatius also) so he tells them that he had sent them a collection of the same Ignatius's Epistles. Τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου πεμφθεῖσας ἡμῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοις ὅσας ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν καθὼς ἐντέλλεσθε, ἅλινες ὑποτέλλεσθαι εἰσι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ, ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὀφελήσονται δοῦναι—*The Epistles of Ignatius sent to us by him, and as many others as we had by us, we have sent to you, as you required, which are subjoyned to this Epistle, by which you may receive great benefit.*

By

By this passage it is cleare, that as *Ignatius* wrote one *Epistle* to *Polycarpe*, another to the *Church of Smyrna*, where- of *Polycarpe* was *Bishop*, both contain'd under the phrase *πεμφθεῖσας ἡμῖν*, sent to us, (as it is explain'd by *Eusebius* in these words, *Διὰ χειρὸς ὁμιλῆ Ἰγνατίῳ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡ δὲ τῷ ταύτης πεποιημένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ*, *Ignatius wrote to the Church of Smyrna, and severally to Polycarpe the Ruler thereof*) so he wrote divers others also, which at that time, before *Ignatius's* death were by the *Philippians* desired from *Polycarpe*, and by *Polycarpe* transmitted to them, and so cannot with any sence be affirmed to be forged, and affixt to his name after his death.

10.

How these *Epistles* were from *Polycarpe* brought down to the hands of *Irenæus*, who lived in *Polycarpe's* time, and saw him an old man, and so testifies in his *Epistle* to *Florinus*, and cites a notable passage out of *Ignatius*, which we now have in his *Epistle* to the *Romans*: How, soone after *Irenæus*, * *Origen* cites them again, calling him *Martyr* and *Bishop* of *Antioch*, the second after *Peter*, and setting down the very words which we now have in the *Epistle* to the *Ephesians*; How, after *Origen*, † *Eusebius* sets down the whole story of writing them, together with a distinct *Catalogue* of seven, to *Ephesus*, to *Magnesia*, to the *Trallians*, to the *Romans*, to the *Philadelphians*, to the *Smyrneans*, and to *Polycarpe*: And in like manner *Athanasius*, citing from *Ignatius* words which we now finde in his *Epistle* to the *Ephesians*, and *Theodoret* in many passages out of that to the *Ephesians*, to the *Trallians*, to the *Smyrneans*; And at last *St. Hierome* (on whose authority the *Presbyterians* so much depend) according exactly with *Eusebius*, to give these seven *Epistles* of *Ignatius* a full authority with all; All this I say bath been at large deduced and evidenced in the *Dissertations*; And this, one would thinke, might have been sufficient to have given *Ignatius* some place among their *Testimonies* for the opinion of antiquity in this matter, especially when that very *Epistle* of *Polycarpe*, which for the bare name of *Πρεσβύτεροι Elders* used by him, they cite, and give him his just honour, doth give testimony to the *Epistles* of *Ignatius*, as cleare, and

11.

* In Luc. Hom. 6.

† L. 3. c. 35. 36.

Catal. Script. & ad Helvid. c. 9.

Dissert. 2. c. 24.

διδάσκαλός· Ἀποστολικὸς καὶ περρετικὸς γενόμενος. *This was the most wonderfull person in our times, being an Apostolicall and Prophetical Doctor, and that he was a most glorious Martyr; is the designed matter of that whole Epistle.*

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8. And then what possibility can there be, that he being thus a Bishop, nay Metropolitane himselfe, (as hath formerly been shewed) writing to another Metropolis, and commanding to obey the Πρεσβύτεροι and Deacons, should meane any thing else but Bishops by Πρεσβύτεροι.

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as universally, and fully confirmed by others, as any, by which that Epistle of *Polycarpe* or *Clemens*, or any other antient writing stands in the *Church's*.

12.

But all this, it seemes, is of no weight with them, and therefore after the two testimonies of *Clemens*, and one of *Polycarpe*, backt with the like number of three more, a saying of *Bishop Bilson* (very unlikely to be to the prejudice of *Bishops*, if it were here seasonable to examine it) and the like of *Gratian*, and the third of the Lord *Digby*, They are then at leisure to remember what out of *Ignatius* is objected against them; Had he by any possible colour of any passage in him, been capable of doing them any service, he might then, as his Epistles were written before *Polycarps*, have also been called out and cited before him; But all those Epistles being so diametrically contrary to their pretensions, as every man knows they are, he is now to be lookt on and answered, as *temptations* are wont to be, to be mentioned only, that he may be rejected by them.

Section III.

A vindication of Ignatius's Epistles, Voslius's edition of them, and the Archbishops of Armagh. Some Testimonies out of them. The cause of his so inculcating obedience to Bishops. Mr. Caulabones Testimony considered, and the Allegations from the Archbishop of Armagh. Three Reasons against these Epistles answered. (No Marriage with-out the Bishop.) Of the Reformed Churches. Of the Church of Scotland after the first conversion.

Num. 1.

Thus therefore they proceede, p. 107. Against all that hath beene said in this proposition, it is objected, that the blessed *St. Ignatius*, who lived in the first century, hath in his Epistles clearely and fully asserted Episcopall Government, as it is distinct from Presbyteriall, and that therefore there was no space of time, wherein the Church of Christ was governed by the common councill of Presbyters without Bishops properly so called.

I doe not conceive that they have said any thing of any
availe,

availle, for the proving their *Proposition*, and presume that neither from *Clement* nor *Polycarpe* it hath appeared that they have gained any thing; And therefore against all that they have said there is no need that I should make any *Objection*. But in a farre larger style I think it were no insolence to say, that against all that was ever imagined by any to be producible out of *Antiquity* in behalfe of *Presbytery*, the bare testimonies of this one *Apostolicall Martyr*, *Ignatius*, will be abundantly sufficient, being put in the other Scale, to weigh them all downe and decide the *controversie* on the *Prelatists* side.

It were here unreasonable at large to recite all these *testimonies*, being already set downe particularly *Differt. 2. c. 25.* and the notoriety of the *fact* being such that a speciall *Objection* against the Epistles is, that he every where asserts *Episcopacy*. And therefore the onely way that could be invented for the supporting the *Presbyterians* interest against such direct *Testimonies*, so (every where) inculcated, and so impossible to be reconciled with their assertions, is this which they give us, p. 108. in these words.

In answer to this we must intreat the Reader to take notice that in the Primitive Times there were abundance of spacious and suppositions workes put forth under the Names of the Apostles and blessed Martyrs, which were none of theirs, &c. The like fraud hath been used in Ignatius's workes, &c.

Here first 'tis a little strange that the *spurious* and *suppositional* workes of the *Apostles* and *Martyrs* should be said to be put forth in the *Primitive Times*, unless that phrase *Primitive*, be taken in a very great *Latitude*, I had thought that it had been in *after-times*, when errors were gotten in, and sought *patronage* and covert from the *Primitive Fathers*, that these *spurious* brats were borne, and affixt to great Names; And by this meanes indeed they are generally deferyed, by their *impudent* mentioning of some matters of *fact*, which fell out in those *latter-times*, and so discovered the *imposture*.

But this mistake importeth not much to our present *con-
roversy*; If what is here confidently affirmed, [*The like
fraud*

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fraud was used in Ignatius's *workes*] can be any way proved to have *truth* in it, either in respect of the *Primitive* or *after-times*, I shall not quarrell upon such *niceties*. I shall therefore examine their *proofes* which follow.

6. And first, say they, it is certaine the *Epistle of the blessed Virgin Mary to Ignatius, and of Ignatius to the blessed Virgin, and two other Epistles of Ignatius to John the Apostle* are *spurious and counterfeit*.

7. To this I most willingly yeild, that the *Epistles* under Ignatius's name to the *blessed Virgin* and *St. John* may very probably be deemed none of his, and so they are generally rejected by those who mainteine *ours*, as well as *their* interests. I shall onely adde that there is no one word in them concerning *Bishops*, nor were they ever produced by any *Prelatis* in defence of them.

8. Next then, say they, *As for his other twelve Epistles, five of them are by invincible arguments, as we conceive, proved by Vedelius to be written by a Pseudo-Ignatius. Eusebius and Hierome make mention but of seven.*

9. Here also will easily be granted by us whatsoever is demanded; For though *Vedelius* a *Divine* of *Geneva* since the casting out of their *Bishop* and setting up of the *new Government*, might well be lookt on as a *partiall* arguer or *Judge* concerning Ignatius's writings, yet it being true, and by me formerly acknowledged that *Eusebius* and *St. Hierome* mention but seven *Epistles* of his, I shall also be ready to yeild to the utmost that *Vedelius* contended, that there be no more then *seven Genuine Epistles of Ignatius*, not that every of the other *five* can be proved to be *suppositions*, but because the antient testifications of the *Church* doe not make it so evident, that those other *five* are all his, as of the other *seven* they doe.

10. According to this concession it is, that in the *Dissertations* all the *Testimonies* which are produced in defence of *Episcopacy*, are taken out of those *seven Epistles* which *St. Hierome*, the *Presbyter*, and onely trusted friend of the *Presbyterians*, doth acknowledge to be his.

11. But of these *seven* also they have somewhat to say, in these words,

words: And for those seven, though with Scultetus, Vedelius and Rivetus we doe not renounce them as none of his, yet sure we are, they are so much adulterated and corrupted, that no man can ground any solid Assertion about Episcopacy from Ignatius's workes.

I hope I shall not now be lookt on, as an intemperate asserter of Episcopacy, if in this third step also I goe so farre with the Presbyterians as to yeld that I shall rest contented even, with those parcells of those seven Epistles, which these most rigid censors, even Vedelius himselfe, which published him at Geneva, is content to acknowledge for his. If this be allowed me I shall need demand no more; The matter is evident, any man may consult Vedelius's edition, and finde testimonies as cleare for our turne, as could be wisht, in those parts of those Epistles which he allowes of.

12.

But for the purging of Ignatius, as of all other Antients, I suppose the Method, which Vedelius used, proceeding for the most part, by his owne conjecture and phansie, is not likely to be the best; The one course which any Judicious Man would require or depend on, hath been used in this matter, since Vedelius had done his best; I meane the most antient copies in Europe have been consulted, and God's Providence hath been eminently discernable in the result of that inquiry.

13.

Isaac Vossius, a knowne learned Man of that part of the Reformed Church, which is governed by Presbyters, hath met with an Antient Manuscript in the Medicean library, which hath none of the suspected Epistles, and is perfectly free from those passages, which were formerly among Sober Men made matter of suspicion against the Epistles; And as in them we finde those very passages intire, which the Antients have cited out of them, so from them againe all the Testimonies are fetcht, which we desire to make use of in this matter.

14.

So that if ever Ignatius wrote those Epistles which from Polycarpe downward the Antients generally agree that he wrote, I have no reason to feare or doubt but his authority, and the Testimonies I have brought from him, will be of full value and force in this matter.

15.

16.

When this Copy out of the *Medicean Library* was first transcribed by *Vossius*, the greatest enemies of *Episcopacy* were much taken with it; *D. Blondel* confesses that he presently got a *Transcript* of it, compared it with the *Testimonies*, which the *Fathers* (*Polycarpe, Irenaus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Jerome, Chrysostome, &c.*) had cited out of *Ignatius*, and finding them all to agree with this copy, confesseth of himselfe that he was glad for this age of ours, that we had now gotten that very copy that 1300. yeares ago, *Eusebius* had used, and expelled great light from thence. But at length this proved not for his turne, the Author spake so much of *Bishops* *ἀναίσις ἐναίσις*, in season and out of season, that he set himselfe to form arguments against it, which are answer'd at large in the *Dissertations*.

17.

But beside this *Greeke* copy of *Vossius's Edition*, it fell out very opportunely, that the most Reverend Archbishop of *Armagh* about the same time met with some ancient *Latine* copies in *England*, which he thought fit to publish, although the *Translation* were rude and barbarous; and that *Latine Edition* of his was found every where agreeable to that *Greeke* of *Vossius*, freed, as that, from all *interpolations*, and by this concurrence of these *Providences*, there is all reason to think that we have at last the *Epistles* of *Ignatius*, as purely set out as either that of *Clement*, or *Polycarpe*, or any other ancient writing.

18.

And in this purity it is that we now appeale to it, and have the three orders in the Church, *Bishops, Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and the *Obedience* and *respects* due to them, as evidently and irrefragably asserted in very many places, as any truth of *Scripture* can be expected to be.

19.

After all this, most distinctly deduced in the *Dissertations*, they yet proceed, we will not, say they, for our parts trouble the Reader with a large discourse about this subject. If he please he may read what the Archbishop of *Armagh*, what *River*, *Vedelius*, and *Cooke* in his *Censura Patrum*, and what *Salmasius* and *D. Blondel* say about it, who all of them bring divers arguments to evince the invalidity of these *Epistles*. There is a Doctor that hath undertaken to answer the Objections of
the

the two last, But this Doctor should doe well to answer also what the Archbishop of Armagh, hath written about these Epistles, who proves at large that six of them are nothæ, the other six mixtæ, and none of them to be accounted omni ex parte sinceræ & genuinæ, who also tells us out of Casaubone, that among all the Ecclesiasticall Monuments there are none in which the Papists put more confidence, than in Ignatius's Epistles.

This being the summe of their charge on me in this place, that having answer'd all the Arguments of *Blondell* and *Salmasius* (I hope satisfactorily, or else they were very unkinde not to expresse their dislikes of some one answer) I have not yet answer'd the Arguments of the Archbishop of Armagh against these Epistles, I shall hope, that when either I have done that, or given competent reason, why I need not do it, I shall not need to travaile any farther in this Argument; yet to omit no paines which they can but thinke of prescribing me, I shall take the whole matter of this their last Section before me, and consider every part of it.

20.

And 1. For *Rivet*, *Vedelius* and *Cooke* in *Censura Patrum* 'tis evident, that their exceptions and censures belong to the former Printed Copies of *Ignatius*, that especially which had beene set out by *Mastræus* a Papist, against whom *Vedelius* his Edition and Exercitations were chiefly designed.

21.

But then *Vedelius* having called this volume to a very strict examination, 'tis evident that that Copy, which he had thus purged, cannot be still lyable to his and the like exceptions, which before were made against the former Copies.

22.

As for *Salmasius* and *Blondell*, their exceptions have, as is here confest, been already examined, and I need say no more of them till those answers be some way attempted to be invalidated, which here they are not, but instead of it, I am called to answer the Archbishop of Armagh his Arguments. Lastly, therefore for the Archbishop of Armagh; It is first somewhat unexpected, that what he had said, as the ground and occasion of making a new Edition, setting out this very antient Copy, and by it purging *Ignatius*, who had before

23.

been so *corrupted* in his opinion, should now be proposed to me to be answered, who use that very *Copy*, which that *Archbishop* set out, and acknowledge it was formerly as *corruptly* set forth, as he conceived it to be.

24. Is it not visible that the *Archbishop's* whole designe in two impressions of those *Epistles*, was to set them out free from all corruptions and mixtures, and interpolations, which they had before been under: And that all his discourses in his *Prolegomena*, were to prove the former editions to have been *corrupt*, and so that there was great need of seeking out *better Copies*, and that he verily thought he had now found such? And then what can be required of me to answer in his writings, who am directly of his opinion in all the *substantiall* parts of the whole matter?

25. As for *lesser* doubts, as whether that one to *Polycarpe* be among the *genuine* or no, though with *Ensebius* and *St. Hierome* I believe it is, and have given the reasons of my opinion, yet I need not *controvert* this with any, because the other *six* will still serve my turne abundantly, and the *Testimonies* out of the most purged *Geneva*, or *Amstelodam*-editions, of those *six*, will sufficiently vindicate *Episcopacy* in our present notion of it to be then received, and of the *Apostles* erecting in the Church.

26. A few of these *Testimonies* I shall here set downe *πρὸς δέξις*, that the Reader may know the *unquestionable* opinion of *Ignatius*, and how farre I am from necessity of using any *corrupted copy* of those *Epistles*. First, then in his *Epistle* to the *Smyrnaeans*, we have the *three Orders* set down distinctly, *ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων*, and againe *ἀποστόλοι τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπισκόπον καὶ διακονήσαντες πρεσβυτέραν, καὶ τὸς συνδίδας μὲν διακόνους*, the like in 3 places to the *Ephesians*, in 3. to the *Magnesians*, in 4. to the *Philadelphians*, in 4. to the *Trallians*. So secondly we have their particular *Bishops* mentioned, as such, *Polycarpe* of *Smyrna*, in the *Epistle* to the *Magnesians*, *Ouesimus* of *Ephesus* in his congratulation to the *Ephesians*, *τοὺτον ἐπισκόπον κέκληται*; that they had such a *Bishop*, adding *Burrhus* his *Deacon*: *Damas* of the *Magnesians*, together with the names of two of their *Presbyters*,
Bassus.

Bassus and Apollonius, and Sotion the Deacon, all in the Epistle to the Magnesians. Polybins of the Trallians, in the Epistle to them. Thirdly we have his affirmation concerning Bishops through the whole World, that they are constituted as, or by the minde of Christ, i. e. sent by him, as he by his Father, Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ * γνώμῃ, ὡς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀποστολὴν * Perhaps κατὰ τὰ πνεύματα δεικνύσας Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ γνώμην ἡμεῖς. *Jesus Christ is the mind or by, or according to the mind of the Father (sent and Commissioned by him to reveale his will to us) and so the Bishops constituted through the World are the minde, or by the minde of Christ.* Fourthly, he tells us that all in the Church, particularly Presbyters, must yeild obedience to the Bishop, Πάντες ἐπισκόποι ἀκούσονται, all follow the Bishop, in the Epistle to the Smyrneans, ἵνα ὑποτασσώμεθα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ πάντα, ἥτε ἡγιασμένοι, that being subject to the Bishop yee may be sanctified in all things, in Ep. ad. Eph. πρέπει πᾶσαν ἐκτελέειν τὴν ἐπισκόπῳ δοξάζειν, yee ought to pay all reverence to the Bishop, adding, καθὼς ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰς ἀγίας πρεσβυτέρας, as he had observed their pious Presbyters to doe, though their Bishop were yong in Ep. ad Magnes: and againe, ὑποτάξτε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, be subject to the Bishop, so τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πεισίσχεται give heed to the Bishop, in Ep. ad Philad. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑπατάσσεσθε, & ἀναγκάσιον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑπατάσσεσθαι, be subject, and it is necessary to be subject to the Bishop, and Ἐξουδὶς ὑπακούετε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. Farewell yee that obey the Bishop, in Ep. ad Trall. Fifthly, he oft addes, that nothing ought to be done in the Church without licence of the Bishop, μηδὲν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι περὶ τῶν ἀνγκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Let none without the Bishop doe any of the things that belong to the Church, instancing in Baptisme and the other Sacrament, in Ep. ad Smyr. and so in the Epistles to the Philadelphians and Trallians. Sixthly, that a convenient reverence and respect is also due to the Presbyters, and to the Deacons, as is every where taken notice of by him, almost in every Epistle.

And all this and much more we have in the Copies, which are now come, most *underrupt*; unto us, And there is no imaginable way to avoid the force of these Testimonies, and

the authority of that holy *Martyr* for *Episcopacie*, but the *una litura*, expunging or casting away the whole volume of *Epistles*.

28. For the truth is, his whole designe, before his departure from the world, being this one of *divine* Charity, to fortifie the severall *flocks*, to which he wrote, against the poyson of *Hereticks*, the *Gnosticks*, so early creeping in, and despising the *Governors* of the *Church*, (as they had done the *Apostles* themselves) and the *Doctrine* of the *Apostles* being by him knowne to be deposited with the *Bishops* in each *Church*, and having particular assurance of the *sanctity*, and sound *faith* of the present *Governors* of these *Churches*, to which he writes, He thinks fit to make use of this one most *compendious* course, most immediately tending to his end, to keep them all in obedience to their *Bishops* and *officers* under them, and to make the contrary (as it was indeed) the sure marke of *Hereticks*, whom they were to avoid.

29. And so this is it which hath so fill'd all the *Epistles* (except that one to the *Romanes*) with continuall discourse of the *Bishops*, &c. And it is evident that in that present *conjunction* of affaires, nothing could with more reason and fittest have been insisted on.

30. Meane while that I may returne to the place from which I have a while *diverted*, It is so certaine and evident of the learned *Archbishop* of *Armagh*, that he never disputed against the *validity* and *authority* of these *Epistles* thus purged, that it cannot be unknowne to them that thus dispute, what arguments he hath urged for the *authority* of them, and in like manner what and how satisfactory answers he hath given to the speciall exceptions of others, which very thing occasioned a particular letter of reply to him from D. *Blondell*, which by that *Archbishops* favour I received, and made my rejoinder to it in the * *Dissertations*.

* Diff. 1 c. 9.
Sect 6 &c.

31. This I hope may be sufficient to have said in this matter, instead of undertaking so unreasonable a taske of answering any thing asserted by that *Archbishop*.

32. As for that which followes out of him and M. *Casaubone* of *Baronius* and the *Papists* making such use, and placing such con-

confidence in these *Epistles* above all other *Ecclesiasticall Monuments*, It is speedily answered also out of what is already said, that they were the former corrupt editions, which were abroad in *Baronius's* time, with all those *supposititious additions & interpolations*, which the *Papists* are either by *Mr. Casaubone*, or that *Archbishop* said to have made use of; there being no one word or period in this *volume*, to which my appeal is made, which yeildeth any advantage to the *Papists* in any point, nor is it, nor can it be pretended by any that it doth, unlesse by those in whose opinion the mainteining of *Bishops* is reputed for such. And therefore that very learned man, *M. Casaubone*, is so far from rejecting all these *Epistles*, that he distinctly promisseth *nonnullarum ex illis antiquitatem se novis rationibus tueri*, that he will, if God permit, defend the antiquity of some of them, by reasons which others had not taken notice of: *Exerc. 16. Cont. Baron. Sect. 150.* And this promise of his is cited by the *Archbishop*, *Dissert. de Epist. Ign. pag. 136.* so farre is it from all appearance of truth, which is cited as the opinion of these two learned men.

After all this, three Reasons they will briefly offer, Why they cannot build their judgment concerning the Doctrine of the Primitive Church, about Episcopacy upon *Ignatius's Epistles*.

33.

1. Because there are divers things quoted out of his *Epistles* by *Athanasius*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret*, which are either not to be found in these *Epistles*, or to be found altered and changed, and not according as they are quoted. This is *Rvets* argument, and pursued at large by the *Archbishop*, to whom we referre the Reader.

Being among their other Readers referr'd to the *Archbishop* of *Armagh* for the validity and pursuis of this first reason, I shall to him very securely make my appeal, what force there is in it, against the *volume* of *Epistles* now twice in severall formes published by him. And in the *Prolegomena* to the former of them, *pag. 15, 16. &c.* this is most evident that the passages cited by *Athanasius*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret*, which were not indeed to be found in the former printed *Greek* copies, are exactly discerned and evidenced by him to be in the old *Latin* Interpreter, which he therefore thought fit to publish.

34.

lish both out of *Cains College* and *Bishop Montacute's Library*. The same hath he farther shewn, cap 4. pag. 19. &c. out of the same and other of the *Antients*, *Eusebius*, *Hierome*, &c. and set downe the places in *columnes*, by way of *parallel*, to demonstrate the agreement of this Copy with the genuine *Ignatius*.

35. And is it not a little strange, that I should be now referred to that *Archbishop* for the pursuit of this argument, which he hath so distinctly proved to be of no force against the Copy which now I use, but to concur in demonstrating the purity of it?

36. Their second Reason they draw from his over-much extolling himselfe in his *Epistle to the Trallians*, where he saith that he had attained to such a measure of knowledge, that he understood heavenly things, the orders of Angels, the differences of Archangels, and of the heavenly host, the differences between powers and dominations, the distances of thrones and powers, the Adagnificencies or Magnitudes of *Eones* or *Principalities*, the sublimity of the Spirit, the excellencies of Cherubims and Seraphims, the Kingdoms of the Lord, and the incomparable Divinity of the Lord God almighty, All these things I know, and yet am not perfect, &c. Now who is there that can believe that such arrogant boasting can proceed from such an holy man, and humble Saint, as *Ignatius* was?

37. And who would believe that the writer of this Appendix, which had cited the *Archbishop* of *Armagh* in his *Prologomena* to his first Edition of *Ignatius*, and so could not but be able to have consulted that Edition, should thus thinke to defame, and blast the whole volume of *Epistles*, for one such periods fake, which is not to be discerned in this, or that *Archbishops* latter, or in *Vossius's* edition of them, to which onely he must know we make our appeal for *Episcopacy*?

38. In these Copies the words are quite distant from what is here cited, and in effect, directly contrary to them, evidences of the greatest humility, now when he was so neer the honor of *Martyrdome*, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἡ κατὸν δόξαμαι καὶ δυνάμει τὰ ἐπεσθῆναι, καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς, καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς, θεολάτῃ καὶ ἀβυσσῷ, πλεονεκτήσῃ καὶ μαθητῇ ἔμῃ, For

I am not, because (or in that) I am in bonds able also to understand heavenly things, the Positions of Angels, their assemblies of Principalities (or of the Rulers of them) both things visible and invisible. Besides this, I am yet also a Disciple. &c. What arrogance, I pray, or boasting is there in this? and yet he addes no more in that place but onely, πολλά γὰρ ὑμῖν λείπει, ἡμεῖς μὴ λειπόμεθα, For many things are wanting to us that we may not be left behinde by God, thinking himselfe utterly unworthy of the honour (and fearing he may yet misse of it) to suffer Martyrdome for him. And so much for the second Reason.

The third (which, say they, is most for our purpose) is from his over eager and over-anxious defence of the Episcopal Hierarchy, which he doth with such strange and Hyperbolical expressions (as if all Christianity were lost, if Prelacie were not upheld) and with such multiplied repetitions, ad nauseam usque, that we may confidently say as one doth, Certo certius est has Epistolas *Ceci censura.* vel supposititias esse, vel scite corruptas, and that they doe neither agree with those times wherein he wrote, nor with such an holy and humble Martyr as he was. We will instance in some few of them.

What reasons and designe Ignatius had to exhort the Christians, to whom he writes to obedience to their Governors, in the Church, hath already been said at large, this being the onely expedient, that, at that time, could be thought on, to keep out most dangerous heresies out of the Church. And therefore what that holy Martyr did in that kind, when he was carryed from his owne Church, never to returne to it againe, cannot be lookt on, as the seeking any great things for himselfe, and so contrary to either his piety or humility, but as a desire full of both those, that the Church of God might enjoy truth and peace, after the beasts had devoured him.

As for the strange and hyperbolical expressions, mentioned in the objection, and exemplified in the two following pages, the Reader must againe be told, that what they had done most unreasonably before, is here practised againe at large, severall places brought out of the former corrupt editions of Ignatius, of which no one word is to be found in the new editions out of

the most *antient Copies Greek and Latine*, from which alone it is evident that we produce all our *testimonies for Episcopacy*, and so have produced very few of those, which they are thus pleased to finde *fault* with.

42.

The places which they urge, are *eight*, I shall not need to set them down, but give the *Reader* a much shorter, and yet as *satisfactory* an account of them. Two are cited from the *Epistle* to the *Trallians*, and neither of them are in any part to be found in our *Editions*. Two are cited from the *Epistle* to the *Magnesians*, and the first is not at all in our *Editions*, nor the second any farther than thus, ὡς περ ἐν ᾧ κύριος ἀνὴρ τῷ πατρὶς ὁδὸν ἐποίησα ὡς ἐμὸς υἱός, ὅτε δι' ἐαυτοῦ, ὅτε δι' ἀποστόλων, ἔργα μὴδε ὑμῖν ἀνεῖ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν προσέσσω, μὴδε προσέσσω ἐν ἑαυτῷ τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν. As *Christ* being one with his *Father* did nothing without him, either by himselfe or by his *Apostles*, so neither do ye act any thing without the *Bishop* and the *Presbyters*, nor endeavour that any thing should appeare reasonable to you which is private, or of your owne devising. A speech in every syllable of it, very well becoming that *Holy Martyr*, written by him at a time, when the truth being by the *Apostles* deposited with the *Bishops*, all private devises of their owne were most justly to be suspected.

43.

The fifth is in the *Epistle* to *Polycarpe*, and is in our *Copies* thus, Πέπεικε ὁ τοῖς γαμοῖσι καὶ τοῖς γαμμοῦσιν ὡς γυνώμενος τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι. It becomes the men that marry, and the women that are married, to consummate their union with the consent of the *Bishop*. And I wonder what age of the *Church* there hath been from that time to this, which hath not been of the same opinion. For what is by *Bishops* committed to *Presbyters*, that is not done ἀνεῖ γυνώμενος ἐπισκόπου, without the mind of the *Bishop* (as elsewhere in those *Epistles* appeares of *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*, neither of which, saith he, are to be meddled with without the consent of the *Bishop*, and many testimonies out of *Antiquity* are * elsewhere produced in perfect conformity therewith.) And consequently, if in the *Christian Church*, marriage hath alwayes been consummated by the *Priest* or *Presbyter*, then cannot this speech of *Ignatius* have any blame in it. And

* See Nam. 55.

And that thus it hath been through all ages, there is little matter of *question* (and no word here produced by the *Objectors* to the contrary) * *Tertullian* will be a good competent *Ad Uxor. l. a. c. ult.* *testimonie* for the next *Centurie*, speaking of the *felicity* of the *Christian Marriage*, *quod Ecclesia conciliat, & confirmat oblatio, & obsignat benedictio, Angeli renuntiant, &c.* Which the Church makes, the Sacrament of the Lords Supper confirms, the benediction of the Priest Seales, and the Angels pronounces valid. And in * another place, *Penes nos occulta conjunctiones, i. e. non prius apud Ecclesiam professa, juxta mœchiam & fornicationem judicari periclitantur.* Marriages that are not done publicly before the Church, are in danger with us, to goe for adultery and fornication.

44.

De Pudic. c. 4.

The same is every where to be found in the *Decretal Epistles* of *Enaristus*, about *Ignatius's* time (which makes it a tradition from the *Apostles* and their *successors*) of *Soter* not above 50. yeares after, of *Callistus* neer fifty yeares after him, of *Silvester* an 100 yeares after him, of *Siricius* 70. yeares after *Silvester*, of *Hormisdas* 130. yeares after *Siricius*: And though some of these be by *D. Blondel* thought to be of later dates than the titles of them would pretend, yet the authority of most of them is unquestioned, as to this matter.

45.

And the *antient* piece lately publisht by *Sirmund* concerning the *Hereſie* of the *Predestinati*, written, saith he, 1200. yeares since, speaks of it, as a knowne custome and Canon of the Church, over all the world, For, saith that *antient author*, *If marriage be unlawfull, Emendate ergo Ecclesia regulam, damnate qui in toto orbe sunt, sacerdotes, Nuptiarum initia benedicentes, consecrantes, & in Dei mysteriis sociantes, Amend then the rule the of Church, and condemne the Priests which are in all the world, who blesse the beginnings of Marriage, consecrate, and joyne the parties together with the Holy Sacrament.*

46.

And the fourth *Councel* of *Carthage*, before the yeare 400. hath these words, *Sponsus & sponsa cum benedicendi sunt à sacerdote—When the Bridegroom and the Bride are to be blest by the Priest, Can. 13.* And for latter ages the matter is out of *Question*.

47.

48. And so it will be much more *reasonable*, from this passage in *Ignatius*, being found so perfectly concordant with other passages of the times so neer him, to resolve the *rule* of the Church concerning *sacerdotal benediction in marriage* to be received from the *Apostles* and their *successors*, than from finding this speech in one of *Ignatius's Epistles*, to cast away the whole *volume*.
49. As for that which is added at the end of this *testimony* from the *Epistle to Polycarpe*, *My soule for theirs, that obey the Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons*, there can be no fault in that, supposing as hath been said, that the *Bishops* at that time, & the *Presbyters & Deacons* living regularly and in *union* with them, had the *true safe way* among them, wherein any man might walke *confidently*, all danger being from the *Herefies* that crept in, and brake men off from that *unity* of the *faith*.
50. The *sixth* place from the *Epistle to the Philadelphians*, of the *Princes and Emperors* obeying the *Bishop*, is certainly inserted by forgery in the *former*, for not one word of it, or like it, is to be found in our *editions*.
51. So likewise for both parts of the *seventh* place out of the *Epistle to the Smyrnaans*, they are not to be found in our *Editions*.
52. The *last* onely is to be met with there, but that in a much more moderate *straine*, than the *former*, in *words and sense* very agreeable to *wholsome doctrine*, and the *exigencies* of those times, wherein there was no *visible way* to keep out the *tares* of *false teachers*, but by requiring all to be kept to the *managery* of the true *husbandman*. And accordingly I have cited this very speech out of *Ignatius* for the asserting of *Prelacie* (and if there were no such, the *Epistles* might passe well enough with these, as with all other men, they would have needed no *vindication*, having no *adversary*) The words are these, Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, τὰς ἡ διακόνους ἐν ᾧ περὶ δεῖ ὡς ἐν πατρὶ — All of you follow the Bishop as Christ Jesus did his Father (i. e. as elsewhere appears by the like expression, with [ὡς πατρί] added to it, be at perfect unity of doctrine, &c. with

with the *Bishop*, as *Christ* was with *God* the *Father*) and the *Presbytery* as the *Apostles*, and reverence the *Deacons* as those that are appointed by *God*, (viz. mediately by the *Apostles*).

Where it may be observable, that the objectors which find such fault with this speech of *Ignatius* in their quarrelling with it, leave out this latter part of *Presbytery* and *Deacons*; they cannot finde in their hearts to quarrell, or accuse him for bidding them follow the *Presbytery* as the *Apostles*, the onely crime was to bid them follow the *Bishop* (not, as *Christ* in the *native*, i.e. as they follow *Christ*, but) as *Christ* follows his *Father*, the onely piacular offence, to recommend unity with, and obedience to the *Bishop*. But that by the way.

53.

It followes in the place, Μὴ τις χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τὴν τεράστιαν, Let no Man without the *Bishop* doe ought which belongs to the Church, Let that be accounted a firme *Eucharist*, which is done by the *Bishop*, or him whom the *Bishop* shall permit. Where the *Bishop* appears there let the multitude be, as where *Christ* is, there is the *Catholick Church*, It is not lawfull without the *Bishop* (i.e. as before, without commission from him) either to Baptize or Administer the *Eucharist*, but what he approves of (thus in these publick Ministrations) that is well pleasing to *God*, that it may be sure and firme whatsoever is done; It doth well that men know *God* and the *Bishop* (as their Ruler under *God*, with whom his truth is by the *Apostles* deposited) he that honours the *Bishop*, is honoured by *God*, he that doth any thing clancularly without him, serves the *Devill* (performs a very acceptable service to him; For so in a very eminent manner the Hereticks of that age, the Gnosticks did, which secretly infused their devilish Leaven, and deadly payson into mens hearts, by which they took them quite from *Christ*, but could not have done so successfully, if this Holy Martyr's counsell here had been taken)

54.

What inconvenience can be imagined consequent to our affirming that *Ignatius* was the author of these words, I confesse not to comprehend; Of this there is no question, but

55.

that it is the ordinary *Language* of the *antient Church*, and accounted necessary in an *eminent degree*, to preserve *unity* and *truth* in the *Church*, and to hold up the *authority* of *Governours* among all, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διακονοὶ ἀνευ γνώμης ἐπισκόπου μὴδὲν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, *The Presbyters and Deacons must doe nothing without the minde of the Bishop*, *Can. Apost. 40.* and the reason is added αὐτοὺς γὰρ ὁ κύριος πεποιθεῖται τὸν λαὸν ᾧ κύριε, *for he is intrusted with the people of the Lord*, So in the 56. *Canon of Laodicea*, τὰς πρεσβυτέρους μὴδὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνεὺ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, *The Presbyters must doe nothing without the minde of the Bishop*, and so in the *Councell of Arles*, *Can. 19. The Presbyters must doe nothing in any Diocesse sine Episcopi sententia, without the Bishops minde, and sine autoritate literarum ejus, without authority of his Letters.*

56.

All that is here offer'd by them to make the like words in *Ignatius* a competent charge, upon which to throw away the whole volume of *Epistles*, is onely this, *If this be true Doctrine, what shall become of all the Reformed Churches, especially the Church of Scotland, which (as John Major saith lib.2. Histor. de Gestis Scotorum, c.2.) was after it's first conversion to the Christian faith above 230. yeares without Episcopall Government.*

57.

To this double question I might well be allowed to render no answer, It being certainly very extrinsecall to the *Question* in hand, (which is onely this, whether *Ignatius* wrote or wrote not those *Epistles*) to examine what shall become of the *Reformed Churches*, &c. It were much more reasonable for mee to demand of the *Objectors*, who suppose their *Presbyteriall platforme*, as that is opposed to *Episcopall*, to be settled in the *Church* by *Divine Right*, If this *Doctrine* be true, what did become of all those *Primitive Churches* all the *World* over, which they confesse departed from this *modell*, and set up the *contrary*, and so of all the succeeding ages of the *Church* for so many 100 yeares, till the *Reformation*, and since that also, of all the other *Churches*, which doe not thus farre imitate *Mr. Calvin*, casting out the *Government* by *Bishops*?

Is it not as reasonable that they should be required to give a faire and justifiable account of their dealing with (and judging, *post factum*, of) all these, as I should be obliged to reconcile Ignatius his speech concerning his *present* age, with the *conveniencies* of the *Reformed Churches*, which he could neither see, nor be deemed to speak of, nor consequently to passe judgement on them by *divination*.

58.

What they were guilty of which secretly infused their poison into Men and Women in *his age*, and would not let the Bishop the Governour of the Church, be the Judge of their Doctrines and practices, he here tells us, viz. That they performed service to the Devill, in stealing Mens hearts from Christ; But what crime it was in those of Corinth, and through all Achaia, to turne their Bishops out of their places, *ἐκβάλλει ἐπισκοπῆς* and *λειτουργίας*, to cast them out of their Episcopacy their Office and Ministration, this he tells them not in that place, Clemens Romanus had done it competently in his Epistle.

59.

As for the particular case of those *Reformed Churches*, which have done more then so, not onely cast out their *present Governours*, but over and above utterly cast off the Government it selfe, there had been I confesse, a great deale said, both in this and other places of Ignatius, and many other *Antient Writers*, who yet never foretold these *dayes*, abundantly sufficient to have restrained them from so disorderly proceedings, if they would have pleased to have hearkned to such moderate counsells. But having not done so, Ignatius hath gone no farther, he is only a witnesse against them, he undertooke not the Office of a judge so farre beyond his Province, hath pronounced no sentence upon them.

60.

And to proceed one degree farther, to the successors of those in the *Reformed Churches* (as many as are justly blameable for treading in their Leaders steps) though I may truly say, they have as little taken that *Holy Martyrs* advise, and more than so, that they have retained a considerable corruption in their Churches, and that they should doe well, if now they know how, to restore themselves to that *model*, which they find every where exemplified in Ignatius, yet till they shall

61.

shall have done so, I know that they are *exactly* capable of being concern'd in any part of these words, last cited from Ignatius.

62. For they that have no Bishop at all, cannot be required to *doe nothing without consulting with the Bishop*; They are justly to be *blamed*, as farre as they are guilty, that they have no Bishop; but then that is their *crime* (and they are to reforme it as soone as they please) but that being supposed, this of not consulting the Bishop, while they have none, is no *new crime*, nor liable of it selfe to the *censure* of διαβόλη λατρεύειν here, which was affixt to those that had Bishops, and would not have their *Doctrines* examined by that *standard*, of which they were the *Depositories*. And this is as much as is needfull to be said in this place for that first *inconvenience* affixt to Ignatius's words.

63. As for the other, the Church of Scotland in it's first *conversion*, the matter againe is so remote from the taske we have now in hand. for the *vindicating* the Authority of Ignatius's *volume* of Epistles. and withall so *uncertainly* set downe by *Authors*, that it would be *unseasonable* to engage farre in so darke a part of *History* so impertinently. In brieft therefore, though I have not John Major by me to consult, yet I conceive I shall not guesse amisse at the grounds, and consequently at the truth and weight of his assertion.

64. Joannes Jordanus was of opinion that *Paschasius a Sicilian prima Christiana pietatis rudimenta mandante P. Victore in Scotia nuntiavit, first preacht the Christian Faith in Scotland by the command of Pope Victor. And this was about the year 203. And † Bede saith that in the eight yeare of Theodosius Junior, that is about the yeare 431, Palladius ad Scotos in Christum credentes à Pontifice Romana Ecclesie Celestino primus mittitur Episcopus, Palladius was by Celestine Bishop of Rome sent first Bishop to the Scots that believed. And the distance betwixt these two termes being 228.yeares, this I conceive the ground-work of John Major's affirmation here cited, of the 230. yeares, wherein that Church after it's first conversion remained without Episcopall Government.

* Demjscr.
Appar ad Hist.
Scot. l. i. c. 6.

† Eccl. Hist. l. i.
c. 13.

But first it is to be noted here, that the saying of *Jordanus* of *Paschasius* in *Victor's* dayes, is no more than this, that he preached the Gospell there, *prima rudimenta nuntiavit*, declared the first rudiments there, and, as it followes in *Demster*, *tyrocinia fides fecit*, laid the grounds of Christianity among them; And that might be done, and soone moulder away againe, and never come to so much maturity, as either to have *Bishops* or *Presbyters* constituted among them. And secondly, though *Bede* say that *Palladius* was sent to them *Episcopus primus*, their first Bishop, yet neither he, nor any other affirms that they were formerly ruled by a *Presbytery*, or so much as that they had any *Presbyter* among them. Nay thirdly, *Demster* reports it from *Jordanus* but slightly. *Job. Jordanus putavit*, it was the conceit or opinion of that author. And that which * *Bozins* tells us will take off much from the creditableness of that Opinion, *Traditur in Scotia, quæ tunc erat Hibernia, Christi cultum disseminatum eodem tempore quo in Britannia, sub annum Christi 203. Victore sedente. They say that the faith of Christ was disseminated in Scotland, which was then Ireland, at the same time that it was in Britanny, about the yeare 203. in the time of Victor's Papacy.*

* *Lib 8. de signis Eccl. c. 1.*

By this it appeares that the conceit of *Jordanus* belonged to Ireland, not to Scotland, Ireland being antiently called *Scotia* (as in † *Bede* we finde, *Scotorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britannia proximam incolunt*, the Scots which inhabit Ireland, and * *Gentes Scotorum quæ Australibus Hibernia partibus morabantur*, the Scots which inhabited the Southerne parts of Ireland) and that which is now Scotland, was then styled *Nova Scotia*, to distinguish it from the other. And it is worth remembring that *Marianus* the Scotch *Antiquary* had no knowledge of this conversion of Scotland under *Victor*, nor is there any shew of it in *Bede*, who tells us of the latter.

66.

† *Li. 2. c. 4.*

* *L. 3. c. c.*

† See *Baron. Annal. Tom. 5. Anno. 429. Sccl. 2.*

Nay it is yet more evident * by *Prosper*, that 'twas a conversion from barbarous to Christian, which is spoken of in *Cælestines* time, and that the Faith was planted, and the Bishop constituted there together, *Venerabilis memoria Pontifex*

67.

* *Adv. Cellar. in fine.*

*rifex ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, & ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare, Catholicam fecit etiam barbaram Christianam, Pope Coelestine freed Britaine from Pelagianisme, and ordained a Bishop for the Scots, and so while he indeavoured to keepe a Romane Island within the bounds of the Catholick Faith, he also made a barbarous Island Christian. Which as it differs somewhat from Bedes expreffion of Palladius's being sent ad credentes, to believers, so it gives us occasion to propose that which may reconcile these seeming differences, viz. 1. That Christianity was planted in Scotland before Coelestine's time, derived to them most probably from their Neighbours the Britaines here, with whom they are * known to have agreed in the keeping of Easter, contrary to the custome of the Romane Church, and so cannot be deemed to have received the first Rudiments of their conversion from Rome: Then secondly, that this Plantation was very imperfect, differing little from Barbarisme, and so reputed by Prosper, till the coming of Bishop Palladius among them. Thirdly, that even after that, they retain'd the usage of Easter, contrary to the Romane custome, which still referres to some rude conversion of theirs before Palladius.*

* See Bede l. 2. c. 4. Scotos nihil discipulare à Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus, and c. 19. & l. 3. c. 3. Hoc enim ordine septem regionalis Scotorum Provincia & omnis in his Pictorū Pascha Dominicum celebrabat.

68.

By all this it is cleared to us, what is to be thought of John Major's affirmation, which hath now very little appearance of truth in it, and if it had, would be little for the Presbyterian interest to insist on it, when after all that time of the supposed government of that Church by Presbyters, it was found directly barbarous, and to be planted with Christianity anew, at Palladius's coming.

69.

Some uncertainty we see there is of the time and meanes of planting Christianity in Scotland, but as to this matter of the 230. yeares under Presbytery, there can be no ground to affirme it; For if the conversion of it be dated from Victor's time, as that opinion would have it, yet even by that account 'twas after the space, wherein the Presbyterians themselves acknowledge Episcopacy to have prevailed over all the World; and then, upon that account, it must be granted, that whensoever their first conversion was, 'twas certainly derived to them

them

them by those who had *Episcopall Government* among them, and then they having sent them *Presbyters* to instruct and officiate (as *Presbyters* not as *Bishops*) among them, those *Presbyters* must be supposed to have continued under those *Bishops* by whom they were sent, whether from *Rome*, or neerer home from the *British*, so farre at least, as that when they failed, their number was supplied from the same *Fountaine* from which they first sprang. (in the same manner as our own experience tells us of *Virginia*, which since the first *Plantation* continued to receive *Presbyters* from hence) and so continued to be, untill they had *Bishops* ordained and planted among them. And so much for that second supposed inconvenience also.

Se^ct. I V.

Of Salmasius's conceit that these Epistles were written at the time of Episcopacy first entring the Church.

THAT which followes of the Justice of the Reverend Presbyterian Divines censure of these Epistles, & of Salmasius's Num. 12 his beliefe, that they were written by a *Pseudo-Ignatius*, will not require any answer from me, who cannot be moved by the conclusion made by those Divines, any farther than the Premisses here produced and answered, have appeared to have force in them, and who have more largely examined Salmasius his exceptions heretofore, and was even now by them acknowledged so to have done, and nothing yet replied to my answers, and therefore must not for ever turne the same stone, begin the same task againe.

But for the conceit which is here cited from Salmasius, which I confesse I considered not so much before, as to make any reply to it, viz. That these Epistles were written when Episcopacy, properly so called, came into the Church, and that proved from hence, because in all his Epistles he speakes highly in honour of Presbytery as well as of Episcopacy, that so the people, that had been accustomed to the Presbyterian Government, might the more willingly and easily receive this new

Government by Episcopacy, and not be offended at the novelty of it. It is evident how easily this may be retorted, and the argument as firmly formed to conclude, that *Presbyters* were then *newly* come into the *Church*, and therefore to make the people *inclinable* to give them a willing *Reception*, without being *offended* at the *novelty* of them, he still speaks *highly* in honour of *Episcopacy*.

3. Such *Arguments* as these you will guesse from hence, how *incompetent* they are to conclude matters of *fact*, done so many hundred yeares agoe, (such is the *question*; whether *Ignatius* wrote these *Epistles* or no) It is much more probable that they wanted *Arguments* of any *reall* validity, who are faine to fly to su h Succors as these.

4. Yet one farther *misadventure* there is, in forming or making use of this *conceit*, For what is said in those *Epistles* concerning the *honour* due to *Presbyters* or the *Presbytery*, is farre from looking favourably on the *Presbyterian Government*, for certainly as long as there is a *Bishop*, properly so called, set over the *Presbyters*, as they know there is in all those *Epistles*, and as long as the *Presbyters* are to do *nothing* without *commission* from him (as they knew also (and even now *quarrell'd* at it) that by him they are required to doe) there is little *shew* of the *Presbyterian modell* discernible, no whit more, than there was in *England* long before they *covenanted* to cast the *Bishops* out of the *Church*, It being certaine that no *community* or *equality* of *Presbyters* taken into *councell* with the *Bishop*, doth constitute the *Government Presbyterian*, as long as there be any *Bishops* to have power over *Presbyters*; Else had the *Convocation* of *Deanes*, *Archdeacons* and *Clerks*, fourteen yeares agoe, been the *platform* of *Presbyterian Government* in *England*.

5. This is, I conceive, a full answer to every the most *minute* part or appearance of *Argument* here produced against these *Epistles*, and is all that was proper here to be said concerning *Ignatius*, whose *Epistles* as long as they have any *authority* with us, let it be in the most *Reformed*, *purified* *Edition*, that ever was, or can be hoped for, there is *evidence* enough for the *Apostolical Institution* of *Bishops* in the *modern*.

moderne notion of the word, And if after all this they must have no *authority*, for no other *crime*, but because they are such punctuall Asserters of this *Doctrine*; 'Tis to little purpose farther to examine or inquire, what *Antiquity* hath affirmed or practised in this matter.

Sect. V.

Testimonies of Irenæus, The use of Presbyteri for Bishops.

YET because their Method leads us forward to consider some other of the Antient Writers, and I have promised so farre to comply with them, I shall now in the next place attend them to the view of two of those, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, p. 114. 115. where having acknowledged of them that they say that Apostles made Bishops in Churches, Polycarpe in Smyrna, Clemens at Rome, &c. all that they require of us to prove, is, that by the word Bishop is meant a Bishop as distinct from Presbyter, and the reason why they thinke this needs proving, is, because both those Authors use the words ἐπισκοποι Bishops, and Πρεσβύτεροι, Presbyteri, Seniores, for the same thing, the one calling Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, Xystus, Presbyters of the Church of Rome in his Epistle to Victor; the other calling the Presidents of the Churches Seniores in his Apologie, and some other places are produced to the same purpose.

To this therefore I shall now briefly give answer, i. e. by concession that the same persons, who by these two Authors are called Bishops, are promiscuously called Presbyteri and Seniores also; And therefore secondly, that this question being thus farre (as to the Names) equally balanced betweene us, they saying that Bishops] signifies Presbyters in the moderne notion, we that Presbyters] signifies Bishops in the moderne notion, some other Indications, beside this of the Names, must be made use of on either side, toward the decision of it.

Of this sort there is no one offered to us by them, and so

Num 1.

2.

3.

as they have nothing to incline the *balance* their way, so we have nothing to make *answer* to in that particular. I shall therefore (as the onely thing left for me to doe) render some few Reasons, why the words *Bishop* and *Elders* in these Authors must needs signifie *Bishops* in our *Moderne* sence.

4.

And the first *prooffe*, as farre as concernes *Irenaeus*, is, because *Irenaeus*, who useth these words *promiscuously*, was himselfe a *Bishop* in our *moderne* notion, and yet is by others in his own dayes call'd *Elder* of the *Church* of *Lyons*, at that very time, when he is acknowledged to be *Bishop* of it, in our *moderne* sence of the word; This I thus manifest in each part.

5.

* L. 5 c. 23.

And first, That *Irenaeus* was *Bishop* of *Lyons*, in such a sence, as we now use *Bishop*, appeares by what * *Ensebins* saith of him, importing that he was *Primate* of all *France*, τὸν κατὰ Γαλλίαν πατρικίον, ὡς Ἐπισκοπὸν ἐπισκόπει, saith he, he was *Bishop* of the *Province* through *France*: Now this, we know, cannot be affirmed of a *moderne* *Presbyter*, who pretends not to any such wide and singular jurisdiction; And this needs no farther prooffe, it being by D. *Blondell* in his *Apolo- logie* for St. *Hierome* confest, that 40. yeares after *Christ*, i. e. nigh 40. yeares before this time, the *Government* of the *Church* was in the hands of *Bishops* over all the *World*, one in every *Church* set over all the rest of the *Church*.

6.

† L. 5. c. 4.

For the second part then, that at that time, when he is thus an acknowledged *Bishop* and *Arch-bishop*, he is yet called πρεσβύτερος ἐκκλησίας, *Elder* of the *Church*, I appeale to the *Testimony* of the *Gallicane* *Church*, at that time, as it lies recorded in * *Ensebins*, where in an *Embassy* performed by him in the name of the *Martyrs* of *Lyons* to *Eleutherius* the *Bishop* of *Rome*, we have these words concerning him, ταῦτα σοι τὰ γράμματα περὶ τρεῖς Ἰακώβου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ κοινοῦν Ἐπισκόπον κομισαί, Πατὴρ Εὐσεβίου, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔχειν σὲ αὐτὸν ἐν παραδείσει ζηλοῦν ὅντα τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ χριστοῦ ἔργων ἡδαιῶν τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνῃ περποιθεῖν, ὡς Πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅσπερ ὄν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν πρώτοις ἂν παρεδεδίκα. We have intreated our Brother and partaker *Irenaeus* to beare these Letters

Letters to you, O Father Eleutherius, and we beseech you to prize him as one very zealous of Christ's Covenant; If we thought that Justice would purchase a place to any, we had commended him in a principall manner, as Elder of the Church, for so he is.

Here ninety yeares after he had been Bishop and Archbishop of Lyons, about the yeare of Christ 177. he is styled by those Letters, Elder of the Church; by which it appears that in his time Elder was the title of Bishop, in our Moderne sense, and consequently so it may fitly signifie in his own writings, and so mult needs do there, when 'tis applied to those, who were acknowledged Bishops at that time, when by the Presbyterians acknowledgement Episcopacy was come in, in that notion, wherein we now understand it.

A second prooffe of this, is, that what in one place out of Papias he saith of all the Seniores or Elders, which in Asia conversed with St. John, that Clemens Alexandrinus, who lived in the same time, affirms of the Bishops or Elders of Asia; meaning by both of them the Bishops in our notion of the word.

Clemens Alexandrinus wrote his Stromata about the yeare 192. which is five yeares before Irenaeus Martyrdome, in the 5. of Severus. Now of this Clemens, it is certaine, 1. That he acknowledged the three Orders in the Church, which he calls τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν περικοπὰς, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, Strom. 6. διακόνων, the three degrees or promotions in the Church, of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and consequently must by the word ἐπίσκοπος understand Bishops in our moderne sense.

Secondly, that when he makes the Relation of John's meeting with the Bishop of Asia (which is the same matter which Irenaeus produceth out of Papias) he calls them in the same period both Elders and Bishops indifferently, For speaking of St. John he hath this passage, ἔλθων ἐν ᾧ τινὰ τῶν ἡμαρῶν πύλων—ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καθίσωσι πρεσβύτας ἐπισκόπων, ἐπίσκοπον ἰδὼν, ὅσον, ἔφη, σοὶ περὶ τίδεμα—ὁδε πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν ὡκαδε—Coming to a City not farre off—and looking on the Bishop, which was constituted over all, seeing a young man,

man, he said, *This person I commit to thee—And the Elder took him home, brought him up baptized, and at last gave him confirmation.*

11.

Here it is evident this *Elder of Asia*, one of those which, in *Irenæus*, conversed with Saint *John*, is ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ πᾶσι καθεσθῶς, a *Bishop constituted over all* in that *City*; and agreeably when Saint *John* comes back that way againe, he calls to him by that title, ὁ ἐπίσκοπε τῷ περκαλιδήκῳ ἀποδοῦ ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ χεῖρς σὺν περκαλιδέῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς περκαλίζει, *O Bishop, render us the depositum, which both I and Christ delivered to thee in the presence of the Church, over which thou art set.* Where againe he that is called *Elder* both by him and *Irenæus*, is also by him called ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησίας περκαλίζου, the *Bishop set over the Church.* And so that is a second evidence of it.

12.

Thirdly, In his *Epistle to Victor Bishop of Rome*, he speaks of his *Predecessors* thus, Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς νῦν ἀφουρῶν, Ἀνικηλῶς, Πίος, Ὑγίνος τε, καὶ Τηλέφορος — *The Elders which were set over the Church which thou rulest, Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, and Telephorus, and lib. 3. cap. 3. Θεμελιώσαντες καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησίαν, δίνον τῷ ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν διαχειρῆσαν—The blessed Apostles having founded and built the Church of Rome, put the Episcopal office into the hands of Linus, Anacletus succeeded him, Clemens Anacletus, Evarestus Clemens, Alexander Evarestus, then Xystus the sixth from the Apostles, after him Telephorus, then Hyginus, then Pius, after him Anicetus, after Anicetus, Soter; τῷ δωδεκάτῳ, ἰσπῶ δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον* Εὐλεύθερος, *Now in the twelfth place Eleutherus possesses the Bishoprick from the Apostles.*

13.

Here 1. it is evident that every one first named as *Elders*, are yet *single persons*, one succeeding another, πρεσβύτερος ἐκκλησίας: set over, or ruling the Church of Rome: Secondly, That for twelve successions together they are by *Irenæus* lookt upon all, as of the same ranke, succeeding one another, and the first as well as the last, called *Bishop*, which must conclude it to be understood by him in such a notion, as is equally competent to all, and so must be in our *moderne* notion, if the great *Assessors*

ferers of the Presbyterian cause say true, that about the yeare 140. i. e. certainly before *Elutherius* was Bishop of Rome, there were Bishops over Presbyters all the world over.

Lastly, * *Irenaeus*, speaking of some unworthy voluptuous Elders, expresseth their faults in such a manner, as cannot fitly belong to any but Bishops, *Principalis concessiois tumore elati sunt*, they are puffed up with the pride of the principall place, the *πρωτοκαθεδρία* the principall chair, which as Bishops belonged to them: for though it is as possible that Presbyters should be guilty of the pride, the tumour and elation, as that Bishops should be guilty of the same, yet the occasion of it there mentioned, the *principalis concessio*, the chiefe place of dignity, is peculiar to the one, and not reconcileable with the *ισολογία* or equality of the other.

14.
* L. 4. c. 44.

Their evidences have readily offered themselves to shew what *Irenaeus* means by *Presbyteri*, when he useth that and Bishops promiscuously, viz. by both, Bishops in our moderne notion, and he that shall reade over that author diligently, and compare his dialect with *Polycarpe* and *Papias*, with whom he accords, the former using *Πρεσβυτεροι* for Bishops (as hath largely been insisted on) and the latter for Apostles and Bishops, single Governors of each Church, (* *πρεσβυτεροι αρχαις*, *Euseb. l. 3. c. 39.* *Παύλος, Ἀνδρέας, Πέτρος, Ἰωάννης*, and elsewhere *πρεσβυτεροι Ματθαῖος, Ἀνδρέω, Πέτρῳ, Ἀριστῶν, Ἰωάννῃ, Μάρκῳ*) will doubtlesse finde many more proofes that thus he used the word, and (I shall adventure to undertake) meet with no one indication to the contrary.

15.

Sect. V.

Testimonies of Tertullian. Seniores, & Majores natu for Bishops, so in Firmilian.

AS for Tertullian I shall need say no more, but that it is the confession of the great Patron of Presbyterians, that he doth aperte tueri communis usum receptam ordinis in Episcopos, Presbyteros & Diaconos, distinctionem. Openly defend the received common distinction of the Ecclesiastick order into Bishops,

Num 1.
D Blondel Apol.
pag. 38.

Presbyters and Deacons, and he that can yet doubt of it, let him examine his citations, *de Prescript.* cap. 41. *de Baptismo* cap. 17. *de Monogam.* cap. 11. *de Fuga* c. 11. And that *de Baptismo* as high & cleare, as that which was most quarrell'd with in *Ignatius* *Dandi Baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus. dein Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter honorem Ecclesie, quo salvo salva pax est.* The Bishop hath the right of giving Baptisme, after him the Presbyters and Deacons, yet not without the authority of the Bishop, for the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved.

2. So that of him it is as cleare, as of *Irenaeus* or *Clemens*, that he must understand Bishop in our Moderne notion: And yet even by him, these of this uppermost degree are called *Seniores*, and *Majores natu*, Elders, *President probati quique Seniores*, the Elders preside, *Apol.* c. 39. and of the Bishops of Rome, the series of whom he had brought downe to *Anicetus*, lib. 3. *contr. Marcion.* cap. 9. he expresses them by *Majores natu*, successors of the Apostles, in his Book, written in verse, against *Marcion*.

3. And there will be lesse wonder in this, when it is remembered that after this in Saint Cyprian's times (who hath been sufficiently evidenced to speake of Bishops in our moderne notion of them) *Firmitian* Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, in vulgar style calls them *Seniores*, and *Propositi*, Elders, and Provosts, in his Epistle to Cyprian, and againe *President Majores natu*, &c. the Elders preside, evidently meaning the Bishops by those titles.

4. And so much be spoken in returne to what they have objected from these two *Antients*, *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*, supposing that I have competently performed the taske by them imposed on the *Prelatists*, shewed that the Bishops spoken of by them, were Bishops over Presbyters, and by them understood to be so.

SECT. VI.

Saint Jerom's Testimony of Bishops, &c. by Apostolicall Tradition. Consuetudo opposed to Dominica dispositio. Saint Jerom's meaning evidenced by many other Testimonies to be, that Bishops were instituted by the Apostles. So by Panormitan also. The Testimonies of Isidore, &c. the Council of A- quen, and of Leo vindicated. Of Ischyra's Ordination. The testimony of the Synod ad Zurrium, and of the 4th Council of Carthage.

IN the next place I am to proceed to that of Saint Hierome Nau. 1.
in his 85. *Epistle ad Enagrium*, the unanswerableness of
which I am affirmed to make matter of Triumph over D.
Blondel and Walo Massalinus, seeming to say, that it never can
be answered, whereas say they, if I had been pleased to cast an
eye upon the vindication—written by Smectymnuus, I should
have found this answer—

What this answer is, we shall see anon, In the meane it
will be necessary to give a briefe account, what it was, which
is called a triumphing over these two learned men. 2.

And first it is sufficiently knowne, what advantages the
defenders of Presbytery conceive themselves to have from that
one Antient writer, the Presbyter Saint Hierome: From him
they have the interpretation of those Scriptures, which they
thinke to be for their use, as that the word Bishop and Pres-
byter are all one in several texts of Scripture, and both signifie
Presbytery, and that the Apostles at first designed, *ut communi*
Presbyterorum concilio Ecclesia gubernarentur, that the Churches
should be governed by the common Council of Presbyters, and
that it so continued till upon the dissensions, which by this
meanes arose in the Church, it was judged more prudent and
usefull to the preserving of unity, *ut unus superponeretur reli-*
quis, that one should be set over the rest, and all the care of the
Church belong to him, And this, saith Hierome, *in toto Orbe de-*
cretum, decreed and executed over the whole world.

By whom this was conceived, by him to be thus decreed, he
gives us not to understand in that place, nor in what point 4.

of time he thought it was done, but leaves us to collect both from some few *circumstances*; as 1. that it was after *Schismes* entred into the Church, and one said *I am Paul, I of Apolos, &c.* And if it were immediately after that, then the *Presbyterians* will gaine but little by this *Patron*: For his whole meaning will be, that the *Apostles* first put the *Government* of each Church into the hands of many, but soon saw the inconvenience of doing so, and the *Schisme* and *ruptures* consequent to it, and changed it themselves, and settled one singular *Bishop* in the whole power of *Government* in every Church, to which very fitly coheres what *Clement* had said, that *lest new contentions should arise about this singular dignity and authority* who should succeed to it, they made a roll or Catalogue of those, which in *vacancies* should succeed in each Church.

5. That this was not, in *Hierome's* opinion, done thus early in the *Apostles* time, the *Presbyterians* think they may conclude from what he saith on *Tit. 1. Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominica veritate Presbyteris esse Maiores*, Let *Bishops* know that their greatnesse and superiority over *Presbyters* is held rather by custome, than by *Christs* having disposed it so. But it is very possible that this may not prove the conclusion, which is thought to be inferred by it, For here *Consuetudo*, *Custome*, as opposed to *Christs disposition*, may well signifie the *Practice* of the Church in the later part of the *Apostles* times, and ever since to *S. Hierome's* days, and that may well be severed from all command, or institution of *Christs*, & *soferom's* opinion may well be this, that *Christ* did not ordain this superiority of one above another, but left all in common in the *Apostles* hands, who within awhile, to avoid *Schism*, put the power in each Church in the hands of some one singular person.

6. And that this was *Hierome's* meaning, I thought my selfe, in charity to him, obliged to thinke, both because in this sense his words would better agree with the universal affirmation of all *Orthodoxe Christians*, that before him (and after him too, unlesse those few that took it on his credit) speake of this matter, and also, because if this be not his sense, he must needs be found to contradict himselfe, having elsewhere affirmed that the three degrees of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the Church

Church were of Apostolicall tradition, i. e. by the Apostles themselves delivered to the Church.

And now before I proceed, I desire the ingenuous Reader, who is contrary minded, to consider, what he can object to this conclusion of mine thus inferr'd concerning S. Hierome's opinion, and consequently what probability there is, that the Presbyterians cause should be superstructed on any Testimony of S. Hierome, supposing what I am next to demonstrate, that the three orders are by him acknowledged to be delivered from the Apostles.

7.

And this is evident in his Epistle to Emagrius, where having againe delivered the substance of what hath been now cited from his notes on Tit. i. he yet concludes, *Et ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, Quod Aaron & filii ejus atque Levis in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi & Presbyteri & Diaconi in Ecclesia vendicent.* That we may know that the Apostles traditions are taken out of the Old Testament, we have this instance, that what Aaron and his Sonnes and the Levites were in the Temple, the same the Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themselves in the Church. Where these three degrees (and so the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters) are by him affirmed to be traditions of the Apostles.

8.

On occasion therefore of inquiring into Hierome's meaning (and because this place so readily offered it selfe to expedite it) it was sure very reasonable to examine, and observe, what they which made most advantage of Hierome's authority, should be found to say to this testimony of his, for the Apostolical tradition of three orders. And among these, three principall persons offered themselves to our consideration, D. Blondell, Walo Messalinus, or Salmasius, and Lud. Capellus, every of them having newly written on this subject, and collected especially what Hierome had said of it.

9.

Of these three the last was soone discerned to have dealt most prudently, setting downe the other testimonies out of him, but wholly omitting this; The other two having not been so wary, made use of another dexterity, set downe the words, but deferr'd their observations on them, till some

10.

fitter season ; D Blondell put it off to his *sixt Section*, where-as upon examination he hath but *three* in his whole *booke*, and so is certainly never likely to speake of it, nor can he justly believed to have, in earnest designed any such thing : The other saith, he *expects more and better notes on it from Salmasius* (i.e. from himselfe) in another *booke*, viz. *De Ecclesiastico Ordine*, and after a great volume come out of that subject 8 or 9. yeares after, he yet never takes this place, or his own promise into consideration.

11. This was all that my search produced, and the taking notice of these *plaine matters of fact*, the behaviours of these men in that, which so much concern'd the whole *cause* to be taken notice of, and laid to heart, is all that was done by me, and which is styled by these a *triumphing over those learned Men*. And I hope there was little of *hard measure*, and as little of *insolence* in this.

12. Now because what these *learned Men* thus averted the doing, is yet here said to be done by *Smectymnuus*, and that if *I had cast an eye on the vindication—I should there have found that place of Hierome's answered*, I am now in the last place to obey their directions, and consider the *answer*, which from *Smectymnuus* they have set down for me.

13. And it is *twofold*, the first is a *civill denyall* that there is any *truth* in the words, For, say they, *It is hard to conceive how this imparity can be properly called an Apostolicall Tradition*, when Jerome, having mentioned John the last of the Apostles, saith it was *postea*, that one was set over the rest.

14. But is this the way of *answering* the place, or salving the difficulty ? *Hierome* saith, *Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons* in the Church (that sure is this imparity) are an *Apostolicall Tradition* ; and they answer, *It is hard to conceive how it can be properly so called*. What is this but to make *Hierome's* words (as soone as ever he saith any thing which accords not with their interest) as *unreconcilable* with truth, as with his own former words, which they had cited from him ? And then how much kinder to *Hierome* was I than they, who thought it necessary to affix a *commodious* meaning to his former words, and interpret *consuetudo*] the *custome* of the Church

Church begun in the *Apostles* dayes, that so in thus saying, he might be reconcileable with himself, when he called *Episcopacy* a tradition *Apostolicall* ?

As for the *reason*, which makes this so hard for them to conceive from *Hierome's* words, I believe it hath no force in it; For though after the mention of *S. Iohn's* words in his second and third *Epistle*, he saith that [*postea, afterwards*] this *imparity* was introduced, yet this proves not his opinion to be, that it was not *Apostolicall tradition*; It might be done after the writing of those *Epistles*, and yet in *St. Iohn's* time, i. e. before his death. And though I believe *St. Hierome* was mistaken, in thinking there were no *Bishops* till then (it would have had more truth in it, if he had said there were no *Presbyters* till then) yet for all that, I cannot doubt but this was his opinion, because as he no where saith any thing which is contrary to this, so here he saith expressly that it was *Apostolicall tradition*, which in his opinion it could not be, if it were not in the Church, in his opinion, before *St. Iohn's* death. And so there is but little appearance of validity in their first Answer.

And for their second, that is somewhat like the former, viz. that with *Hierome* *Apostolicall tradition* and *Ecclesiasticall custome* are the same.

If this be true, then certainly I did not amisse in thinking that when *Hierome* used *consuetudo custome* in opposition to *Dominica dispositio*, *Christ's* appointment or institution, I ought to interpret *custome* in that place, by *Apostolicall Tradition* in the other. For how *Ecclesiasticall custome* with him, and *Apostolicall Tradition* should be the same, and yet *Ecclesiasticall custome* may not be interpreted by *Apostolicall tradition*, especially when the same man affirms them both of the same thing; I confesse I cannot apprehend.

But then secondly, because I must suppose, that by making them the same, they must meane to bring downe *Apostolicall tradition* to signifie *Ecclesiasticall custome*, not to advance *custome* to signify *Apostolicall tradition* (in the same manner as when they make *Bishop* and *Elder* the same, they bring downe *Bishop* to signifie *Presbyter*, but will not allow *Elder*

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16.

17.

18.

to signifie *Bishop*) that also will be worth examining a while.

19.

And 1. Can there be any reason to imagine, that *Hierome* or any man should set down that for an instance of *Apostolical tradition*, which the same person doth not believe to be delivered by the *Apostles*, but to be of a latter date? That which is delivered by the *Apostles*, and received, and practised by the *Church*, may fitly be called a *custome of the Church*, without adding or specifying, that we meane the *Apostolical Church*, because the *Apostles*, while they lived, were a part of the *Church*, and the following age was a part of the *Church* also. But can it be truly said, that that was delivered by the *Apostles*, which was onely accustomed in the subsequent *Church*, and not so much as introduced under the *Apostles*?

20.

This certainly is another strange way of interpreting words or phrases quite contrary to all *Lexicons*, or to the use of such words or phrases, which unlesse they be changed, it is as much as to say, he that said *Tradition Apostolical*, did not meane *Tradition Apostolical*; And this sure will bring little credit to *St. Hierome*, on whose authority they so much depend in this matter.

21.

As for their prooffe of what they say, viz. because the observation of *Lent*, which he saith, ad Marcellum, is *Apostolica traditio*, is contra *Luciferianos*, said by him to be *Ecclesiæ consuetudo*, that sure is not of force to conclude what they would have it, for it may be (or by him be deemed to be) both, an *Apostolical tradition* and a *custome of the Church* too, it being very ordinary and reasonable, that what the *Apostles* delivered, the *Church* should also accustom, and practice. But could both these be said by him of that which he thought were but one of these? That is againe to make him testifie against his conscience, to say *Lent* was an *Apostolical tradition*, and to believe it was not an *Apostolical tradition*.

22.

Here I shall not need debate whether the observation of *Lent* were *Apostolical*, or no; All that is necessary to insist on, is, whether *Saint Hierome*, that said it was such, believed it to be such, And if he be mistaken in his believe, then he may be as well mistaken in the meaning of those passages, which he

in.

interprets so, as is usefull to, and in favour of the *Presbyterians*, as that *πρεσβύτεροι* Elders, *Act. 20.* were the *Presbyters* of the Church of *Ephesus*; that the *ἐπίσκοποι* Bishops, *Phil. 1.* are *Presbyters* of that one Church or City, and the like. For either of those is but his *believe* or *perswasion* too, and the more fallible they finde him in other things, the lesse weight they ought to lay on his opinion in this, and the lesse blame on us, for departing from his opinion.

But having said this *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, for the repelling all force of their objection, I shall now adde some other testimonies out of Saint *Hierome*, and after them, one argument, *ad homines* undeniable, to demonstrate, that it was indeed and without question *S. Hierome's* opinion, that Bishops in our moderne notion were instituted by the Apostles themselves.

1. In his 54. *Epistle* he sets downe this difference among others, between the *Catholikes* and the *Montanist hereticks*, *Apud nos Apostolorum locum tenent Episcopi, apud eos Episcopus tertius est, Among the Catholikes the Bishops (such as were in S. Hierome's time, i. e. certainly such as in ours not mere Presbyters) hold the place of the Apostles (i. e. the uppermost place in the Church of Christ, and succeed the Apostles in it) and among those Hereticks the Bishop is the third, which it seems was one character of their being Heretick, and so a deviation from an Apostolical truth.)*

2. In his *Booke de script. Eccles.* he saith of *James the brother of the Lord Jacobus ab Apostolis statim post ascensionem Domini Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus, suscepit ecclesiam Hierosolyma. Timotheus a Paulo Ephesiorum Episcopus ordinatus, Titus Creta. Polycarpus a Johanne Smyrna Episcopus Ordinatus. James presently after Christs Ascension, was ordained Bishop of Hierusalem, and undertook (i. e. ruled, as to receive the Congregation, Psal. 75. is to rule it) the Church of Hierusalem, Timothy was ordained Bishop of the Ephesians by Paul, Titus of Crete, Polycarpe was by John ordained Bishop of Smyrna. Where, as it is evident, and by the *Presbyterians* acknowledged, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were singular rulers (which therefore they are wont to excuse by saying they are extraordinary officers or *Evangelists*) and yet by him said to be Bishops of*

23.

24.

25.

Ephesus and Crete, and so constituted by the *Apostles*, so it is consequent that *James* and *Polycarpe* were by him deemed singular rulers also (and not *Collegues* in a *Presbytery*) and those so constituted by the *Apostles* also, and accordingly of this *James* he saith, *ad Gal. 2. Jacobus primus ei Ecclesia prefuit* — *Episcopus Hierosolymorum primus fuit*, *James* was the first that was set over that Church — was the first *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*. And in consequence thereto in his comments on *Isa. lib. 5. cap. 17.* he calls this *James* *Decimum tertium Apostolum* the thirteenth *Apostle*

26.

* *Tag. 85.*

3. In like manner * *Epist. ad Euagrium*, speaking of *Marke* (who dying in the 8th. of *Nero*, what was done by him, must be resolved to have been in the *Apostles* times, and agreeable to their practice] he saith, *Alexandria. à Marco Evangelistâ ad Heraclum & Dionysium Episcopos Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori super Presbyteros gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faceret.* At *Alexandria* from the time of *Marke* the *Evangelist*, to the time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* *Bishops*, the *Presbyters* alwayes named one chosen from among themselves, and placed in an higher degree above *Presbyters*, their *Bishop*, as if an army should choose their *Generall*. That what is said of the *Presbyters* choosing their *Bishop*, belongs not to *Presbyters* imposing hands on him, is * elsewhere largely evidenced. And so, by the way, appeareth the falseness of the citation out of *Jerome, Appen. p. 142.* that in *Alexandria* for a long time the *Presbyters* ordained (it should have been said elected) their *Bishop*. That which I here inferre from the testimony is manifest, viz. that in *Saint Markes* time, and from the first planting of the Church at *Alexandria*, one *Bishop* or singular Ruler was constituted among them, as that signifies an higher degree than that of *Presbyters*.

* *Dissert. 3. cap 10.*

27.

4. More places there are in him, which evidence his opinion, that *Bishops*, as they differ from *Presbyters*, are successors of the *Apostles*: In his *Comment on Psal. 45. Nunc quia Apostoli à mundo recesserunt, habes pro his Episcopo filios, sunt & hi patres tui, quia ab ipsis regeris.* Now (in *S. Hierome's* time) because the *Apostles* are parted from the world, you have in their

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steads Bishops their Sonnes; They also are thy Fathers, because thou art governed by them. Where the Bishops that then ruled (those are confest to be single persons, not Presbyteries) are the successors of the Apostles in his opinion. And Ep. 1. ad Heliodorum, of not undertaking the office of Bishop. *Non est facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri;* 'tis not easie to stand in Pauls place, to hold the degree of Peter. Where Episcopacy is the place and degree of those Apostles. And so Ep. 13. ad Paulinum, *Episcopi & Presbyteri habeant in exemplum Apostolos & Apostolicos viros, quorum honorem possidentes habere nitantur & meritum,* Bishops and Presbyters must have for their Examples the Apostles and Apostolical men, whose honour they possess, and therefore ought to endeavour to imitate their merits.

5. I shall adde a *Cumulus* of other passages much to the same purpose with the former, and fit to be taken in conjunction with them, to give us the full understanding of S. Hierome's opinion in this matter. *Ad Nepotian. Ep. 2. Esto subiectus Pontifici tuo, & quasi anima parentem suscipe, quod Aaron & filius ejus, hoc Episcopum & Presbyteros esse noverimus.* Be subject to the Bishop, and receive him as the parent of thy Soule, what Aaron and his Sonnes were, that we must know the Bishop and Presbyters to be. And on *Tit. 1.* speaking of S. Paul's directions for the making a Bishop, *Apostolus,* saith he, *Ecclesia Principem formans,* the Apostle forming the Prince or ruler of the Church, and so againe in the same words on *Psal. 45.* deciphering a single ruler by that Bishop, which the Apostle there meant to forme. So on that *45. Psal. Constituit Christus in omnibus finibus mundi Principes Ecclesia Episcopos,* Christ in all parts of the world constituted Princes of the Church, the Bishops, just the same as hath beene cited from Ignatius, that all the world over, the Bishops were ordained by the Apostles according to the minde of Christ. In his *Dial. adv. Luciferian.* *Ecclesia salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendit, cui si non exors quaedam & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur Schismata quot sacerdotes;* and, *Si quis quare in Ecclesia baptizatus, nisi per manus Episcopi non accipiat spiritum sanctum—disce hanc observationem ex ea autoritate descendere, quod spiritus sanctus ad Apostolos descendit.* The safety of

28.

the Church depends on the dignity of the chiefe Priest (or Bishop) to whom, if a peculiar power be not given above all that others have, there will be as many Schisms as Priests in the Churches — If you demand why he that hath been baptized in the Church, may not receive the Holy Ghost but by the hands of the Bishop, learne that this observance descends from that Authority, in that the holy spirit descended on the Apostles. Which Testimo y, as it shewes the necessity of a singular Bishop to avoid Schisms in the Church, and so must affixe the institution of them on the Apostles, who made provision against that danger (and that I suppose is his meaning in * that place which the Presbyterians make most use of) so it directly derives the authority, by which Bishops stand in the Church, distinct from Presbyters, and above them from the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles. Lastly, *adv. Jovinian.* 1. *Episcopus & Presbyter & Diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina sed officiorum. Nec dicitur, si quis Episcopatum desiderat.*—The Bishop and Presbyter and Deacon, are names of offices, neither is it said, If any man desire a Bishoprick—applying those Texts of Saint Paul, concerning the qualifications of Bishops to the Bishop, as in his time he stood, distinct from Presbyters.

* In toto orbe
decretum ut unus
de Presbyteris
electus super po-
neretur ceteris,
ad quem omnis
Ecclesie cura
pertineret, ut
schismatum se-
mina tollerentur,
and Paulatim
ut dissensionum
semina tollerentur,
ad unum
omnis sollicitudo
relata est. Com
ad Tit.

29.

All this I suppose may suffice to give authority to my collection and conclusion from plaine words of Saint Hierome, that his meaning was as plaine and undubitable, that Episcopacy was delivered downe and instituted in the Church by the Apostles themselves. And I cannot conceive what can be invented to avoid the evidence of these testimonies; yet because I promised it, I shall now adde that one argument (*ex abundanti*, and much more than is necessary) to the same purpose, (*viz.* to prove that this was Hierome's meaning, which I pretend it to be.) And that such, as by these objectors cannot with justice be denied, to have a full irrefragable force in it, having themselves made use of it against us, which they ought not to have done, if by themselves it shall now be denied when it is produced by us.

30.

In the close of their Appendix, they have set downe several propositions declaring the judgement and practice of the Antient Church about ordination of Ministers, and their first proposition, being

being this, that in the first and purest times—there was ordination of Presbyters without Bishops over Presbyters, their proofe is this. For these Bishops came in posterity and paulitum, afterward, and by little and little as Jerome saith. And Panormitan, lib. I. Decretal. de Consuetud. cap. 4. saith *Olim Presbyteri in communi regebant Ecclesiam & ordinabant sacerdotes, & pariter conferebant omnia sacramenta.* Of old the Elders ruled the Church in common, and ordained Priests, and joyntly conferred all the Sacraments.

These two testimonies of Hierome and Panormitan, being brought to prove the same proposition concerning ordination by Presbyters, and the time of Bishops coming in to the Church, It must sure be reasonable to resolve that what Panormitan hath defined in this matter, that was Saint Hieromes sense also; Now what that is, will be discerned by setting downe Panormitane's words at large, as they lye in the place cited by them.

31.

The businesse he hath there in hand is to prove that custome is not of force so farre, as to prescribe that an Ordinary Clerk as Presbyter should performe an Episcopal act, *Ea quæ sunt ordinis Episcopalis non possunt acquiri per ordinem inferiorem ex consuetudine quantamcunque vetustissima.* Those things that are of Episcopal order cannot by any custome, how antient soever, be acquired by any Inferiour order: The reason is, quia consuetudo non facit quem capaxem, because custome doth make no man capable — Then he makes this observation, that *Ritus Apostolorum circa sacramenta habent impedire characteris impressionem;* The rites, or practice, or Institutions of the Apostles about the Sacraments, have power to hinder the impression of the Character, nam immediate post mortem Christi omnes Presbyteri in communi regebant ecclesiam, non fuerant inter ipsos Episcopi, sed idem Presbyter quod Episcopus, & pariter conferebant omnia sacramenta, sed postmodum ad Schismata sedantia fecerunt seu ordinaverunt Apostoli, ut crearentur Episcopi, & certa sacramenta eis reservarent, illa interdicens simplicibus Presbyteris — For immediately after the death of Christ, all the Elders in common ruled the Church, and so there were no Bishops among them, but a Presbyter was the same that a Bishop, and they joyntly conferred all the Sacraments. But

32.

after a while for the appeasing of Schismes the Apostles caused or ordained that Bishops should be created, and reserved to them some Sacraments (or holy Rites) forbidding single Presbyters to meddle with them: and he concludes, *Et vides hic quod talis ordinatio habet impedire etiam impressionem Characteris, quia si Presbyteri illa de facto conferunt, nihil conferunt, and here you see, that such an Ordination is able to hinder the impression of the Character, because if Presbyters doe de facto confer them, they confer nothing.*

33. Where, as Panormitan cited by them to prove Ordination without Bishops (and specious words pickt out of him to that purpose) doth yet distinctly affirme that Presbyters, which confer Orders without a Bishop conferre nothing, all their Ordinations are meere nullities (and what could have been said more severely against their practice, and their designe in citing him, than this?) so he plainly interprets St. Jeromes assertion of the occasion and time of Bishops being set over the Presbyters, that it was done by the appointment of the Apostles themselves, and so that *consuetudo, custome* in Jerome, opposed to *Dominica dispositio Christi's disposall*, is no more than [*postmodum ordinauerunt Apostoli, after a while the Apostles ordained*] opposed to [*immediatè post mortem Christi, immediately after the death of Christ.*]

34. And then by the way, as the Reader may hence discern what force there is, in this Testimony of Panormitan to support their first proposition concerning the Ordination of Presbyters without Bishops over Presbyters (for which besides St. Jeromes *postea* and *paulatim*, and part of this testimony of Panormitan, they produce no other) and as by what was formerly said of the Testimonies of Cyrian and Firmilian, their chiefe supports for their * second proposition, have already been utterly demolished, so also the Testimonies of Isidore Hispalensis and the Councell of Aqnen produced for the proofe of their † third Proposition, concerning the Presbyters having an *intrinsicke* power to ordaine Ministers, will immediately vanish in like manner. For as it is evident that that place in that councell of Aqnen is for nine Chapters together transcribed out of Isidore, and consequently the

* Append. p. 129

† Append. p. 131.

Testimonies out of him and that *council* are but one and the same thing, twice repeated, to increase the number, so 'tis as evident that what is by them said, is taken from St. Hierome, and can no farther be extended either in respect of the authority or the matter of the *Testimony*, than in St. Hierome it hath appeared to extend. And therefore as the * words cited by these men out of them are no more than these, that *so'um propter auctoritatem Clericorum ordinatio & consecratio reservata est summo sacerdoti*, That *Presbyters* have many things common with *Bishops*, onely in respect of authority (or for the preserving it intire, and the unity of each Church, which depended on that, in St. Hierom's opinion) the Ordination and consecration of Clerks (i.e. of all *Presbyters* and *Deacons*) was reserved to the chiefe Priest, i.e. the *Bishop*; which how farre it is from concluding what it was brought to prove, the *intrinsicke* power of *Presbyters* to ordaine *Ministers*, I leave to any Reader to passe judgement. And yet truly this doth it as well as their one other *antient Testimonie*, that of *Leo*, set out in their front, out of his 88. *Epistle*, concerning the *Consecration* of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and some other things, *Qua omnia solis deberi Pontificibus auctoritate canonum precipitur*, All which that they should be due to the *Bishops* and to none else, it is commanded by the authority of the *Canons*. Who would ever have thought fit from such words as these, which *affirme* this privilege to be reserved peculiarly to the *Bishops*, and that the authority of the *Canons* so requires, to conclude that the *Presbyters* had this *intrinsicke* power; As if all that the *Canons* deny *Presbyters*, were infallibly their due to enjoy, and the *Argument demonstrative*, that it was their *Originall* and *intrinsicke* due, because the *Canons* deny it.

What they adde of *Ischyas* Prop. 6. that being deposed from being a *Presbyter*, because made by *Colluthus* who was but a *Presbyter* himselfe, and not a *Bishop*, this was done, not because the act of *Colluthus* was against the Canon of *Scripture*, but onely because it was against the *Canons* of some *councils*.] is somewhat of the same nature with the former, and will be best judged of by the relation of the *Fact*, which in the story of

Append p. 132.

35.
P. 143.

L. 1. C. 20.

of those times is thus made by *Socrates*, Πράγμα ἰσίδυ πόλ-
λων θανάτων ἄξιον ὑδραπότολε γὰρ ἱερῶσίνες τυχεῖν τὸ δὲ πρεσ-
βύτερον ὄνομα ἑαυτῷ περιδέρῳ· τὰ ἱερῶς πρῶτῳ ἐτόλμουν,
He adventured on a thing worthy of many Deaths, for being
never admitted to the Priesthood, and assuming to himselfe the
name of an Elder, he dared to doe the things belonging to a Priest.
A censure which certainly sets the fault somewhat higher than
the transgressing of the Canons of some Councils.

36. Two Testimonies more I shall touch on, before I returne to
the pursuit of my proposed Method, and then I shall render
the reason of this *Excursion*.

37. For the confirmation of their second Proposition concerning
Ordination, one Testimony they produce from the Synod ad
Quercum Ann. 403. where it was brought as an accusation a-
gainst *Chrysostome*, ὅτι πῶλλας ἀμαρτύρους ἐχειροτόνησεν, ὅτι
ὄνεν συνεδεῖν καὶ παρὰ γνώμῃ τῶ κλήρου ἐποίησε τὰς χειροτονίας,
That he made Ordinations without the company and sentence of
the Clergy. Another from the councill of Carthage Can. 20.
Ut Episcopus sine Concilio Clericorum suorum non ordinet,
That a Bishop ordeine not Clerkes without the Councell of his
owne Clerkes, and Can. 2. Cum Ordinatur Presbyter Episcopo
eum benedicente, & manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam
omnes Presbyteri qui praesentes sunt manus suas juxta manum
Episcopi super caput illius teneant. When a Presbyter is Or-
dained, as the Bishop blesseth him and layes his hand on his
head, let all the Presbyters also that are present lay their hands
on his Head by the Hand of the Bishop. And the conclusion
deduced from these Testimonies (and the forementioned of Cy-
prius and Fermilian) is this, that Ordination by Bishops
without the assistance of his Presbyters was alwayes for-
bidden and opposed. How truly this is inferred from the
Promisses will soone be judged by a view of the Testi-
monies.

38. For the first, this is the truth of the story, *Theophilus* a
guilty person, and as such, cited to answer, what was object-
ed against him, making use of the envy, under which *Chry-
sostome* then laboured, shifted the Scene, and became his
judge, nay, as *Photinus* tells us, he and the rest of that Con-
venticle,

vesticle, *ἢ τὰ μάλιστα δυσμενέας ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα*, that were Chrysostome's greatest enemies, *ἀμα πάντα καὶ καίται, καὶ κατήγοροι, καὶ μάρτυρες ἦσαν*, were at once Judges, and Accusers, and Witnesses of all that was charged against him. And therefore we already see, what heed is to be given to the accusation of those Fathers *ad quercum*, and how valid an argument can be deduced from it; And we shall the better guess at it, if we consider also, what other particulars were, in the same manner that this was, charged against him, set down by Photinus in his *Bibliotheca*. The 23. charge was, *ὅτι αὐτὸς μόνος λυτὴν ὑποκρίσται*—that the Bath was heated for him alone, and that after he had bathed, Serapion shuts the passage into the Bath, that no body else might bath: The 25. *ὅτι μόνος ἐδίει*,—that he ate alone, living like one of the Cyclopes, and betwixt these two new found crimes, comes in this, in the midst, being the 24. *ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀμαρτύροι ἔχοντες ὀνόματι*, that he ordained many that had no Testimonials; which being set down by Photinus, as the summe of that charge, referres us indeed to the ground, on which their charge was built, of his ordaining without a Councell, and against the minds of his Clergy, (those testimonials, and so the approbation of the person by the Clergy being generally a good preparation to the receiving Orders) but doth not at all prove that a Bishop might not ordaine without assistance of his Presbyters, or that it was alwayes forbidden, any more than it proves that eating or bathing alone was alwayes forbidden also.

As for that of the 4. Councell of Carthage Can. 20. They have set downe but halfe the Canon; the whole runnes thus, *Ut Episcopus sine concilio Clericorum non ordinet, ita ut civibus conventum & Testimonium quarat*, That the Bishop ordain not without his councell of Clergy, so that he seeke the liking and testimoniall of the Inhabitants. Which againe onely serves to shew, the use of the assistent Presbyters, to helpe the Bishop to a due knowledge of the person to be ordained (and this they know we Prelatists assent to and approve of) but is no argument of the unlawfulnessse of sole ordination, or of any power that the Presbyters have in the conferring of Orders.

39.

40. So likewise that from *Can. 2.* is onely a *Testimony* for the *finesse* and *usefulness* of that *custome* (still retain'd and used in our *Church* in all *Ordinations* of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*); that the *Presbyters* there *present* should lay on their hands by the *band* of the *Bishop*, and so joine in the *Prayer* or *benediction*, but no *prooffe* that a *Presbyter* might not be *ordained* by a *Bishop* without the *presence* of such *Presbyters*.

41. I have for a while gone aside from the consideration of *S. Hierome's testimony* (the designed matter of this *Section*) and allowed my selfe *scope* to take in all the *testimonies* of *Antiquity*, which are made use of by these *Assemblers*, for the justifying their *Ordination* of *Ministers*; And I have done it on purpose (though a little contrary to my designed *Method* and *brevity*), because after the publishing of the *Dissertations* against *Blondel*, I remember I was once told, that though it was not *necessary*, yet I might do well to add some *Appendix*, by way of *Answer* to that one head of *discourse* concerning *Presbyteriall Ordination*, and the *Instances* which were objected by him. For which reason I have now, as near as I can; taken in all; in this place, which are in their *Appendix* produced on that head, and doe not elsewhere in this *briefe* reply, fall in my way to be answered by me. For some others, mentioned by *D. Blondel*, I refer the *Reader* to the learned *paines* of the *Bishop* of *Derry*, in his *vindication* of the *Church* of *England* from the aspersions of *Schisme*, p. 270. &c.

42. And so being at last returned into my rode againe, This may, I hope, suffice to have said in the justification of what was done in the *Dissertations* concerning *St. Hierome*, both to cleare his *sense*, and for the setting the *ballance* aright betwixt his authority on the one side, and the authority of *Ignatius* on the other, betwixt some doubtfull sayings of the former, which seemed to *prejudice* the *Dollrine* of the *Apostles* instituting *imparity*, which yet elsewhere he *affirmes* to be *Apostolicall* tradition, and the many cleare and *uncontradicted*, constant sayings of the latter, which are acknowledged to assert it. Which one thing, if it be not in the *Dissertations* so done,

as may satisfie any impartiall Judge, that Ignatius, in full concord with all, is to be heeded on our side, more than St. Hierome, in some few of his many Testimones, can be justly produced against us, I shall then confesse my selfe guilty of over-much confidence; but if therein I have not erred, it is most evident that I need not undertake any farther travaile in this whole matter.

Sect. VII.

The Testimonies of Ambrose and Austin. Consignare used for consecrating the Eucharist, and that belonged to the Bishop when present.

Here now followes in the next place the passage cited by them p. 133. out of Ambrose on Eph. 4. where to prove that even during the prevalency of Episcopacy 'twas not held unlawfull for a Presbyter to ordaine without a Bishop, they urge out of St. Ambrose these words, *Apud Egyptum Presbyteri consignant, si praesens non sit Episcopus, In Egypt the Presbyters consigne, if the Bishop be not present.* And the like out of Austine (or whosoever was the Author) in *Quaest. ex utroque Testam. Qu. 101. In Alexandria & per totam Egyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecrat Presbyter, In Alexandria and through all Egypt, if the Bishop be wanting, the Presbyter consecrates.* And having done so, they adde, *which words cannot be understood (as a—defender of Prelacy would have them) of the Consecration of the Eucharist; For this might be done by the Presbyter praesente Episcopo, the Bishop being present, but it must be understood either of confirmation, or (which is more likely) of ordination, because Ambrose in that place is speaking of Ordination.*

Num. 1.

To this I shall briefly reply, 1. That it is sure enough, & granted by the most eminent Presbyterians, that these two Books, whence these Testimonies are cited, were not written either by Ambrose or Austine, but by some other (Hilarius Sardus, saith Blondel) and unjustly inserted among their works, and then the authority of such *supposititious* pieces will not be

2.

great to over-rule any practice otherwise acknowledged in the Church of God.

3. Secondly, that the mistakes of *Blondel* and *Salmasius*, concerning the meaning of the former of these places, were so evidently discovered by the second of them (the *consignant* in the one, interpreted by *consecrat* in the other) that I conceived it sufficient, but to name them, For can there be any thing more unquestionable than this, that *consecrare* in ancient writers signifies the Consecration of the Eucharist? And then if *consignare* be a more obscure phrase, is there any doubt, but it must be interpreted by that which is so much more vulgar and plaine? and all the circumstances besides being exactly the same in both places, what doubt can there be, but in both, the words are to be understood of the Eucharist?

4. Yet because some advantage was by this their misunderstanding sought to the Presbyterians cause, they now resolve, and insist, that it must not be rectified, though they know not which to apply it to, Confirmation or Ordination, and pretend not to produce any Testimony, where *consecrare* is ever used for the latter, or *consignare* for either of them. And indeed * *Blondel* and + *Salmasius* were yet more uncertaine, for they thought it might also belong to the benediction of Penitents, and that as probable as either of the two former; And when the truth is rejected, thus it is wont to be.

* *Apol.* p. 57.
† *Appar. ad. lib.*
de Prim.

5. As for the onely reason which inclines them to confine it to Ordination, because *Ambrose* in that place is speaking of Ordination, if the place be review'd, it will not be found to have truth in it; He speaks immediately before of the severall Ministeriall Acts, Preaching and Baptizing, adding indeed that *Scripta Apostoli non per omnia conveniunt Ordinationi, quæ nunc in Ecclesia est*, The writings of the Apostle doe not in all things agree to the Order, which is now in the Church. There is mention of Ordination indeed, but that signifies not Ordination, as we now use it for ordaining of Ministers, but manifestly the *anastasis*, the rule, or order used in the Church, in severall respects, saith he, different from what it was in the writings of the Apostle. And

And for their objection against my interpretation, that it cannot be understood of consecrating the Eucharist, [because this the Presbyter might do when the Bishop was present] If they would have taken notice of the many evidences brought by me in that place out of the *Antients*, the *Canons of the Apostles*, *Ignatius ad Magnes.* the 56 Canon of the council of *Laodicea*, and *Tertullian*, that the Presbyter might not administer either Sacrament without the Bishop's appointment, and distinctly of this Sacrament: *Non de aliorum quam de Presidentium manu Eucharistiam sumimus*, we receive it not from the hands of any but the Presidents, i. e. (in his style) the Bishops, *Tertull: de Cor. Mil.* they could never have thought this a reasonable Objection, It being evidently the sense of the Ancient Canons, (to which the description of the practice in *Justin Martyr* doth perfectly agree, *Apol. 2.*) that onely the Bishop had power to consecrate the Eucharist, and in his absence onely, the Presbyter, to whom he gave that power.

6.

Had they been pleased to have taken notice of these *Canons* and *antient Records*, punctually set downe by mee in that place, it must certainly have prevented this their exception, and utterly robbed them of those two Testimonies to that Proposition. And as to that of the *Alexandrian Bishops* out of *Hierome*, that is also largely answered by me, *Dissert. 3 c. 10.* but that, againe, they were resolved not to take notice of.

7.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Chorepiscopi.

There still remains one mention of me, upon occasion of the *Chorepiscopi* or *Regionary Bishops*, *Append. p. 138.* Of that subject they are somewhat large, and so D. Blondel had been before them, and in answering him, all their pretensions from thence, and that whole argument (by them pursued *P. 135, 136, 137, 138.*) is punctually answered, before it was produced, *Dissert. 3, c. 8.*

Num. 1.

B b 3

And

2. And yet they go on roundly, as if there were no such thing, onely in the *close* they adde, *There is another whom we forbear to name; that saith that the Chorepiscopi were Bishops. But hee addes, though they were Bishops, yet they were made but by one Bishop, and Bishops meerly titular and sine Cathedra, which is all one as if he should say, they were not properly Bishops.*

3. That which is said of the *Chorepiscopi* in the *Dissertations* is too long to be here so impertinently repeted, If the Reader please to consult the place, I have no feare that he will returne unsatisfied in any thing that is by these men objected against *Pralacy* from that head. A *Dilemma* is there used, which, whether they were *Bishops* or no, will certainly secure us.

4. As to their present argument against me, I answer, that what I say of those *Chorepiscopi*, is, not that they were *Bishops* meerly titular, but that they were *Proxies* or *vicarii* of the *Bishop* of the *City*, acting by *Commission* from him in the *Region* or *Countrey*, and were under the *Bishop* of the *City* and *Ordained* by him, and so were true *Bishops*, but not of the *Cities*; had *Ordination* as other *Bishops* had, though three *Bishops* were not by the *Canon* required to the ordaining of such, but onely that one *Bishop* of the *City*, whose *Proxy* or *Vicarius* the *Chorepiscopus* was: *Bishops* in cases of necessity, ordained sine titulo; without a title or *City* to which they were affixed, and for some time allowed to ordaine *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the *Countrey*, and to doe some other things in the *Bishop's* stead.

[5. All which is so largely set downe in the *Dissertations*, and vindicated so absolutely from serving the *Presbyterians* interest, that I must not for ever doe the same thing againe, transcribe what is there said abundantly, and nothing here objected against it, but that what I affirme of them, makes them to be not poperly *Bishops*. Where if by properly *Bishops* they meane *Bishops* of *Cities*, they say very true, for I affirme them to be, as their title assures me they were, *Regionary Bishops*, *Vicarii* and *Proxies* to the *City Bishop*.

But

But that they were *mere Presbyters*, and no more, and by their being *Presbyters* had the Power to *Ordeine* other *Presbyters* (which alone is the *Presbyterians* taske to make good; if they will have it usefull to the prooffe of their conclusion, their * 4. Proposition, That *Presbyters*, during the Prevalency of *Episcopacy*, had not onely an inherent power of *Ordination*, but in some cases did actually ordeine) thus they doe not undertake to make good against the discourse in the *Dissertations*: And therefore I have no excuse to make any larger reply to them. 6. Append p. 133

The Conclusion.

I Have now gone through every part of my designed Method, and not omitted one intimation of theirs, wherein I could thinke my selfe concerned; And that it may appeare that I should not have chosen this, as a season, to begin any debate concerning a subject so forgotten in men's minds as *Episcopacy* is, I shall thus conclude the Readers trouble, without examining what else they say on this subject; having, I hope, competently secured my selfe from the Opinion of having formerly attempted to seduce any, so little either to his or my owne advantage.

THE END.

The Printer to the Reader.

THE absence of the Author, and his inconvenient distance from London, hath occasioned some lesser escapes in the impression of this *Vindication*, &c. The Printer thinks it the best instance of pardon if his Blotches be not laid upon the Author, and he hopes they are no greater than an ordinary understanding may amend, thus,

Page 5. l. 25. r. δὲ. p. 6. l. 5. r. *which when we*. l. 6. r. *place*. l. 7. r. γὰρ ἡμῶν Ἀποστόλων. l. 9. r. *affaires, we have then so*. l. 19. r. *holy man*. p. 7. l. 20. r. of *David*. l. 24. r. *their answer*. p. 8. *marg.* l. 4. r. χειροτονίαν. l. 6. r. ἀναβεβήκασι. p. 10. l. 21. r. *exarchs*. p. 12. l. 1. r. *their not*. p. 13. l. 4. r. *to confirme*. l. *pennul.* r. *some predecessor*. p. 16. l. 14. r. of *Timothy*. l. 18. r. *a continuall*. p. 18. l. 4. r. *Dorotheus*. p. 21. l. 24. r. *we are*. p. 22. l. 22. r. *mixing*. l. 33. r. *pretensions*. p. 23. l. 35. r. *Chaldee*. p. 24. l. 24. r. *was again*. p. 25. l. 27. r. *And in them of Diotrophes*. p. 31. l. 31. r. *Assemblers*. p. 36. l. 18. r. *for so*. p. 43. l. 11. r. *so this*. p. 49. l. 19. r. *understand*. p. 53. l. 25. r. *and so*. p. 63. l. 21. r. *most of them lying neer*. p. 66. l. 2. *del. all*. p. 67. l. 1. r. *Seēt XVII.* p. 69. l. 33. r. *she sixt Canon, which*. p. 72. l. 7. r. *sixt in*. p. 73. l. 22. r. ἐπισκόποι. l. 29. r. *χάρις*. p. 74. l. 14. r. *head-Lords*. p. 76. l. 3. r. *formally*. p. 78. l. 1. r. *formally*. p. 79. *marg.* l. 10. r. ἱεροσολύμων. p. 83. l. 33. r. *Metropoles*. p. 85. l. 5. r. *Antoninus Pius*. l. 24. r. *sent for to*. p. 89. l. 25. r. ὁ ἰσχυρὸς. l. 32. r. Ἐπιστολὴ. l. 34. r. *so read*. p. 94. *marg.* l. 4. r. ἀνόμαζον. l. 25. r. *affirme*. p. 97. *marg.* l. 4. r. ἐχειροτονῶν. p. 99. l. 18. r. μέζον. l. 25. r. *πρεσβύς*. p. 100. l. 20. r. τοιμήν. l. 30. r. ἵππ. p. 107. l. 25. r. *A third*. p. 111. l. 6. r. *τόλμας*. l. 12. r. *δυνατεῖν*. p. 127. l. 16. r. *any fort*. p. 128. l. *pennul.* r. *and so*. p. 132. l. 1. r. *παγεινῶσα*. l. 4. r. *Ρομήν*. l. 22. r. *Province*. p. 136. l. 22. r. ἔγρωσα. p. 139. l. *ult.* r. ἡμᾶς. p. 140. l. 1. r. *πρωπτικ*. l. 34. r. *ἐκείλα γμέναι*. l. 35. r. *ἀρελὴν ἡναι*. p. 142. l. 22. r. of *spurious*. p. 249. *marg.* l. 2. r. *γνώμη*. l. 13. r. *ἀκολουθεῖς*. p. 155. l. 23. r. *Ecclesia*. l. 29. r. of *the*. p. 160. l. 1. r. *know not that*. p. 162. l. 2. r. *servare Catholicā*. p. 165. l. 25. r. *answer*. p. 166. l. 17. r. *Εἰσὶν αἱ* ἐπισκόποις. p. 167. l. 3. r. *that place would purchase justice*. p. 169. l. 22. r. *Ἀνδρίας*. l. 23. r. *ἰωάννης*. p. 171. l. 8. r. *Synod ad Quercum*. p. 174. l. 8. r. *yeares since*. p. 183. l. 14. r. *so how far this is*. p. 184. l. 15. r. *ἐχειροτονῶν*. l. 16. r. *γνώμη*.

A R E P L Y

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TO THE CATHOLICK GENTLEMANS A N S W E R

TO

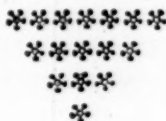
The most materiall parts of the
Booke of SCHISME.

Whereto is annexed,

with the preface.

An Account of *H.T.* his *Appendix* to
his *Manual of Controversies*, concerning the
Abbot of Bangors Answer to Augustine.

By H. HAMMOND, D.D.



L O N D O N,
Printed by *J. G.* for R. ROYSTON, at the
Angel in Ivie-lane. 1654.





A R E P L Y

T O

*The Catholick Gentlemans Answer
to the Book of SCHISME.*

The Introduction.

Nũ. 1.



He Letter from the Catholick Gentleman, which undertakes to have answered the most materiall parts of the Book of Schisme, is said to expect some account from me. And I shall give it, if not quite, with the same brevity, yet directly in the same method which he hath chosen, attending him, as he shall please to lead, not by resuming the whole matter againe, but by reflecting on those few passages, which he hath thought good to take notice of, and freeing them from all though the lightest exceptions, which he hath made to them.

2. Upon this account, I shall say very little to his *Pream* in these words,

SIR,

You have been pleased to send me Doctor Hammonds Booke of Schisme, or a Defence of the Church of England, against the

the exceptions of the Romanists, as also your Letters, wherein you lay commands on me to read it, and thereupon to give you my opinion: truly Sir, both the one and the other could never have come to me in better season, for having heard from some of my friends in England a good while since, of another Book, written by Doctor Ferne to the same purpose, as also one lately come out, of the Bishop of Derries, and of this which you have sent me, I was wondering what these, who call themselves of the Church of England, could say to defend themselves from Schisme; but now through your favour of letting me see this of Doctor Hammonds, I am freed from my bondage, and satisfied, in supposition, that the most can add little to what hath been upon that subject of Schisme said by him, whom you stile Wise and Learned, and well may he be so; but here he hath failed, as all men must that take in hand to defend a bad cause, which I think to make appeare to you, or any indifferent judge, and which I will doe rather upon some observations of severall passages in his book, than consideration of the whole, which I will leave for some other, who hath more leisure. In the meane time I must say with the Poet, speaking of some Lawyers in his time,

Fur es, ait Pedio, Pedius quid? Crimina raris
 Librat in Antithetis:

The Roman Catholick says to Doctor Hammond, You are an Heretick, you are a Schismatick, and Doctor Hammond replies good English, some Criticismes, much Greek, with many citations out of antiquity, indifferent to both parts of the question.

3. I shall not here need solemnly to avert the good words bestowed on me, because 1. if they had been meant in earnest, they have yet no influence on the matter in hand; As unlearned a Man, as I, and as learned as he, which is by some characters thought to be the Author of this Answer, may agree in this common fate, that as one is not able to defend a bad cause, so the other hath not in any eminent manner betrayed a good: 2. because 'tis evident, that it was designe, and artifice to bestow the good words on me, that so he might
 get

get himselfe the easier taske: And therefore the onely thing that is here necessary for me to tell the *Reader*, by way of *Proæme*, is, that since the publishing this *tract* of *Schisme*, that most excellent discourse on the same subject, written by the *Bishop* of *Derry* hath truly made that former care of mine very unnecessary, and so should in all reason have been undertaken and answered by this *Catholick Gentleman*, if he had really designed to *satisfie conscience* in this *question*. And should it be believed by him, what here he saith in the *Title* page, that he hath answered the most *materiall* parts of *Doctor Hammonds Book* of *Schisme*, yet I can assure him he is so much mistaken in his *supposall*, that there can little be added by any to what hath been said by him, that he is in all justice to undeceive the *Reader*, and make him amends by giving him not a *flight*, but *punctuall* answer to every part of that *Bishops Booke*, before he thinke he may safely charge the *Church* of *England* with *Schisme*, as still he adventures to doe.

4. Having said this, I shall make no kinde of *Reply*, to the rest of his *Proæme*, but proceed immediately to his first and onely exception, wherein the *first Chapter* is concerned.



CHAP. I.

Of the cause of Schisme being left out of this debate.

SECT. I.

No cause able to justify Schisme. Every voluntary Division a Schisme, whatsoever the motive were. Master Knot's Testimony.

Num. 1.

HIS words are these,
But to draw neere your satisfaction, His first Chapter is, for the body of it, common to both parts, yet I cannot omit one strange piece of Logick at the end of the first Chapter, Sect. 9. where he concludeth, that the occasion or motive of Schisme is not to be considered, but onely the fact of Schisme, Of which position I can see no connexion to any premises going before, and it selfe is a pure contradiction, for not a Division, but a causelesse division is a Schisme, and how a Division can be shewed to be unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives, I doe not understand, nor (with his favour) I thinke he himselfe.

2. What want of Logick there is in that conclusion of the first Chapter, which extorted this animadversion from the Romanist, and what store of that faculty (somewhat necessary to the managing of a controversy) we are to expect from him, will soon be discernible by the view of that place which is accused by him, where having premised the *criminosnesse* and weight of Schisme, and *unexcusableneesse* of all, that, upon what provocation soever, breake the unity of the Church, I conclude that he that shall really be guilty of it, and the fact, wherein that guilt consists, proved against him will no way be able to defend himselfe by pleading the *cause* or *motive* to his Schisme, there being no such *cause* imaginable, which can justify this fact of his, as both out of Irenaeus and Saint Augustine

guiltine had been newly vouched. Upon which, my resolution there, was (as to me seemed) but necessary, to divolve the whole debate into this one *quare*, whether we of the Church of England were *de facto*, guilty of this crime, were Schismatics or no, concluding that if we were, there were nothing to be said in *excuse* of us.

3. From this view of the τὸ λογικόν, the rational importance of that *Section*, 1. It is evident (what the Romanists professeth not to be able to see) what is the connexion of my position to the premises foregoing, viz. this, no cause can excuse the Schismatick, therefore the examination of the cause is unnecessary, whatsoever can be pretended on that head, is not worth the producing or heeding in this matter.
4. 2. 'Tis as evident how farre the position it selfe is removed from being a contradiction, which yet the Romanists Logick hath pronounced to be a pure one. A pure contradiction is in our Logick, *est* and *non est*, *It is* a Schisme, and *It is not* a Schisme, *It is* causelesse, and it is not causelesse, and the like. But certainly my concluding that no cause can justify a Schisme, or if the Schisme be proved, tis in vain to plead that we had cause for it, contains no such contradictory enuntiations. He that should say that a Seditious person or a Rebell, is worthy of death whatsoever cause it were that incited him to that villanie, doth neither affirme the Rebell to be no Rebell, nor the cause he pretends, to be no cause, onely he saith indeed, that whatsoever the cause be, 'tis incompetent to justify so foule a fact.
5. 3. The proofe, which he addes to conclude this position to be a pure contradiction, is very farre from proving it. The proof is this, for, saith he, not a division, but a causelesse division is a Schisme. But this hath been shewed to have no truth in it, because Division and Schisme being exactly the same, one a Latine, the other a Greek word, every Division is and must necessarily be, in him who is guilty of it, a Schisme, and if a voluntary Division, a criminous Schisme, whatsoever were the motive or cause of it, by Division or Schisme understanding (as I declare my selfe to doe) a spontaneous receding, or dividing from the unity of the Church, not being cut off or driven from it.

Lastly,

6. Lastly, what he addes as a *consequency* of his proof, that [he doth not understand how a Division can be shewed unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives] he may now, if he please, without much difficulty comprehend, viz. by considering, that no cause or reason, how weighty soever, is sufficient to justify a division. For as long as this is either proved or granted, the conclusion will be indubitable, without examining of the motives, that the Division is unreasonable and causelesse. Let it once be granted or proved by the known Lawes of a Nation, that every act of Sedition is a transgression of Law, criminous and punishable, whatsoever the motive be that incited it, and then there will need no more than conviction of the fact, to conclude that fact unreasonable. That which is in it selfe so culpable and inexcusable, that no reason whatsoever can be able to justify it; is ready for the sentence of condemnation, without farther processe; when 'tis reasonably resolved, that no reason can excuse such a fact, what reason can there be to lose time in examining reasons? This is the very case in hand, as 'tis apparent to any that will but view the place, and 'tis not much for my encouragement in this taske, that the Gentleman, to whom I must reply, was willing to think this so deep a riddle, so much above common understandings.

7. I shall here only adde, that what was thus said, was not in reason to provoke the Romanist, being a concession that cut me off from many visible advantages, and so deserved his reward, much better than rebuke, and being thus early and unexpectedly fallen under his short displeasure, by my indeavour to oblige him, I have yet a shield, which promiseth me security from the continuance of it, I meane not the evidence of the truth affirmed by me, (for that is not an amulet alwaies to be depended on, when it is against interest to acknowledge it) but the suffrage of his owne great Champion Master Knor, who hath directly affirmed what I affirmed (and therefore I may be allowed not to understand, how this should be so unintelligible) citing it out of Saint Augustine, That there is no just necessity to divide unity, And that it is not possible that any man have just cause to separate—Infidel: unmasked

masked, cap. 7. num. 5. And so it is as manifest that this part of the first Chapter is common to both, as the former of which he affirms it, the conclusion in all reason being involved in the same condition which belonged to the *Premises*, and it was onely my ill luck, or his willingness to finde fault, that it was not formerly apprehended to be so.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Heresie, Excommunication, Infallibility.

SECT. I.

Of passing slightly over the difference betwixt Heresie and Schisme.

N^o. 1. **T**He exceptions to the second Chapter are three; the first concerning Heresie, the second concerning Excommunication, the third concerning Master Knots concession, which ushers in a Discourse of Infallibility.

2. The former in these words,

He slightly passeth over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, as if he would not have it understood, that all Heresie is Schisme, though some Schisme be no Heresie.

3. What is here called the slight passing over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, is one piece of injustice in him, and the cause to which it is affixt, my unwillingness that it should be understood that all Heresie is Schisme, will soon appear to be another.

4. For the first, It is evident that in that Sect. 3. of Chap. 2. I do not at all consider the distinction of Heresie, and Schisme, nor could, without absolute interruption and disturbance of the discourse in hand, & direct transgression of all rules of method, say any thing to that subject, in that place. The thing that I there manifest is the difference betwixt Excommunication and Schisme (and sure that is not Heresie and Schisme, unlesse Excommunication be Heresie, and so the punishment of the Sin be the Sin it selfe) between the passive and the active, or reciprocal division or separation, and all that I say in that

that *Section*, which can relate to *Heresie*, is, that where the offence, for which a man is excommunicated, is *Heresie* and not *Schisme*, there it is evident, that his *Excommunication*, which still is his *punishment* and not his *sinne* (the cause of it also being not *Schisme*, but somewhat else, *Heresie*, or the like) cannot be the *guilt* of *Schisme* in him that is so *punished*.

5. Now it is evident, that I cannot be said to *pass* over that *slightly*, which I doe not speak to at all, and to which I had no occasion to *speake*, and consequently that I was no way lyable to this *exception*.

6. And that being said, the second part of the same *exception*, that of the ground on which I doe this, must needs be as *causelesse* as the former. For 1. 'tis certaine, that my *thoughts*, or *wishes*, or *designes*, are not things which can duely fall under this *objecters cognizance* (he cannot upon any sure grounds, *divine* or *affirme*, what I aimed at in such or such a *slight passage*) and 2. 'tis yet more certaine, that no *collection* can justly be made from my doing that *slightly*, which I did not meddle with at all. But then 3. to remove all *scruple* or possible occasion of *jealousie* in this matter, 'tis the *designe* of Chapter 8. (the method then leading to it) under a second sort of *Schisme*, to consider the *departure* from the *Unity* of the *Faith*, which being but a *periphrasis* of *Heresie*, is consequently the defining all *Heresie* is *Schisme*, and so the profest avowing of that, which he suspected me *unwilling* to have understood. And so still there is not the least appearance of *justice* in this suggestion.

SECT. II.

Excommunication how it differs from *Schisme*. *Wilsfull continuance* under censures is *Schisme*. The *Bishop* of Rome is not our *Lawfull Governour*. The severe conditions of their *Communion*.

Num. 1.

His second *exception* is perfectly of the same making with the former, thus,

Again

2. Again, saith he, treating of Excommunication, he easily slideth over this part, that wilfull continuance in a just Excommunication maketh Schisme.
3. Here againe 'tis evident, that I treat not of Excommunication, nor have any occasion fitly to treat of it, farther than to shew, that Schisme, being a voluntary separation, the word in no propriety pertaines to that act of the Governour of the Church, whereby he separates or cuts off any by way of Censures. Certainly he that is put to death by Sentence of Law, cannot be judged a Felo dese, one that hath voluntarily put himselfe out of the number of the living, or be liable to those forfeitures which by the Law belong to such. He that is banished out of the Kingdome cannot be guilty of the breach of that Statute, which forbids all Subjects going out of it, nor be punished justly for that which is his suffering, not his deed; his punishment, not his delinquency.
4. As for his wilfull continuance under just Censures, the wilfulness of that, certainly makes him culpable, and the continuance in Excommunication, being also continuance in separation from the Church, which is Schisme, whensoever it is voluntary, I make no doubt of the consequence, that such wilfull continuance in Excommunication, be it just or unjust, is actuall Schism, supposing (as the word wilfull must suppose) that this continuance is wholly imputable to the will of the Excommunicate, i.e. that if he will submit to that which is lawfull for him to submit to, he may be absolved and freed from it.
5. If this were it, that he would have had more explicitly affirmed, then I answer, that as there I had no occasion to speak to it, so now upon his slightest demand I make no scruple to give him my full sense of it, that he, which being cast into prison for just cause, may upon his Petition, and promise of Reformation be released, or if the cause were unjust, may yet without doing any thing any way unlawfull, regain his Liberty, from thenceforth becomes not the Magistrates, but his owne Prisoner, and is guilty of all the damage, be it disease, famishing, death it selfe, which is consequent to his imprisonment. And the analogie holds directly in Excommunication;

He that continues under the *Censures* of his *Ecclesiastical Ruler*, when he might fairly obtaine *absolution* from them, is by *himselfe* sentenced to the continuance of this punishment, as by the *Governor* of the *Church*, to the *beginning* of it. But then all this while this is not the condition of our *Church*, in respect of the *Church* of *Rome*, they being not our *Lawful Superiors*, indued with *jurisdiction* over us, and for other *communion*, such as alone can be maintained or broken among fellow-brethren, or *Christians*, it is carefully maintained by us, as farre as it is *lawfully* maintainable.

6. And both these being there evidenced in that, and the insuing *Chapters*, I did not *warily* or *purposely* abstaine from (because I had nothing that suggested to me any opportunity of) saying any thing more to this purpose. The *severe conditions* which are by the *Romanists* required of us to render us capable of their *communion*, *subscription* of error, or *profession* against *Conscience*, make it *impertinent* to propose or *discusse* either of these two questions, 1. *Whether we lye under a just excommunication*, 2. *Whether, if we did, we would wilfully continue under it, or consequently, whether we be now guilty of Schisme in this notion?*

SECT. III.

Mr. Knots concession and conclusion. The power of a fallible Church to require believe. Of Antiquity, Possession, Perswasion of Infallibility, Motives for Union. Uncertainty of the Protestants reasons. The grand Heresie and Schisme of not believing Rome infallible. Beliefe sufficient without infallibility. Fictions of Cases.

Nam. I. **T**He third exception enlargeth to some length, in these words,

2. *What he calls Master Knots concession, I take to be the publike profession of the Roman or Catholike Church, and that nature it selfe teacheth all rationall men, that any Congregation that can lye, and knoweth not whether it doth lye or no, in any*
pro-

proposition, cannot have power to binde any particular to believe what shee saith, neither can any man of understanding have an obligation to believe what shee teacheth, farther than agrees with the rules of his own reason: Out of which it followeth, that the Roman Churches binding of men to a profession of Faith (which the Protestants and other hereticall multitudes have likewise usurped) if shee be infallible, is evidently gentle, charitable, right, and necessary, as contrariwise in any other Church or Congregation, which pretends not to infallibility, the same is unjust, tyrannical and a selfe-condemnation to the binders: so that the state of the question will be this, whether the Catholick or Roman Church be infallible or no, for shee pretendeth not to binde any man to tenets or beliefs upon any other ground or title. By this you may perceive much of his discourse — to be not onely superfluous and unnecessary, but also contrary to himselfe, for he laboureth to perswade that the Protestant may be certaine of some truth, against which the Roman Catholick Church bindeth to profession of error, which is as much as to say, as he who pretendeth to have no infallible rule by which to governe his Doctrine, shall be supposed to be infallible, and he that pretendeth to have an infallible rule, shall be supposed to be fallible; at most because fallible objections are brought against him: now then consider what a meek and humble Son of the Church ought to doe, when of the one side is the Authority of Antiquity and Possession (such Antiquity and Possession without dispute or contradictions from the adversary, as no King can shew for his Crowne, and much lesse any other person or persons for any other thing) the perswasion of infallibility, all the pledges that Christ hath left to his Church for Motives of Union: on the other side, uncertaine reasons of a few men pretending to learning, every day contradicted by incomparable numbers of men Wise and Learned, and those few men confessing those reasons and themselves uncertaine, fallible, and subject to error, certainly without a bias of interest or prejudice, it is impossible for him to leave the Chrch if he be in it, or not returne if he be out of it: for if infallibility be the ground of the Churches power to command heliefe, as shee pretends no other, no time, no separation within memory of History, can justify a continuance out of the Church;

Church: You may please to consider then how solid this Doctors discourse is, who telleth us, for his great evidence, that we, (saith he) who doe not acknowledge the Church of Rome to be infallible, may be allowed to make certaine suppositions (that follow there) The question is, whether a Protestant be a Schismatick because a Protestant? and he will prove he is not a Schismatick, because he goeth consequently to Protestant, that is Schismatical grounds: I pray you reflect, that not to acknowledge the Church to be infallible is that for which we charge the Doctor with Schisme and Heresie in Capite, and more than for all the rest he holds distinct from us, for this principle taketh away all beliefe, and all ground of beliefe, and turneth it into uncertainty and weather-cock opinion, putteth us into the condition to be circumferri omni vento Doctrinae, submitteth us to Atheisme and all sort of miscreancy, let him not then over-leap the question, but either prove this is not sufficient to make him a Schismatick and an Heretick too, or let him acknowledge he is both.

3. This discourse thus enlarged to the consideration of fallibility and infallibility in a Church, is certainly a digression in this place, and taking the occasion from some words of mine, Sect. 6. of a concession of Master Knots, it is a little necessary to recount, what concession that was, and the use that I there made of it, that so it may appeare, whether there were any thing blameable in my procedure.
4. The subject I was upon, Sect. 5. was the undoubted lawfulnessse of being and continuing excluded from any such Church, the conditions of whose communion containe Sin in them. To this head of discourse I mentioned a concession of Master Knots, that it is perfectly unlawful to dissemble, equivocate, or lye in matters of Faith, and this as a confirmation of my then present assertion, that when I am not permitted by the Romanists to have external communion with them, unlesse I doe thus dissemble, equivocate and lye, affirme my selfe to believe what I doe not believe, I may lawfully continue thus excluded from their communion. But then I could not justly conceale what Master Knot there added as his conclusion from hence (together with the acknowledged unlawfulnessse of forsaking the externall communion of Gods visible Church) that there-

therefore the Church of Rome is infallible, because otherwise men might forsake her communion.

5. Here indeed I thought it very strange, that this conclusion should be thus deduced from such *premisses*, that it should be deemed *lawful* to separate from a Church for every error, or for no more but being *subject* to error, being *fallible*, though it were actually guilty of no *error*, which I conceived to be the same in effect, as to *affirme* it *lawfull* to forsake the communion of all but *Saints*, and *Angels*, and *God* in Heaven, because all others were *peccable* and *fallible*. But yet I thought not fit to goe farther out of my way to *presse* the *unreasonableness* of it, but contented my selfe with that, which was for my present turne, his *confession* that it was *lawful* to separate or continue in separation from the Church of *Christ*, in case we could not without *lying*, &c. be permitted to *communicate* with it.
6. This being the whole business, as it lyes visible to any in that 5. and 6. *Sett*. Let us now see what a *confusion* is made to gaine some small advantage from hence, or excuse for a long digression.
7. First it is the conclusion, viz. [that any Congregation that can lye, &c. cannot have power to binde any to believe what shee saith] which he saith is called by me *Master Knots* concession. But this is a great mistake, I never lookt on this as his *concession*, never called it by that title, but as a conclusion that he made a strange shift to deduce from another concession.
8. A concession, this Gentleman should in reason have understood to be somewhat which the *Adversary* yeilds, and which the *disputer* gaines advantage by his yeilding it, such was his assertion, that all *lying* and *dissembling* was *unlawful*, and that rather than that should be admitted, it were *lawful* to forsake the external communion of the Church of *Christ*. And that, and nothing but that, was by me cited as his concession.
9. Secondly, That conclusion it self, that the Congregation that is *fallible* cannot have power to binde to believe,—is not so much as considered by me in that place or else where; I said not one word

word against it, which might provoke this *objector* to take it up, and confirme it, neither was it in the least *needfull*, or pertinent to the matter then in hand, to enter into the *consideration* of it. All that was by me taken notice of (and that but in *passing*) was the *consequence* or *coherence* betwixt the *premisses* and that *conclusion*, which naturally inferred a third thing, that it was in *Mr. Knots* opinion, *lawful to forsake the Communion of any fallible Church*, which I thought by the way, would be sure to excuse us (though we should be granted to have *forsaken* and *continued wilfully* in *Separation* from the *Roman Church*) if it might but appeare, that either that were *guilty of any one error*, or *lyable to fall into any one*. And this being intirely all that was there said by me, there is no reason I should so far attend this *Gentleman* in his *digression*, as to consider what here he proceeds to say, upon his new-sprung subject of discourse, very distant from that of *Schisme*, to which I indeavoured to *adhere*, having elsewhere pursued at large, the *Romanists* other *hypothesis* concerning their *Churches Infallibility*.

10. Were it not thus *remote* from our matter in hand, and perfectly unnecessary to the *defence* of our *Church* from *Schisme*, I might discover farther many infirme parts in this *procedure*. I shall but briefly touch on some of them.
11. 1. For the truth of that *proposition* [that a *Congregation* that can lye, i. e. a *Church* that is fallible, and knoweth not (i. e. hath no infallible certainty) whether it lye or no in any *proposition*, cannot have power to binde any to believe what she saith] I may certainly affirme, 1. That this is no *infallible* truth, being no where affirmed by any *infallible* speaker, or deduced from any *infallible* principle. For as to the *Scripture*, it is not pretended to be affirmed by that, and for *Natural Reason*, that cannot be an *infallible Judge* in this matter of defining what power may be, or is by *God* given to a *Church*, without defining it *infallible*. A *Prince* may no doubt be impowered by *God* to give *Lawes*, and those *Lawes* oblige Subjects to obedience, and yet that *Prince* never be imagined *infallible* in making *Lawes*. And *natural reason* cannot conclude it im-
possible

possible, that a Church should have a proportionable power given it by God to binde belief, &c.

12. As for the Catholick or Roman Church, 1. that is a misprision, the Catholick is not the single Roman Church, nor the Roman the Catholick. 2. There no where appears any such definition, either of the Catholick, i.e. Universal Church of God, or particularly of the Roman Church, no act of Councell representative of that Church, no known affirmation of that diffused body under the Bishop of Rome's Pastorage, that all authority to oblige belief is founded in Infallibility. 3. If any such definition did appear, it could no way be foundation of belief to us, who doe not believe that Church, or any definition thereof, as such, to be infallible.
13. 2. If we shall but distinguish and limit the termes, 1. what is meant by [*can lie*] 2. By knowing or not knowing whether it lie or no, 3. By power to binde, 4. By belief (as every of these have a latitude of signification, and may be easily mistaken, till they are duly limited) It will then soon appear that there is no unlimited truth in that which he saith is the whole Churches affirmation, nor prejudice to our pretensions from that limited truth, which shall be found in it.
14. 1. The phrase [*can lie*] may denote no more than such a possibility of erring, as yet is joyned neither with actual error, nor with any principle, whether of deficiency on one side, nor of malignity on the other, which shall be sure to betray it into error. Thus that particular Church, that is at the present in the right, in all matters of faith, and hath before it the Scripture to guide it in all its decisions, together with the traditions and doctrines of the antient and Primitive Church, and having skill in all those knowledges, which are usefull to fetch out the true meaning of Scripture, and ability to inquire into the antient path, and to compare her self with all other considerable parts of the Universal Church, and then is diligent and faithfull to make use of all these succours, and in uprightness of heart seeks the truth, and applies it self to God in humble, and ardent, and continuall prayer for his guidance to lead into all truth, This Church, I say, is yet fallible, may affirm and teach false, i.e. this is naturally possible that it may, but

it is not strongly *probable* that it will, as long as it is thus *assisted*, and *disposed* to make *use* of these *assurances*, and means of true *defining*.

15. 2. That *Churches knowledge*, whether it *defines truly* or no in any *proposition*, may signify no more than a *full persuasion* or *belief* (*cui non subest dubium*, wherein they neither *doubt* nor apprehend *reason* of *doubting*) that what they *define* is the *very truth*, though for *knowledge* properly so called, or *assurance*, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, which is *unerrable* or *infallible* in strictness of *speech*, it may not have *attained*, or pretend to have *attained* to it.
16. 3. By *power to binde* may be meant no more than *authority* derived to them from the *Apostles* of *Christ* to make *decisions*, when difficulties arise, to prescribe *rules* for *ceremonies* or *government*, such as shall oblige *inferiors* to due *observance* and *obedience*, by force of the *Apostles* *αἰδοῦναι τὸν ἡγούμενον*, his precept to obey the *rulers* set over us in the *Church*, which we may doe without thinking them simply, or by any *promise* of *God*, *inerrable* or *infallible*, as the *obedience* which is due to *civil Magistrates*, which supposes in them a *power of binding* subjects to obey, doth yet no way suppose or imply them *un-
capable* of *erring* and *sinning*, and giving *unreasonable* commands, and such as wherein it is *unlawfull* to yeild *obedience* to them.
17. Beside this, there may farther be meant by it a *generall obligation* that lies on all men, to *believe* what is with due grounds of *conviction* proposed to them, such as the *disbelieving* or *doubting* of it shall be in them *inseparable* from *obstinacy*; and this *obligation* is again the greater, when that which is thus *convincingly* proposed, is proposed by our *superiors*, from whose mouth it is regular to *seek* and *receive* *Gods will*.
18. Lastly, *Believing* may signify not an *implicite*, *irrational*, *blinde*, but a well-grounded, *rationall*, *explicite belief* of that which, as the *truth* of *God*, is duely proposed to us; or again, where there is not that degree of *manifestation*, yet a *consent* to that which is proposed as most *probable*, on the grounds afforded to judge by, or when the person is not competent to
search

search grounds, a bare yeilding to the judgment of *superiours*, and deeming it better to adhere to them, than to attribute any thing to their own judgment, a believing so farre as not to *disbelieve*. And this again may rationally be yeilded to a Church, or the Rulers and Governors of it, without deeming them *inerrable* or *infallible*.

19. Nay, where the *proposition* defined is such, that every member of that Church cannot without violence to his understanding yeild any such degree of belief unto it, yet he that believes it not, may behave himself *peaceably* and *reverently*, either duely representing his grounds, why he cannot consent to it, or if his *subscription* or *consent* be neither *formally* nor *interpretatively* required of him, quietly enjoy his *contrary* opinion. And this may tend as much to the *peace* and *unity* of a Church, as the *perswasion* of the *inerrability* thereof can be supposed to doe.
20. By this view of the *latitude* of these terms, and the *limitations* they are capable of, it is now not so difficult to discern, in what sense the *proposition* under consideration is *false*, and in what sense it is *true*, and by us acknowledged to be so.
21. A congregation that is *fallible*, and hath no knowledge or assurance (*cui non potest subesse falsum*) that it is not deceived in any particular *proposition*, may yet have *authority* to make *decisions*, &c. and to require *inferiors* so farre to *acquiesce* to their *determinations*, as not to *disquiet* the *peace* of that Church with their *contrary* opinions.
22. But for any *absolute* *infallible* belief or consent, that no Church, which is not it self absolutely *infallible*, and which doth not *infallibly* know that it is *infallible*, hath power to require of any.
23. By this it appears in the next place, in what sense it is *true*, which in the following words is suggested of Protestants, that they binde men to a *Profession of Faith*, and how unjustly it is added, that, *supposing them not to be infallible, it is unjust, tyrannical, and self-condemnation to the binders*. The contrary whereto is most evident, understanding the *obligation* with that *temper*, and the *infallibility* in that notion, wherein it is evident we understand it. For what *injustice* or *tyranny* &c.

can it be in any *lawful superior*, having defined what verily he believes to be the truth of *God*, and no way doubts of his having deduced it rightly from the *Scripture*, but yet knows that he, as a *man*, is *fallible* and that it is *possible* he may have some way *failed* in this, as in any other his most *circumspect* action, what *injustice*, I say, can it be, *authoritatively* to direct this *definition* to those, who are committed to his *charge*, and expect their due *submission* to it? meaning by *submission*, what I have here exprest to mean by it.

24. So again it appears of the *Roman Church*, how far it is from *gentle* or *charitable* in them to bind men to *profess*, as matter of *faith*, whatsoever is by that *Church* defined, upon this one account, that the *Church* is *infallible* & can't *erre*; when this very thing, that it is *infallible*, is not at all made *probable*, much lesse *infallibly* deduced frō any *reason* or *testimony* that is *infallible*.

25. Next then, when he saith, that *the state of the question will be this, whether the Roman Church be infallible or no*, I am not sure I know what *question* he means, whether the main *Question* on which the *Traēt of Schisme* was written, i. e. whether the *Church of England* be *schismaticall* or no, or whether the *particular question*, which this *Gentlemans* haste hath framed to himself in this place, Whether a *fallible Church* may have power to *binde* any to *believe* what she saith? But I suppose by some *indications*, that the latter is it, and then, as from hence I learn what he means by *infallible*, a *Church* that cannot possibly *erre*, all whose *definitions* are such, *quibus nequit subesse falsum*, so untill this be proved of that *Church*, I must be allowed to speak like one who think not my self obliged to the *belief* of it, and being sure of this, that a *Protestant* is or may be verily *perswaded* of some *truth*, against which the *Roman Church* bindeth to *profession of error* (meaning by verily *perswaded*, such a *certainty* only, *cui non subest dubium*, he hath no doubt nor reason to induce *doubting* of it) I cannot imagine how that part of my *discourse*, wherein I have supposed or asserted this, can be either *superfluous*, *unnecessary*, or (whatever other *weakness* it be guilty of) *contrary to my self*. For certainly I that think I am *fallible*, may yet verily *believe*, without all doubt, the truth of many *propositions*, which
- if

if I should *affirm* my self not to *believe*, I must doubtlesse *lie*, and then *sin*, by Mr. *Knot's* former *concession*. And 'tis as certain on the other side, that he that pretendeth to have an *infallible* rule, may yet foully *mistake*, both in that *generall*, *originall*, and in many other *particular*, *derivative* pretensions; His supposed *infallibility*, if it be not rightly *supposed* (and till it be proved, it will not be so) will be so farre from an *amulet* to keep him safe from all *error*, that it is the *likeliest* way to deliver him up to it, as the *premature* *persuasion* of his *particular* *election* may be the *ingulfing* any, through *security* and *presumption*, in the most certain *ruine*.

26. In the proceſſe of this *discourse* he is pleased to mention four advantages of the *Roman Church* above any other, *Antiquity*, *possession*, *persuasion* of *Infallibility*, the *pledges* that *Christ* hath left to his *Church* for *motives* of *union*, and nothing but *uncertain reasons* on the other side, which saith he, must make it *impossible* for any without interest or prejudice to leave the *Church*, if he be in it, or not return, if he be out of it.
27. To this imaginary setting of the *scales* between them and us, and particularly to the fourth advantage pretended to, the *pledges* that *Christ* left for *motives* of *union*, it is sufficient to reply in *generall*, that for us, which have not *voluntarily* separated, but are by them *violently* removed from *communion* with them, and cannot be admitted to *reunion*, but upon *conditions*, which without *dissembling* and *lying* we cannot undergoe, it is in vain to speak of *motives* or *obligations* to return to their *communion*. We that are bound, as much as in us lies, to have peace with all men, must not admit any *known* or *wilfull* sin in order to that most *desirable* end. And this one thing as alone it is pertinent to the matter in hand, that of *Schisme*, so it is necessarily the *concluding* of this *controversie*. We that are not *permitted* to return, and so we are, if the *conditions* of our return be so *incumbred*, as to include *sin*, cannot with any *justice* or *equity* be charged for not returning.
28. Against this here is nothing said, any farther than the bare mention of the three other *advantages* on their side. And none of these are of any force to *perswade* our *return*, upon such *conditions* as these, much lesse to exact it as duty from us.

29. By *Antiquity and possession*; as here they are spoken of, I am apt to suppose he means not *antiquity* of the *Roman Church*, or the *present doctrines* (and therefore I shall not speak of them) but the *antiquity* of our *communion* with them (if he mean a *Possession* in the *belief* of the *Popes Universal Pastors*)
- * *cb 7. scilicet 1. ship*, I shall have occasion to speak of that * hereafter.) And if this be granted, as for *fraternall communion*, and such as is due from one *sister Church* to another, it is willingly granted, then this will divolve the *blame* on those who are *guilty* of this breach, who have cast us out, and permit us no way of *returning* with a good *conscience*, And so this is little for the *Romanists* advantage.
30. But if in stead of *fraternall communion*, it be *subjection* to the *Roman See*, that is by his words claimed, and pretended to by *possession*, then as we willingly grant to that *See* all that the *antient Canons* allowed to it, and so cannot in that respect offend against *Antiquity*, so what, contrary to those *Canons*, they have at any time *assumed*, and unlawfully *possess* themselves of, can no way be pretended to be their right, or they to be *bona fidei possessores*, true or fair possessors of it, which *qualification and condition* is yet absolutely necessary to found their plea from *possession*, and which alone can bear any proportion with that, which *Kings* can shew for their *crowns*, or *proprieties* for their *inheritances*.
31. Of this head of *possession*, or *prescription*, it were easie to adde much more, by considering that *claim and title*, by the known rules whether of the *Canon*, or *Civil Law*. The *Civil Law*, which is generally more *favourable* to *Prescription*, doth yet acknowledge many waies of *interrupting* it, as by calling it into *question*, and that is sufficiently done in some cases, *per solam conventionem*, by *citing*, or *summoning* the possessor, and when *contestatio litis*, the entering a *suit* is actually required, yet still he that appears to have caused the *impediment*, and kept it from coming to this *contestation*, is not to gain any advantage by his *guilt*, but *adversus eum lis habetur pro contestato*, he shall be lookt on, as if the *suit* had been actually contested against him. See *Bartolus in l. si eum S. qui injuriarum in fi. ff. si quis caut.*

But

32. But as to the *Canon Law*, which in all reason the *Catholic* is to own in *this question*, it is known that it admitteth not any the longest *prescription*, without the *bona fides possessio*, (he that came by any thing *dishonestly*, is for ever obliged to *restitution*) and for the judging of that, allows of many waies of *probation*, from the *nature of the thing* (the course we have taken in this *present debate*) and from other *probable indications*, and where the appearances are *equal* on both sides, the *Law*, though it be wont to judge most *favourably*, doth yet incline to *question* the *honesty* of coming to the *possession*, and to presume the *dishonesty*, upon this account, because *mala fides*, *dishonesty* is presumed industriously to contrive its own *secrecie*, and to lie hid in those *recesses*, from which at a distance of time it is not easily fetcht out. So *Felinus* in *C. ult: de prescript: per leg: ult: C. unde vi*. And in a word, it is the affirmation of the *Doctors*, *presumi malam fidem ex antiquiore adversarii possessione*, the presumption is strong that the *possession* was not *honestly* come by, when it appears to have been *antiently* in the other hands, and the way of conveyance from one to the other is not *discernible*. See *Panormit: and Felinus in c. si diligenti X de prescript: Menochius arbit: quæst: Casu 225. n. 4.* and others referred to by the learned *Grotius* in *Con-sil: Jurid: super iis que Nassavii*—p. 36. &c. But I have no need of these *nicer disquisitions*.
33. As for the *perswasion* of *infallibility*, meaning, as they must, their own *perswasion* of it, that can have no *influence* upon us, who are sure that we are not so *perswaded*, unless the *grounds*, on which their *perswasion* is founded, be so convincingly represented to us, that it must be our *prejudice*, or other *vitious defect*, or *affection* in us, that we are not in the like manner *perswaded* of it. But on this we are known to *insist*, and never yet have had any such *grounds* offered to us: As may in some measure appear by the *view* of that *Controversie* as it lies visible in the Book, intituled, *The view of Infallibility*.
34. As for the *uncertainty* of the *reasons* on the *Protestants* side, by *uncertainty*, meaning *fallibility*, and the *potest sub: se falsum*, whilst yet we are, without *doubting*, verily *perswaded* that our *reasons* have force in them; that cannot make it possible

possible for us to *believe* what we do not *believe*, or *lawfull* upon any the *fairest* intuition to *professe* contrary to our *belif*. I believe that *Henry VIII.* was *King* of this *Nation*, and the *reasons* on which I believe it, are, the *testimonies* of meer men, and so *fallible*; yet the bare *fallibility* of those *testimonies* cannot infuse into me any *doubt* of the *truth* of them, hath no force to *shake* that but *humane belief*, and while I thus *believe*, I am sure it were *wisfull* sin in me, though for the *greatest* and most pretious *acquisitions* in my *view*, to *professe* I do not *believe* it. The like must be said of any other *perswasion* of mine, denied by the *Romanists*, and the *denying* whereof is part of the *condition* required of me to make me capable of *communion* with them.

35. But it is not now time to insist on this, both because here is *nothing* produced against it, and because here follows a much *bigger* undertaking, which swallows up all these *inferior* differences between us, *viz:* that not to *acknowledge* the *Church* (that must be the *Roman Church*) to be *infallible*, is the great crime of *schime* and *heresie* in *capite*, and more than all that I hold distinct from the *Romanists*.
36. This I acknowledge was not foreseen in the *Traect* of *Schisme*, and may serve for the *una litura*, the one answer to remove all that is there said. For if our *grand Fundamental* *schisme* and *heresie* be all summed up in this one *comprehensive* guilt, our not acknowledging the *Church* of *Rome* to be *infallible*, then it was and still is impertinent to discourse on any other subject but that one of *Infallibility*, for if that be gained by them to belong to their *Church*, I am sure we are concluded *Schismatics*, and till it be gained, I am sure there is no reason to suppose it.
37. But then as this is a *compendious* way of answering the *Traect* of *Schism*, and I wonder, after he had said this, he could think it *seasonable* to proceed to make exceptions to any other particulars, this one great *mistake* of the *Question* being discovered, made all other more *minute* considerations *unnecessary* (as he that hath sprung a mine to blow up the whole *Fort*, need not set *wispes* of straw to severall corners to burn it) so it falls out a little unluckily, that this doth not *superseede*, but only

onely remove this *Gentleman's labour*, it being now as necessary that he should defend his *hypothesis* of the *Church of Romes Infallibility*, against all that is formerly said by me on that *subject*, as now it was to make this *Answer* to the *Book of Schism*, and till that be done, or attempted to be done, there is nothing left for me to *reply* to in this matter.

38. For as to his bare affirmations, that the *not acknowledging* their *Infallibility* takes away all belief and ground of belief, turns all into uncertainty, &c. nay, submitteth to *Atheisme* and all sorts of *miscreancy*.] It is sure but a *mistake* or *misunderstanding* as of some other things, so particularly of the nature of belief; For beside that I may have other grounds of belief than the affirmations of the *Roman Church*, the authority of *Scripture* for the severalls contained in it, and the *Testimony* of the *universal Primitive* (that sure is more than of the present *Roman*) *Church*, to assure me that what we take for *Scripture* is *Scripture*, and to derive *Apostolical traditions* to me, and so I may believe enough without ever knowing that the *Roman Church* defines any thing *de fide*, but much more without acknowledging the *truth* of all she defines, and yet much more without acknowledging her *inerrable* and *infallible*: Beside this, I say, it is evident that belief is no more than *consent* to the *truth* of any thing, and the grounds of belief, such arguments as are sufficient to exclude *doubting*, to induce *conviction* and *persuasion*, and where that is actually induced, there is belief, though there be no pretense of *infallibility* in the argument, nor opinion of it in him that is persuaded by it.

39. That all that *God* hath said is true, I believe by a belief or *persuasion*, cui non potest subesse falsum, wherein I cannot be deceived, and there I acknowledge *infallibility* upon this ground, whether of nature or of grace, of common dictate, or of religion, that it is impossible for *God* to lie, to deceive, or to be deceived; But that the whole *Canon* of *Scripture*, as it is delivered to us by the *Laodicean Council*, is the *Word* of *God*, though I fully believe this also, and have not the least doubt to any part of it, yet I account not my self *infallible* in this belief, nor can any *Church* that affirms the same, unlessse they

are otherwise *priviledged* by God, be *infallible* in affirming it, nor any that *believes* that Church be *infallible* in their belief; And as that *priviledge* is not yet proved by any *donation* of Gods to belong to any Church, particularly to the Roman, so till it be proved, and proved *infallibly*, it can be no competent *medium* to induce any new *aet* of *Infallible* belief, the want of which may denominate us either *hereticks* or *schismaticks*.

40. In the mean time, this is certain, that I that doe not pretend to *believe* any thing *infallibly* in this matter, not so much as that the Church is not *infallible*, must yet be acknowledged to *believe* her *fallible*, or else I could not by this *Gentleman* be adjudged a *schismatick* for so *believing*: And then this supposeth that I may *believe* what in his opinion I *believe* *untrue*, that sure is, that I may *believe* what I doe not *believe* *infallibly*. The matter is *visible*, I cannot think fit to *inlarge* on it.
41. One thing onely I must farther take notice of, the ground which he here had, on which he *sounds* his exception against the *solidity* of my *discourse*, calling it my *great evidence*, that we that doe not acknowledge the Church of Rome to be *infallible*, may be allowed to make certain *suppositions* that follow there.
42. The matter in that place Chap. II. Sect. 12. lies thus. In examining the nature of *schisme*, I have occasion to mention one (not *reall*, but) *fiction* of case; Suppose first that our *Ancestors* had *crimiously* separated from the Church of Rome, and suppose *secondly*, that we their *posterity* repented, and desired to *reform* their sin, and to be *reunited* to them; yet supposing *thirdly*, that they should require to our *reunion* in this condition which were *unlawfull* for us to perform, in this conjuncture, I say, we could not justly be charged for *continuing* that *separation*.
43. This *fiction* of case I could not think had any weak part in it, for as it supposed that on one side, which I knew a *Romanist* would not grant, *viz*: that they should *require* any condition *unlawfull* for us to perform, so it supposed on the other side, that which we can no way grant, *viz*: that our *Ancestors* *crimiously* separated; But this I knew was ordinary to be done in *fictions* of cases; *Suppositio non ponit*, is the acknowledged

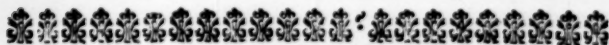
ledged rule, my *supposing* either of these was not the taking them for granted, And yet after all this, I foresaw that *objection*, that the *Romanist*, who acknowledges not any such hard condition required to our reconciliation, will conceive this an *impossible* case; And to this I answered, that we, that acknowledge not their *Church* to be *infallible* may be allowed to make a *supposition* (meaning as before a *fiction* of case) which is founded in the *possibility* of her inserting some error in her *confessions*, and making the acknowledgment of it the *indispensable* condition of her communion. What I have offended herein, I cannot imagine, for 1. I onely set a *fiction* of case, doe not take their *infallibility* for a thing confestly false, nor in that place so much as *dispute* against it, Only I say that which was sufficiently known before I said it, that their *Infallibility* is not acknowledged by us, and so that her inserting some error in her *Confessions*, is to us, i. e. in our opinion a thing *possible*, and so for *disputation* sake *supposable*, in the same manner as I suppose that which I am known not to believe, and if this *Gentleman* be thus severe, I shall despair to approve my *discourses* to him.

44. Secondly, that I make it my *great evidence*, is not with any appearance of *reason* suggested by him, It comes in meerly as an *incidentall*, *last* branch, the least necessary, most *unconsiderable* of any, and that which might have been *spared* then, or left out now, without any *weakening* of, or *disturbing* the *discourse*.
45. Thirdly, Whereas he adds, that I proceed to make certain *suppositions* that follow there, this is still of the *same* strein, I make but one *supposition*, viz: in case she make any *unlawfull* act the *indispensable* condition of her *Communion*, And that one certainly is not in the *plurall*, *more*, or indefinitely, certain *suppositions*.
46. That I put this one case as *possible*, and then proceeded to consider, what were by the *principles* acknowledged by all, particularly by Mr. *Knot*, to be done in that one case, was agreeable to the strictest *laws* of *discourse* which I have met with. And if in compliance with this *Gentleman*, I must deny my self such *liberties*, and yet yeild him so much *greater*, on the

the other side, If I must at the *beginning* of a *defense* of the *Church* of *England*, be required to grant the *Church* of *Rome* *infallible*, i. e. to yeild not onely that she speaks *all* truth, but also that it is *impossible* she should speak any thing but *truth*, whom yet, by entring on this theme, I undertake to *contradict*, and to prove injurious in *censuring* us for *Schismaticks*, this were, as I have said, an *hard* task indeed, The very same as if I were required to begin a *duell* by presenting and delivering up all *weapons* into the *enemies* hand, to *plead* a cause, and *introduce* my defense by *confessing* my self *guilty* of all that the *plaintiffe* doth, or can have the confidence to charge upon me.

47. And if these be the *conditions* of a *dispute*, these will questionlesse be hard, whatloever the *conditions* of our *rennion* be conceived to be, and moreover this *Gentleman* will be as *infallible* as his *Church*, and then 'tis pity he should lavish our *medicines*, that is so secured by *charms*, that he should defend his cause by *reasons*, which hath this one so much *cheaper* expedient, to *answer* a whole book in one *period*.

48. And so much for his *Animadversions* on this *second Chapter*, which are no *excellent presage* of that which we are to expect in the *insuing*.



CHAP. III.

Exceptions to the third Chapter answered.

SECT. I.

The Division of Schisme justified. Of Schisme against the authority of Conncells. Of Unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Ghurches.

Num. 1. **T**He exceptions against the third Chap: are reducible to 4 heads. The first about the insufficiency of the division of Schisme, in these words,

2. In his third Chapter, what is chiefly to be noted to our purpose, is, that his division is insufficient, for he maketh Schism to be only against Monarchicall power, or against fraternall charity, which is very much besides the principles of those Protestants, who pretend so much to the authority of Councils, we think he should have remembred there might be schisme against conciliatory authority, whether this be called so when the Councell actually sitteth, or in the unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Churches, so that the Doctor (supposing he concluded against the Pope) hath not concluded himself no schismatick, being separated from the Catholick world.

And again in the next page, by way of recollection or second thoughts, thus,

But I must not forget here what I omitted to insert before, that in his division of Schisme he omitteth the Principall, if not indeed, and in the use of the word by the Antients, the onely schism, which is when one breaketh from the whole Church of God: for though a breach made from the immediate superior, or a particular Church, may in some sort, and in our ordinary manner of speaking be called a schisme, yet that by which one breaketh away from the communion of the whole Church, is properly, and in a higher sense called Schisme, and is that out of which the present

question proceedeth, whereas other divisions, as long as both parts remain in communion with the Universall Church, are not properly schismes, but with a diminutive particle, so that in this division he left out that part which appertained to the question.

3. My division of schism is that which I could not conceive subject to the exceptions of any rationall man, of what perswasions soever; schism being a breach of unity and communion; as many sorts as were conceivable of unity and communion, so many, and no more, I set down of schisme, some as breaches of the subordination which Christ settled in his Church, others of mutuall charity, which he left among his Disciples.
4. For is it not evident, that all men in the world are either our superiors, or inferiors, or our equals? and can I break communion with any, as long as being an inferior, I live regularly under all my superiors, and brotherly with all my equals? There is certainly no place of doubt in this. When therefore in his second period here set down, he mentions it, as the principall, (and in the Antients use of the word) the onely Schism, when one breaketh from the whole Church of God, It is strange he should think that man was not comprised in either member of my division, when certainly he is guilty of both. For how can he separate from the whole Church, unlesse he separate both from his superiors and his equals too? And if he separate from both, then questionlesse he separates from one, and from more than one of them.
5. Was it possible for any care more sollicitously to have prevented this exception, than that which by me was used, when among the branches of equality, with which every one is obliged to preserve unity and communion, I reckoned up, not only the believers of the same Congregation, &c. but the severall communities of Christian men from Parishes and Dioceses, to cliques of the whole Christian world, Chap. 3. §. 5. And indeed it is a great piece of austerity, that when I have indeavoured to prove that we of the Church of England have not voluntarily separated (and that onely is the crime of Schism) from any one particular Church, and no one of those proofs is invalidated, nor as yet so much as excepted against, it should yet

yet be thought seasonable to reply, that we have broken off from the whole Church of God.

6. Is not that whole made up of these severals, as a body of limbs, the universal of particulars? And can the hand be broken off from the whole body, when it is not broken off, but remains in perfect union with every part of the body? If the arm be broken from the body, the hand, which remains united to the arm, may yet be separate from the whole body, because by being fastned to the arm 'tis united but to one, and not to all the members of the body. But an union to all the members of the body supposes a separation from no one part that remains in the body, and sure that must be an union with the whole body, which is nothing else, but all the members together.
7. And so as his second thoughts were effects, not remedies of his forgetfulness, the very same, which he had mentioned before under the style of separation from the Catholick world, so certainly they were again effects of his inobservance, that his principall sort of schisme, separation from the whole Church, was comprehended by me under this style, separation from the severall communities of the whole Christian world.
8. As to the former branch of his exception, that in my division of schisme, into that which is against Monarchical (I said, and when he recites my words, he should doe so too, paternal) power, and that which is against fraternall charity, I omit to mention the authority of Councils, It is evidently a causelesse suggestion. For 1. if Councils, as he saith, have any authority, that will certainly be reducible to paternal power. And if they have none, any farther than by way of counsell and advice, that will directly fall under the head of fraternall charity.
9. Secondly, If by Councils he mean Provinciaall Councils, it is evident that the power which severally belongs to the Bishops of each Province, is united in that of a Provinciaall Council, where all the Diocesan Bishops are assembled, and the despising of that is an offence under the first sort of schisme, a breach of the subordination to the Bishop, yea, and the Metropolitan too, who presides in the Provinciaall Council.
10. So again, if he mean Nationall Councils, the power of the Bishops

Bishops of all the *Provinces* there assembled, divolves upon this *assembly*, compounded of all of them, the *despising* thereof is the *despising* of these *Ecclesiasticall superiours* of the whole *nation*, and culpable, and *schismaticall* upon that account.

11. As for *Oecumenicall* or *Generall Councils*, if they be truly such, the power of all the *Bishops* of all the *Provinces* in all *Christian* nations divolves upon that, and so cannot be *despised* without *despising* of all ranks of our *Ecclesiasticall superiours*, *Bishops*, *Metropolitans*, *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, and therefore this sort of *schisme* could not be deemed to be omitted, where all those other branches, of which it is made up, were so particularly handled.
12. That any more *speciall* consideration was not taken of *Generall Councils* in that discourse, the account (beside that which is now given) is more than intimated in that *Traict of Schism*, pag. 60. first because they were *remedies* of *schisme*, and *extraordinary*, not any standing *Judicatures*, to which our *constant subordination* and *subjection* was required. 2. Because these were such, as without which the *Church* continued for the first 300 years, and so could not belong to a *generall* discourse, which spake of all the *certain* and *ordinary* and *constant* sorts of *schisme*, and such as all times were capable of, and enlarged not to those other of *accidentall emergencies*. 3. Because they are now *morally* impossible to be had, the *Christian* world being under so many *Empires*, and divided into so many *communions*, that it is not visible to the eye of man how they should be *regularly* assembled.
13. As for those that are already *past*, and are on due grounds to be acknowledged truly *Oecumenicall*, the *communion*, which is possible to be had or broken with them, is that of *compliance* with, or *recession* from their *definitions*, and our *innocence* in that respect is avowed, p. 160. as the congregating of the like (when *possible*, and *probable* toward the end) is recommended, p. 158. as a *supply*, when there should be need of *extraordinary* remedies.
14. *Lastly*, If none of this had been done, or if this had not been undertaken so *solemnly* and *formally*, as some other supposed

supposed branches of *schism* were, in that *Treat*, yet the account of that is visible to any, because the principal sort of *schisme* charged by the *Romanist* on the *Church of England* is that of casting out the *Bishop of Rome*, not contemning the authority of *Councils*, and therefore I was in reason to apply my discourse most largely and particularly to that head, to which their *objections*, not my own choice directed me. So evidently contrary to the notoriety of the fact is this complaint of this *Gentleman*, that my division of *schism* was insufficient, and that I took no notice of this (as he pleases to call it) *conciliatory authority*.

15. That to make his suggestion seem more probable, he advisedly chose to change the terms of my division from that which was against *Paternal*, to that which is against *Monarchical* power, upon this apprehension, that *Paternal* power would visibly include that of the *Fathers* in *Council* assembled, as well as in *several*; but *Monarchical* power could not so fitly bear it, I shall not enter into his secrets to divine. This I am sure of, that the unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the *Churches*, cannot with any propriety (as by him it is) be defined a branch of *Conciliatory authority*, for certainly the *Churches* dispersed are not met together, the *Diactopa*, or dispersion of the *Jewes* differed much from the *Council* assembled at *Jerusalem*, and the *Christian Church* at this day is without question no *Oecumenical Council*.

16. And then what authority scattered members can have, which never legally command, or exercise authority, but when they are in conjunction, I shall not here make stay to demonstrate: whatsoever there is of this nature will most properly be comprised under the head of communion or unity *Fraternal*, and the *schisme* which is a transgression of that, being at large handled also, *Chap. 8. 9. 10.* there was no insufficiency, in any justice, to be charged on this division.

Sect. II.

Of the extent of the Roman Province. The Bishops of Italy distinct from those that belong to Rome. The Ecclesiastical distributions agreeable with the Civil. Ruffinus vindicated.

Num. 1. **T**He second charge on this Chapter is about the extent of the Roman Patriarchie, in these words :

2. *In this Chap: he telleth us many things, some true, some not so, but all either common to us both, or not appertaining to the controversy, untill he concludes, that certainly the Roman Patriarchie did not extend it self to all Italy, and this he does out of a word in Ruffinus, which he supposeth to be taken in a speciall propriety of law, whereas indeed that author's knowledge in Grammar was not such as should necessarily exact any such belief, especially learned men saying the contrary.*
3. The place, to which this exception belongs, is not set down by this Gentleman, but by annexing the testimony out of Ruffinus, I discern it to be that of pag. 52. where speaking of the *Picenum suburbicarium* and *Annonarium*, I say the former belonged to the Prefecture of Rome; the latter, with the seven Provinces in the broader part of Italy, belonged to the Diocese (as it was antiently called) of Italy, of which Milan was the Metropolis.
4. This being the affirmation which he excepteth against, I did not, nor yet doe make any question of vindicating, and defending it against any objection.
5. That learned men say the contrary, is here suggested, in the close, but as there is not one learned man named, nor testimony produced (which therefore amounts no higher than the bare opinion or affirmation of this one Gentleman, without any one reason or authority to support it) so when any such learned mens names and testimonies shall be produced, it will be easie to shew, that there is very little of their learning exprest in so saying.
6. On the other side I had (pag. 50. in the margin) referred to some testimonies whereon my assertion was founded, viz: those which manifestly distinguisht the Province of the Bishop of

of Rome from the Province of Italy, which could not have had truth in them, if the Province of the Patriarch of Rome extended to all Italy.

7. Such was that of * Eusebius distinctly mentioning the Bi- * 1.7. c.λ.
shops of the Cities of Italy, and the Bishops that belong to the
City of the Romans. The testimony out of the Edict of the
Emperor Aurelian, in the controversie betwixt Paulus Samo-
satenus and Domnus, where it is decreed, that the house, about
which they contended, should be delivered οἷς ἂν οἱ χρι τῷ
Ἰταλίαν καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπισκοποὶ * τῷ δόγματι ἐπισκο- * γρ: δια-
λοιεν, to those to whom the Bishops through Italy and the City of
the Romans should decree it.
8. The like was that of the Council of Sardice set down in
* Athanasius in the title of their Epistle to the Alexandrians, * Apoll: 2. ad
Thus, Ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος ἡ χρι θεῷ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα Imp: Const:
ἐπὶ Ῥωμῆς καὶ Ἀπανίων, Γαλλίων, Ἰταλίας, &c. The holy Synod Edit: Par:
by God's grace assembled at Sardice, from Rome, and Spain, Tom: 1.
France, Italy, &c. P. 756.
9. So in * Athanasius's declaration of his own affairs, and the * Ἐπισ: τοῖς
(συμφωνία) agreement of many Bishops with him, he specifies, μονήν βιόν
who and how many they were, πλείους δὲ ἥσαν ὅσοι τῆς μεγά- ἀγκύσι,
λιν Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάντες, Καλαβρίας τε, &c. There were Paris: Ed:
more than four hundred both from great Rome, and from all t. i. p 827.
Italy, and from Calabria, &c. Where the Bishops of the Roman C.
Province are distinguisht from the Bishops of Italy, as those
again from the Bishops of Calabria, &c.
10. So among the names prefixt to the * first Council of Arles, * Concil:
we have ex provinciâ Italia, civitate Mediolanensi, &c. ex ur- tom: 1.
be Româ, quos Sylvester Episcopus misit ex Provinciâ Romanâ, p. 266.
civitate Portuensi, &c. of the Province of Italy, from the city
of Milan &c. from the city of Rome these whom Bishop Sylve-
ster sent, of the Province of Rome, from the City of Porta &c.
such and such were assembled at that Council, where again
the matter is clear as to the distinction of those Provinces of
Rome and Italy, the former under the presidency of the Bishop
of Rome, the later of the Bishop of Milan.
11. By this it might have appeared to this Gentleman (if as he
pleased to mention the much Greek, in his Preface, so he had
E 2 been

been at leisure to consider the importance of it) that beside the testimony (which he will call a word) of *Ruffinus*, I had made use of other waies of proof, that the presidency of the Bishop of Rome (I suppose that he must mean by the Roman Patriarchie) did not extend it self to all Italy.

12. Again after the testimony of *Ruffinus*, I mentioned another evidence, from the proportioning Ecclesiastical jurisdictions to the Temporal of the Lieutenants; This may appear in these words of * *Origen*, of which I shall now, because I did not there, take notice, ἕτοιγ δὲ ἡ ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ ἐκαστῆς πόλεως ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκατέστην, It is fit that the Prefect of the Church of each City, should correspond to the Governour of those which are in the City. And that so it was, appears by the second Canon of the Council of Constantinople, where the jurisdictions of the Bishops are still proportioned to the condition of the Cities where they were, the Bishop of Alexandria to have power over all Egypt, the Metropolis whereof was Alexandria, and so in the rest. And this is in the *Treat* of *Schism* largely deduced and cleared also, p. 54, 55, &c: and need not be here again repeated, And so here was more again than the word of *Ruffinus*, for what I said.
13. Lastly, that for which *Ruffinus* was cited, being but this, that the Bishop of Rome was authorized by the Nicene Canon to take care of the suburbicarian regions, I could not sure be mistaken in thinking, that he took the word suburbicarian in such a propriety (I say not of law, but) of common language, as will conclude the *Picenum suburbicarium* to belong to the Roman Prefecture, as the *Annonarium* did to the Diocese of Italy.
14. And certainly *Ruffinus*, that lived so neer after the Council of Nice, and that in Italy, a Presbyter of *Aquileia*, knew how that was distributed in his time, better than this Gentleman at this distance can pretend to doe, may also be allowed to know so much of Grammar, as to expresse his own sense (in a Paraphrase) of that Nicene Canon.
15. In a matter so clear I shall adde no more, but the words of a most excellent person, Jac: Lesschasserius in his *Consultatio ad Clarif: Venet: Ruffino bellum indicunt scriptores Romani huius temporis*,

temporis, &c. The Romanists of this time are displeased with Rufinus, not knowing what Churches they were, which the Nicene Canon understands to be under the first and ordinary power of the Pope. Whereas Rufinus understood it of the Churches of the suburbicarian Provinces and regions, which are four, the first the Roman, with the bounds of the Prefecture of the City, and three other with which that is incompass'd, All Campania, Picenum suburbicarium, and Tuscia suburbicaria, of which there is frequent mention in the Notitia of the Roman Empire. And of this the same Author hath written a learned Tract, And so here is a distinct testimony of a very learned man, and this is a sufficient answer to his bare indefinite affirmation that learned men say the contrary.

SECT. III.

The identity of the office of Primates and Patriarchs, the authorities of Gratian, and Anacletus, and Anicetus.

Num. 1. **T**HE third charge wherein this third Chapter is concerned, remains about the identity of the office of Primates, and Potriarchs, in these words :

2. *Then he telleth you that the office of Primates and Patriarchs He urgeth was the same, onely authorising that affirmation from an Epistle Gratian of Anacletus, the which, as soon as occasion serveth, he will tell too. you is of no authority, but fictitious.*
3. *What I said of Primates and Patriarchs, that though the Patriarchs had the precedence, in Councils, the deference in respect of place, yet the power and jurisdiction of Primates was as great as of Patriarchs, and the office the same, I thought had sufficiently been evidenced to the Romanist p. 58. For as one manifest indication of it was there mentioned, viz: that in Authors the very titles are confounded, witness Justinian who commonly gives Primates the name of Patriarchs of the Dioceses, so the reference to those two authorities so acknowledged and owned by the Romanists, the Epistle of Anacletus, and the Decree of Gratian, seemed to me to put it out of all question.*

4. For in the *body* of their *Canon Law* corrected and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* as *Gratian's* decree makes up the first and principall part. so in that, *par. 1. distinct. 99.* we have these words, *De Primatibus autem queritur quem gradum in Ecclesia teneant, an in aliquo a Patriarchis differant,* The question is made concerning *Primates*, what degree they have in the Church, and whether in any thing they differ from *Patriarchs*. And the answer is, *Primates & Patriarchae diversorum sunt nominum, sed ejusdem officii,* *Primates* and *Patriarchs* are of different names, but of the same office.
5. What could have been said more punctually and expressly to the business in hand? What more authentick and dilucid testimony could have been produced to any *Romanist*, with whom I had to doe? And 'tis a little strange, that this Gentleman should say that I onely authorize my affirmation from an *Epistle of Anacletus*, and then either he, or some Supervisor for him, put in as a marginal note, He urgeth *Gratian* too, When 1. if I urged *Gratian*, I did not urge *Anacletus* onely; and 2. it is evident I did urge *Gratian* as punctually as *Anacletus*, and 3. *Gratian's* words are so expresse as nothing can be more, and 4. *Gratian's* authority with them is as great as any could have been produced; and 5. there is not one word offered to avoid the force of *Gratian's* testimony, as to that other of *Anacletus* there is, which argues that this Gentleman was concluded by *Gratian*, yet would not consent to the proposition unanswerably inferred from him. And this may suffice to be noted concerning that testimony.
6. Then for *Anacletus* 1. his words are these, *Provinciarum divisio ab Apostolis est renovata,* The division of Provinces was renewed by the Apostles, *Et in capite Provinciarum— Patriarchas vel Primates, qui unam formam tenent, licet diversa sint nomine, leges divina & Ecclesiastica poni & esse jusserunt, ad quos Episcopi, si necesse fuerit, confugerent, eosque appellarent,* And in the head of the Province— *Patriarchs*, or *Primates*, who hold the same form (are of the same nature) though they be diverse names, are placed by divine and Ecclesiasticall laws, so that to them the Bishops, when 'tis needfull, may resort and make their appeals. This testimony again as punctually to the purpose as could have been devised. And

7. And then *secondly*, this being by the *Romanists* received as a *Decretall Epistle* of that *Pope* and *antient Bishop* of *Rome*, was in reason, whatsoever it were to us, to stand with the *Romanist* in full authority.
8. *Thirdly*, This being in perfect concord with the decree of *Gratian*, is in the aforesaid body of their *Canon law* approved, and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* annex to that decree of *Gratian*, *Distinct: 99. c. 1.*
9. And *fourthly*, whereas this *Gentleman* saith, that as soon as occasion serves I will tell you this *Epistle* of *Anacletus* is of no authority, I must say 1. that I have no where, that I remember, ever said so. 2. That this *Gentleman* cannot without *divining* tell me now, what I shall doe hereafter. 3. That occasion not yet requiring it of me, but *Anacletus* affirming what I affirm, I have no temptation to doe so, and so as yet he can have no pretence to make use of this subterfuge. 4. That there are things called *argumenta ad homines*, arguments that may binde him who acknowledges the authority, from which they are drawn, though they conclude not him that allows not those authorities, and such is this of *Anacletus* his *Epistle*, to a *Romanist*.
10. And by the same *Logick* that he can inferre that *Anacletus's* authority was unduely produced by me, who (as he but thinks) will not stand to *Anacletus's* authority, I may sure conclude that *Anacletus's* authority was duly produced by me, because against him, who, I have reason to presume, must stand to *Anacletus's* authority.
11. A third testimony of the same nature I shall now adde, which must again have force with a *Romanist*, that of *Anicetus* ad *Episcopos Gallia*, which follows there in the * *Corpus Juris* * *Decret: Canonici. Primarum civitatum Episcopos Apostoli & Successores* Grat: par: 1. res *Apostolorum regulariter Patriarchas & Primates esse constituerunt.* The *Apostles* and their successors regularly appointed that the *Bishops* of the *Prime Cities* should be *Primates* and *Patriarchs*. And till somewhat be produced to the contrary, as 'tis sure here is nothing offered by this *Gentleman*, this may at the present suffice in this place.

SECT. IV.

The supreme Ecclesiasticall power of Patriarchs. The power of convoking Councils, a prerogative of Supremacy. That the Bishop of Rome is not over Patriarchs. Proofs from the Councils, and Canons Apostolick, and the Corpus Juris, and Pope Gregory's arguing.

NUM. I.

THE last exception concerns the supreme Power of Patriarchs, or the no superiority of any Ecclesiasticall power over them, Thus.

2. Then he saith there was no power over the Patriarchs, his proof is because the Emperour used his secular authority in gathering of Councils, concluding, that because the Pope did not gather general Councils, therefore he had no authority over the Universal Church, which how unconsequent that is, I leave to your judgment.
3. That there was no supreme power in the Bishop of Rome, nor in any other above that of Primates and Patriarchs, but onely that of the Emperour in the whole Christian world, as of every soveraign Prince in his dominions, I thought sufficiently proved by this, that the power of convoking Councils did not belong to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Prince in every nation, and the Emperour in the whole world. And I deemed this a sufficient proof, not because there are no other branches of a supreme authority imaginable, or which are claimed by the Bishop of Rome save onely this; but 1. because this of convoking Councils is certainly one such prerogative of the supreme power, inseparable from it, and he that hath not that, hath not the supreme power (as in any nation some prerogatives there are, which alwaies are annex to the Imperial Majesty, and wherever any one of them truly is, there is the supreme power, and 'tis treason for any but the supreme, to assume any one of them, and one of that number is calling of national Assemblies) And secondly, because the Bishop of Rome doth as avowedly challenge this power of convoking General Councils, as any other I could have named or insisted on. And truly that was the onely reason why I specified in this,

this, because this of all others is most *eminent* in it self, most *characteristical* of the *supreme power*, and most *challenged* by the *Bishop of Rome*, and most due to him, in case he be the *Universal Pastor*.

4. And then where there be *several branches of a power*, all resident in the same subject *inseparably*, from the *absence* of one to collect the *absence* of all, I must still think, a *solid way* of *probation*, and cannot discern the *infirm part*, or *inconsequence* of it. If I could, it would be no difficult matter to *repair* it, and supply the *imperfection* of the proof, by what is put together in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (even now cited) *Decret: par: 1. dist: 99. c. 3, 4, 5.*
5. The thing that I had to prove, was, that there was not anciently any *summum genus*, any *supreme* either of, or over *Patriarchs*, beside the *Prince or Emperour*. To this, as farre as concerns the *negative part*, that the *Bishop of Rome* is not this *summum genus*, I now cite from that third Chap. *Prime sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos*, The *Bishop of the first seat* ought not to be called *Prince of the Priests*, or *supreme Priest*. And this testified out of the *African Councel*, *Can: 6.* where the very words are recited with this addition of [*aut aliquid hujusmodi*] he is not to be called by any other title of the same kinde, *sed tantum prime sedis Episcopus*, but onely *Bishop of the first See*, and there were three such at that time, (those named in the *Nicene Canon*) *Alexandria, Rome, Antioch*, as is sufficiently known.
6. And that he may see the *practice* of the Church was perfectly concordant with that *definition*, I referre this Gentleman to the *Milevitan Councell*, *cap. 22.* where speaking of *appeals* from their *Bishops*, the rule is, *non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad Primate Provinciarum suarum*, They must appeal to none but the *African Councels*, or the *Primates of their own Provinces*. *Ad transmarina autem qui putaverint appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in communionem recipiantur.* But if any shall think fit to appeal to any *transmarine* (foreign) *judicature*, they are not to be admitted to *communion* by any within *Africa*.
7. And indeed the same had been before defined by the first
F
Nicene

Nicene Council, c. 5. where the sentence pronounced against any by the Bishops in each Province was to stand good according to the Canon (I suppose the 12 Apostolick) which pronounces τὰς ὑπὸ ἑτέρων ἀποβλητέας, ὑπὸ ἑτέρων μὴ πειστέας, that they which are excommunicated by some, shall not be received by others. And accordingly in the Synodical Epistle of the African Council to Pope Celestine, which is in the Book of Canons of the Roman Church, and in the Greek collection of the Canons of the African Church, we finde these words, ἐκείνοις, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοὰς, τὰς ἐλευθερὰς πατριμοσύνης ἐυχρώς μὴ πεισέχνηται, μὴ δὲ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνίας εἰς κοινωνίαν τὸ λοιπὸν διαύσαται δέξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸτο ἃ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Συνόδῳ δεδιδὼν ἐυχρώς εὐχὴ ἢ σὺν συμβουλίῳ, We intreat you (the style of one Church to another) that for the future you will not easily admit those who have come to you from hence, and that you will not receive to your communion those who are excommunicate by us, seeing the Council of Nice hath thus defined, as you may easily discern.

8. By all which put together by the African out of the Nicene, and by the Nicene out of the Apostolick Canon, it is evident that the Bishop of Rome hath not power to absolve any person excommunicate by any Bishop of another Province, and that 'tis unlawfull for any such to make appeal to him, which certainly will conclude against every the most inferior branch of his pretended authority over the Universal Church.

9. If this be not enough, then add the 34 Apostolick Canon, τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάς ἕνας εἶναι καὶ ἓν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν. The Bishops of every nation must know him that is the first among them, i.e. their Primate, and account him as their head. Which sure inferres that the Bishop of Rome is not the one onely head of all Bishops. The same is afterward transcribed by the 9 Canon of Antioch.

10. But to return to their *Corpus Juris*, so again Decret: par: 1. dist: 99. c. 4. Nec etiam Romanus Pontifex universalis est appellandus. The Pope of Rome is not to be called Universal Bishop, citing the Epistle of Pope Pelagius II. Nullus Patriarcharum Universalitatis vocabulo unquam utatur, quia si unus Patriarcha universalis dicatur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur.

derogatur. No Patriarch must ever use the title of Universal, for if one be called universal Patriarch, the name of Patriarch is taken from all the rest; And more to the same purpose; the very thing that I was here to prove.

11. So again Ch. 5. out of the Epistle of Pope Gregory to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, where refusing the title of Universalis Papa, Universal Pope, or Father, or Patriarch, and calling it *superba appellationis verbum*, a proud title, he adds, *si enim Universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse, quod me fatetur Universum*, If the Patriarch of Alexandria call the Pope universal Father, he doth thereby deny himself to be that which he affirms the Pope to be universally; The meaning is clear, If the Pope be universal Patriarch, then is he Patriarch of Egypt, for sure that is a part of the Universe; and then as there cannot be two supremes, so the Bishop of Alexandria cannot be Patriarch of Egypt, which yet from S. Mark's time was generally resolved to belong to him, and the words of the Nicene Canon are expresse to it, that according to the ἀρχαία ἔθνη original, Primitive customs, the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, adding ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ρωμῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συνδεδεμένοις, &c. seeing this is also customary with the Bishop of Rome, of Antioch, &c. τὰ πρεσβεῖα σὺν ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, that the privileges should be preserved to the Churches.
12. All which arguing of that Pope, yea, and that great Council were perfectly unconcluding (inconsequent, as mine was said to be) if the Bishop of Rome, or any other, had power over Patriarchs, or authority over the universal Church, which here this Gentleman is pleased to affirm, and so sure must think Gregory more than fallible, when he thus protested, and disputed the contrary.
13. How much higher than this the same Gregory ascended in expressing his detestation of that title, is sufficiently known from his Epistle to Mauritius the Emperor, In regist: l. 4. Ep: 30. I shall not here trouble him with the recitation of it.
14. What is after these passages set down in their body of the Law, shews indeed that the Popes continued not alwaies of

this minde, Neither was I of opinion that they did, the *story* being known to all how *Boniface III.* with much adoe obtained of *Phocas* the *Emperour* an *Edict* for the *Primacy* and *Universal jurisdiction* of the *Church of Rome* (see *Paul: Diaconus Gestis Romanorum*, l. 18.) which yet is an argument that till then it had no foundation.

15. Whether there were antiently any such, higher than *Patriarchs*, and whether now there ought to be, was the question before me, and both those I must think concluded by what I have here set down, as farre as relates to any true, i.e. original right, from any appointment of *Christ*, or title of succession to *S. Peter*.

16. Much more might be easily added to this head, if it were not evident that this is much more than was necessary to be replied to a bare suggestion, without any specifying what that power is, which may belong to the *Pope* over the *Universal Church*, though convoking of *Councils* did not belong to him, and without any offer of proof, that any such did really belong to him.



CHAP. IV.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the fourth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The Romanists pretensions founded in S. Peters universal Pastorskip. Of Possession without debating of Right. What Power the Pope was posselt of here.

Num. I. **I**N the fourth Chap: his objections begin to grow to some height, they are reducible to three heads, the first is by way of Preface, a charge of a very considerable default in the whole discourse that I remember not what matters I handle; the other two are refutations of the two evidences I use to disprove the Popes claim of universal Primacie from Christ's donation to S. Peter.

2. The first of the three is set down in these words :
In the fourth Chapter he pretendeth to examine whether by Christ his donation S. Peter had a Primacie over the Church, where not to reflect upon his curious division, I cannot omit that he remembers not what matters he handles, when he thinketh the Catholick ought to prove that his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie; for it being granted that in England, the Pope was in quiet possession of such a Primacie, the proof that it was just belongeth not to us, more than to any King, who received his Kingdome from his Ancestors, time out of minde, to prove his pretension to the Crown just: for quiet possession of it self is a proof, untill the contrary be convinced, as who should rebell against such a King were a Rebel, untill he shewed sufficient cause for quitting obedience; with this difference, that obedience to a King may by prescription or bargain be made unnecessary, but if Christ hath commanded obedience to his Church, no length of years, nor change of humane affairs can ever quit us from this duty of obedience, so that the charge of proving the Pope to have

no such authority from Christ, lieth upon the Protestants now as freshly, as the first day of the breach, and will doe so untill the very last.

3. My method in the beginning of Chap. 4. is visibly this; The Church of England being by the Romanist charged of schism in departing from the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and this upon pretense that he, as successor of S. Peter hath a supremacy over all the Churches in the world, I undertake to examine the truth of two branches of this suggestion, one whether Saint Peter had this universal Supremacy given him by Christ; the second, whether this power, if supposed to be instated on Saint Peter, devolved on the Bishops of Rome. The former of these I examined in that Chapter. And I must now discern, if I can, how I have failed in any particle of my undertaking.
4. First, saith he, he will not reflect on my curious division. And I that know there was no curiosity in any division of mine, but on the other side, such perspicuity as was agreeable to a desire and indeavour to set down the whole matter of debate between us as distinctly and intelligibly as I could, that the Reader might be sure to judge whether I answered their charge, or no, I have no reason in the least to suspect the fitnessse and usefulnessse of my division, nor consequently to be impertinently solicitous in reflecting on it.
5. That which he saith he cannot omit, I shall make haste to consider with him, viz: my great mistake, in thinking the Catholick ought to prove his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie.
6. To this I answer, 1. that there is no manner of foundation or pretense for this exception here. For I no where say the least word toward this purpose of requiring the Romanist to prove his pretensions, or to prove them by this medium. Onely I take it for granted, that he doth actually produce arguments to inferre the Pope's universal Primacie, and that Christ's donation to S. Peter is one of those arguments. And that I was not herein mistaken, I shall, instead of a larger deduction of evidences from all sorts of Romish writers, make my appeal to the objecter himself, in several places of this little tract,

tract, particularly p.20. where he hath these words, *we rely on the first, as the foundation, and corner-stone of the whole building.* And what that first is, appears by the words immediately precedent, that the *pretensions for the Pope's supremacy in England must be founded as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church,* so including England as a member thereof. From whence in stead of *recriminating and retorting* on him the charge of the *ill memory*, I shall onely make this undeniable inference, that I was not mistaken in thinking that the *Romanist* doth actually found his *pretensions* in the *universal Pastorship* of Saint Peter, and consequently, If I prove that to fail, I have removed that which in his own style is the *foundation and corner stone* of his whole building.

7. But then 2. because he here pretends that it belongs not to a *Romanist* to prove his *pretension* just, but that it sufficeth that he hath the *possession*, I desire to propose these three things to his consideration, 1. By demanding whether at *this* time, or for these 100 years the *Pope* hath had the *possession* of the *obedience* of this nation; I suppose he will say he hath not; And if so, then by the force of his own argument, that *possession*, and all the *arguments* deducible from thence, are now lost to him, the *prescription* being now on *our* side, as before on *theirs*, and there is nothing left him to plead, but the *original right* on his side, against the *violence* of the *succeeding possession*: And if he come to the *pleading* of the *right*, then that is the very *method* that I proposed, and so did not *offend* or *forget* my self in so doing.
8. Secondly, Concerning their *possession* before Henry VIII. his daies, I shall demand how long they had it, and how they acquired it; If he will not at all think fit to answer this question in either part, then I confesse he hath made an end of the *dispute*, and by refusing to give account of the *right* he had to his *possession*, he will leave every man to catch and hold what he can, and then to *imitate* him, and give no account to any how he came by it, which as it is an *unchristian* method, every man being obliged to clear his *actions* from manifest charges of *injustice* and *violence*, so again 'tis an *evil lesson* against

against himself, and unlesse we will confesse our selves *Schismatics* in casting off their obedience, 'tis impossible for him ever to prove us such, this kinde of *schism*, which now we speak of, being by all acknowledged to be a *separation* from our lawfull superiors, and no way being imaginable to prove the Pope to be such to this nation, without offering some proof to the point of right, as well as adhering to his possession.

9. To which purpose it is farther observable, 1. That even in secular things it is not every possession that gives a right, but 1. either the *bona fidei possessio*, a possession honestly come by, or the *unjustnesse* of whose original is not contested or made to appear. And 2. whatsoever privilege by humane laws belongs to prescription, yet in divine or Ecclesiasticall matters prescription can be of no force against truth of right, and so this Gentleman seems to acknowledge here, extending the force of possession no farther than till sufficient cause be shewed to the contrary. 3. That though whilst I am in possession I need not be bound to prove my right, yet when I am out of possession, there is not, beside absolute force, any way possible to recover a possession, but this of contesting and evidencing the right of it, and that, 'tis evident, is the present case.

10. But if he shall think fit to answer the question in either part of it, then by the answer to the first part of it, he must be forced to set down the original of it; and by answer to the second, the right of that original (and so he hath been fain to doe, as elsewhere, so in this very paragraph, where he speaks of Christ's commanding obedience to his Church, I suppose he must mean the Church of Rome) and that is again the very method in which I proposed to debate, and consider this matter.

11. Thirdly, For the power, of which the Pope was possess in this Kingdom, either it was no more than an Ecclesiasticall Primacie, such as by the antient Canons belongs to a Primate or Patriarch over Metropolitans and Bishops, or else it was a supreme power over the King himself, whether in Spiritual, or also in Temporal affairs.
12. If it pretend onely to be the former of these, then the power of Kings to erect or translate Primacies or Patriarchates, which

which is insisted on and evidenced in the *Traitt of Schisme*, c 6. §. 9. was sufficient then to justifie what here was done, no possession being pleadable against the King, to restrain or exclude this exercise of his power, and so now to free us from schisme, (by this Gentleman's rule) this act of the Kings in translating the Primacie being sufficient cause for quitting our obedience, supposing the Bishop of Rome formerly to have been our Primate.

13. But if the pretensions be higher, even for the Supremacie it self, either in whole, or in part, then 1. I may surely say they were never *bona fidei possessores* of that, And 2. that the King, who by being so, is supreme in his own Kingdome, and cannot admit of another supreme either in or out of it, hath all the advantages of possession, which are here spoken of by this Gentleman, and must not be divested of his right, nay must not, cannot (remaining a King) divest himself of it, nor might any without the guilt of rebellion quit his obedience to him.
14. Lastly, to remove all appearance of reason from this whole exception, 1. It is manifest that at the time of casting out the power of the Pope out of this Kingdome, there were (I must have leave to suppose, convincing) reasons given for the doing of it, A breviare of which the Reader may finde in that one *Treatise* (mentioned in the *Traitt of Schism*, p. 135.) *De verâ differentia Regia & Ecclesiastica potestatis*, then composed and published by the Bishops, and since reprinted by Melchior Goldastus in *Monarchia*, tom: 3. p. 22. under the title of *opus eximium*, a very notable excellent work. 2. That how meanly so ever it hath been performed, yet this was one special design of the *Traitt of Schism* (which this Gentleman saith will alwaies lie upon Protestants) to prove the Pope to have no such authority from Christ, as the Romanist pretendeth him to have. And this I hope may suffice to be said to his *επιμαχία*, his presunory skirmish against this fourth Chapter.

Sect. II.

The condition of S. Peter's Province. The Apostles distribution of their great Province, the World, into several portions. Κληρῆς. Κληρῆς Ἀποστολῆς. Ὁ τὸν ὁ ἰδίῳ, Aēt. 1. the interpretation thereof vindicated.

Num. 1. **I** Proceed now to his refutations of the first evidence I make use of to *disprove* the Pope's claim to universal Primacie from Christ's donation to S. Peter.

2. My evidence is taken from the condition of S. Peter's Province, as by agreement betwixt him and his fellow Apostle S. Paul, it was assigned him, Gal. 2. 7, 9. that he should be the Apostle of the circumcision or Jewes (which certainly was not the whole world) exclusively to the Gentile part, or the uncircumcision, which was remitted to S. Paul both there and Rom. 11. 13. and this, as is * there specified, in every city where they met together. And because the universal extensive commission of Christ to all and every Apostle, giving them authority to go and preach to the whole world, might seem to be contrary to this special assignation, I took care to prevent this objection, by premising that this commission given by Christ indefinitely, and unlimitedly, and extending equally to the whole world, was restrained by some subsequent act or acts of the Apostles themselves, who distributed their universal Province into several portions and assignations, called κληρῆς ἀποστολῆς, portions of Apostolacy, and the several Provinces where they were thus to labour, stiled each of them ὁ τὸν ὁ ἰδίῳ, to each an assigned peculiar place, Aēt. 1. 25.

* Of Schism,
p. 74.

3. Now to this groundwork of my insuing probation, he makes his first exception in these words:

As for his Proofs, which he calls Evidences, he telleth us first that S. Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision exclusively to the uncircumcision or Gentiles; To prove this, he saith the Apostles distributed their universal Province into several κληρῆς ἀποστολῆς, that is, by his interpretation, lesser Provinces, and citeth Aēt. 1. v. 25. where S. Peter with the other Apostles prayeth God to shew which of the two proposed he was pleased to have promoted

Sect. 5.

mated to the dignity of being an Apostle, this they call ἀνεὸς ἑρμηνεύς, and this rigorous interpreter saith, it signifies the special Province S. Matthias was to have, though the Scripture it self expresseth the contrary, saying the effect was that afterward he was counted amongst the Apostles: Could any man not blinded with error make so wretched an interpretation? but he goes on presently adding that S. Peter in the same place calleth these particular Provinces τὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου, and will you know what this τὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου or proper place is, read the Text, and you shall finde that S. Peter speaketh of Judas's going to Hell to receive his eternall damnation: Methinks you should wonder I can go on without astonishment at such blasphemous explications, for sure it can be no lesse so to abuse the Word of God, and after this what doe you expect?

4. Here are two great charges, the first introduced by styling me a rigorous interpreter, and profecuted, by affirming me blinded with error, my interpretation wretched and contrary to what the Scripture expresseth. But the second is of no lesse than blasphemy, and abusing the Word of God, and his friend is to wonder that he is not astonished, and after I have been guilty of such crimes as these, 'tis in vain forsooth to expect any thing from me, the whole ensuing discourse is utterly defamed and blasted, like * Philopemen's good counsel in the Senate of * A. Gellius, Lacedemon, by being delivered by so ill a man, so infamous a person, as a blasphemor is justly deemed by him. l. 18. c. 3.
5. But I am not to be disquieted with this, or to prepare any reply to the Rhetorical passionate part of it, if the interpretations shall be found agreeable to Scripture, the astonishment and the outcrie will be soon at an end, And therefore that is the onely care that I shall here assume on me.
6. And 1. I shall suppose it evident from the story, and from the very end to which this commissionating so great a number of twelve Apostles was designed, that all the Apostles were not to go together, in consort, to preach unto all the world, It would have been long ere the Faith would have been propagated to all the world, if this slower method had been taken.
7. To this it is consequent, that our Saviour having left the world in common before them, the distribution of that one

wider into severall lesser *Provinces* must be an *act* of the *Apostles* themselves, as when God had given the land of *Canaan* to the 12 tribes of *Israel*, *Eleazar*, and *Josua*, and the heads of the *Fathers* of the tribes distribute to every tribe their *κλῆρες* or portion (which because it was to continue to their posterity, we ordinarily style their inheritance) *Jos. 14. 1.*

8. And as there is no doubt of the truth of this fact, so if this one thing be granted me, there is no more incumbent on me to prove in this matter; and though neither of those phrases, *Act. 1. 25.* should be for my turn, yet my conclusion remains good to me, as farre as it pretendeth to be deducible from those phrases, viz: that the *Apostles* distributed their great Province, the whole world, into severall lesser *Provinces*, one, or possibly more than one to go one way, the other another.
9. It was therefore *ex abundanti*, more than was necessary, that I annexed the use of those phrases to that purpose, not undertaking to prove this (as this Gentleman saith) by those texts, much lesse *Peter's* being *Apostle* of the *circumcision* (which was a *consecratory* and had its severall probation afterwards) but onely accommodating those phrases to the matter in hand, and by the way assigning what I thought the most probable notion of them.
10. And although it be still as unnecessary to impose my explanations on this Gentleman, the conclusion having as yet no use of them, yet being obliged to give him such an account of my actions, as may free me from *blasphemy*, and abuse of the word of God, I shall here adventure to make my apologie, by premising 1. not out of *Grammarians* onely, but out of the *Scripture* it self, the notion of the word *κλῆρες*, which signifying originally a lot or way of division (into severals) of that, which belongs to all in common (one means of settling propriety among men) it comes next by an easie figure to signifie that which is thus divided, or which in the division falls to every man as his portion.
11. So saith *Phavorinus* *κλῆρεῖται διαίρεται*, and *κλῆρεῖται, μελῶσι*, the verb signifies distribution both active and passive: and accordingly in the son of *Syrach* we have *διαίρεσις κλῆρε*
division

division of, or, by lot, *Eccclus.* 14 15. and by that we may understand a lesse obvious expression, c. 37.8. beware of a counsellor, &c. μή ποτε βάλη ἐπὶ σοὶ κληρὸν, lest he cast the lot upon thee, i.e. lest he help another to cheat thee, and then go sharer with him, divide thee betwixt them.

12. So in like manner saith *Phavorinus* of the substantive κληρὸς, μέρος, λαχὺς and μέρις, it signifies a part, that which falls to one's lot, a portion, As *Act.* 8.21. μέρις and κληρὸς portion and lot are all one. And he that hath a possession thus settled on him, and dominion by that means, or he that undertakes to dresse or till so much land, δαπάνης and γεωργίας, the Lord and the husbandman, are both the interpretation of κληρὸς ἔχων, he that hath such a lot or portion assigned him.
13. Proportionably those that any Governour of the Church is set over, are called his κληρὸς or lot, and 1 *Pet.* 5.3. such Governours are commanded μὴ κατακυριεύειν ὡς κλήρων, not to behave themselves as the Roman Pretors were wont to doe over their several Provinces, oppressing and tyrannizing over them.
14. To this it is agreeable, that κληρὸς διακονίας, *Act.* 1. 17. should denote such a portion of ministerial office, as belonged to one that was sent or commissioned by Christ πρὸς ἔργον to a task or work, exprest v.20. by ἐπισκοπὴ αὐτοῦ his Episcopal office (for that though it be a rule, yet is also διακονία a ministerie, *Mat.* 23. 11.) in the Church.
15. Hence again that portion of employment in preaching the Faith, testifying the resurrection of Christ, which belonged to one single Apostle, such as Judas was, and ἐξ ἡς παρέβη from which he departed by his sin, and to which another succeeds by way of surrogation, is as fitly styled κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς a portion of Apostolacy, a μέρος or division of that grand employment.
16. And what either one single error or act of blindness was committed in thus interpreting, much more occasion or being blinded with error, which I suppose the compound accumulation (whether onely sin or punishment also) of many errors, what rigor or wretchedness of interpretation, I am still so blinde as not to discern, and this Gentleman is not so cha-

ritable, as to give me his least *directions* to recover to my way, or my eyes again.

17. For as to the *Scriptures* expressing the contrary, in saying he was counted among the *Apostles*, that sure is no evidence against my interpretation, for *Matthias* may become one of the *twelve*, succeed to *Judas's* office and lot, that which did, or should, if he had lived, have belonged to him, and yet neither he, if he had lived, nor now *Matthias* in his stead, have more than a particular *Province*, this or that *region*, (not the whole world in common) assigned for his *appartment*.
18. So that as yet I cannot discern that I have done the least injury to the text in thinking κληρὸν ἀποστόλων the lot or division of *Apostolacy*, to be the several task that belonged to any of the *twelve Apostles*, or that portion of labour, that by consent at their parting one from another should be assigned to each of them.
19. And then the *analogie* will still hold perfectly, that as this distribution of tasks consisted in going to severall quarters for the preaching of the faith of *Christ*, one, one way; another, another; so he that had received his κληρὸς ἀποστόλων portion of *Apostolacy*, should be said to have ἰδίον ἢ τόπον a peculiar or proper place, and having so, should (not immediately, but soon after the *Holy Ghost's* descent) πορεύωμαι εἰς αὐτόν, go, or, betake himself to it.
20. This therefore, and upon these grounds of *fitnesse*, both in respect of the words, and the context, I take to be the meaning of that phrase πορεύωμαι εἰς ἢ τόπον ἢ ἰδίον, to go to his proper place, his peculiar assignation, And I cannot imagine the least inconvenience that can lie against this rendring.
21. For 1. in case it should not be the true, yet it can be any thing as soon as *blasphemy*, thus to interpret it. 'Tis certainly nothing to the dishonour of *God*, to say that *Matthias* went and preacht the *Gospel* in such a *region* peculiarly, and so there is no *blasphemie* in that, viz: the matter of the interpretation; and for the abusing of the Word of *God*, it is hard to divine how that can be deemed such, which affixeth nothing to the Word of *God*, but that which is notoriously true (for so it is that *Matthias* went one way to preach the *Gospel*; and

S. John

S. *John* and S. *Bartholomew* each of them another) and would be acknowledged to doe so, if this *text* were not applied to it.

22. As for the other interpretation of the words (which this Gentleman is pleased to preferre, and might have enjoyed his own judgment, without censuring them as blasphemers, that differed from him in expounding one difficult phrase) by affixing it to *Judas*, and not to *Matthias*, 1. there is no indication in the context that favours that, it was sufficient to say of *Judas* that which had been said v. 16, 17, 18, 19. to set out the horror of his fact, which soon attended it in his own breast, and the bloody death which it brought upon him, but he needed not proceed to revealing of secrets, the sadder consequents, which remained in arrear after death, and 'tis *Chrysostome's* observation on v. 16. behold, saith he, τὸ φιλόσορον τὸ ἀνδρὲς, the wise Christian carriage of S. *Peter*, τῶς ἐν ὑβρίξει, ἐστὶ ἐνέλληται, how he doth not reproach, and insult on him, calling him μισερὸν ἢ παμμισερὸν, villain, or detestable villain, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τὸ γινώσκον ἀνδρὶ, but sets down the fact simply, and on v. 16. περὶ τῆς παρούσης δίκης διαλέγεται, he sets down, saith he, his present vengeance, that sure is it which befell him in this world, which, by the way, cannot well consist with the interpreting it of hell.
23. 2. The use of Parentheses in scripture is very ordinary, and if that be here admitted (which it well may, without any more formal expression of it, than by putting a comma after 'Ιουδᾶς, as it is already in the printed copies) then the interpretation is clear and unavoidable, to receive the lot or portion of his Ministerie and Apostleship (from which *Judas* by transgression fell) to go, or, that he may go to his proper place.
24. 3. Hell being the κοινὸς τόπος the common place or lot of all wicked men, it cannot fitly be exprest with such a double emphasis, ἢ τόπον ἢ ἴδιον, the place, the proper place, i. e. the place peculiar to him, which yet may very fitly be affirmed of *Matthias* his Province, so his, as it was not any mans else.
25. Lastly, It is not near so proper to say that he sinned πρὸς ἐλπίαν to go to hell, as that the other was chosen and surrogated into *Judas's* place πρὸς ἐλπίαν to go to preach to such a quarter

of the world, or that the *Apostles* desired God to signifie his pleasure whom he had *chosen*, that so he might take his *portion* of labour and go; His going was visibly the end intended in all this, but *damnation* or punishment, going to hell, was never intended by Judas in his transgression, though it be supposed the deserved reward and consequent of it.

26. All this amassed together, may, I hope, vindicate an innocent, and, I hope, obvious (farre from wrested) interpretation from such an accumulation of charge, as is laid upon it, without any tender of reason against it, but the *ἑκατόμηνος*, O wretched (blasphemous &c.) in Lucian. And so much in answer to that Paragraph.

Sect. III.

S. Peter the Apostle of the Circumcision; The agreement betwixt the Apostles. Peter's preaching to Cornelius.

Num. 1. **H**IS second exception is to the position it self of Peter's being the Apostle of the Jewes exclusively to the Gentiles, and it is in these words:

2. His position is as directly against Scripture, as if he had done it on purpose, the Scripture telling us how by a special vision S. Peter was commanded to preach to Cornelius a Gentile first of all the Apostles, and himself in the Council of Jerusalem protesting the same; and yet this Doctor can teach he was made Apostle to the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, though all story say the contrary.
3. The position, which is here said to be so directly against the Scripture, was to my understanding the expresse affirmation of Scripture it self, I am sure from thence it was that I learnt it, and I must fail very much in my expectation, if this Gentleman himself doe not acknowledge the testimony produced, Gal. 2. 7. to be sufficient ground to inferre it. There Peter is said to be πεπιστευμένος τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς περιτομῆς, intrusted with the Gospel of the circumcision, That the circumcision there signifies the Jewes, and the εὐαγγέλιον, which we render Gospel, the office of preaching or revealing the faith to them, πιστοῦντες εὐαγγέλιον

Ἀποστολῆς the *Apostolacy* of the *circumcision*, ver. 8. if it be not of it self plain enough, 'tis made so by ver. 9. where it is added that *Peter* &c. were by agreement to go εἰς Ἀποστολὴν to the *circumcision*, where *circumcision*, being the object or term of his motion, must needs be the *Jewes*, not *circumcision* it self, and so Saint *Chrysostome* at large expounds it, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶγμα ἀλλὰ τὰς Ἰουδαίους, not to signifie the *thing*, *circumcision*, but the *persons*, the *Jewes*, in opposition to τὰ ἔθνη the *Gentiles*, in the former words, and then going to them must needs be *preaching* to them, going to them as to a *Province*, the care of which was intrusted to him; and the *right hands of fellowship*, the agreement that was made betwixt them, *James* the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, and *Peter*, and the *beloved disciple* on one side, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* on the other side, is sure the interpretation of the πιστεύουσαι the *being intrusted* or having that, as a *Province*, committed to them.

4. And this is the special importance, saith S. *Chrysostome*, of the ἀλλὰ ταναύσιον, but *contrariwise* (the beginning of ver. 7.) as that is opposed to the πρὸς τὸ ἐνδοξόν their adding to him v. 6. *James*, saith he, and *Peter* and *John*, were so farre from opposing any thing that he had done, from advising any thing more, from telling him any *circumstance* more than before he knew, that they not onely approved, but commended what he had done, and to set the things the more unquestionably for the future, made this agreement with him and *Barnabas*, that whensoever they should come to the same city, mixt of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, *Peter* and *John* should betake themselves to the *Jewish*, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the *Gentile* part of it. For, as was said, it was not by any particular assignation of *Christ's*, but by agreement among themselves that this assignation of *Provinces* was made.
5. And therefore as in point of propriety, when that which is supposed to lie by nature in common to all, is, to avoid contentions and confusions, and the state of perpetual hostility, so distributed by agreement among the fellow-communers, as that one portion shall be assigned as the propriety and apartment of one, the other of another, then and from thenceforth that

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which

which is the *proportion* of one, is so his, that it belongs to no other, and again so *his*, that he hath no *right* to any other part (which I should expresse by saying that that *part* is *his* *exclusively* to any other part, for sure his standing to any such *division* cuts him out, and so *excludes* him from any farther right) so here after this *agreement* between those *Apostles* jointly made, concerning the *two parts* of mankind, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, to which they were to *preach*, and among whom to *preside*, the *Jewes* are become S. Peter's peculiar, or *portion*, or *Province*, and that so *his*, as the *Gentiles* were not *his*, they being left to S. Paul (and Barnabas) who is both there affirmed to have them *committed* to him, and Rom. 11. 13. to be the *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*; And that I exprest by that phrase, *Peter was the Apostle of the Jewes* (so it is said of him expressly Gal. 2. 8.) *exclusively to the uncircumcision*] and truly I knew not (nor yet doe) how to expresse it more *significatively*, and more to the rendring of the *full* importance of those plain *texts*, and this *Gentleman* hath not pleased to direct me how to doe it better.

6. And having the *Scripture* thus clear and irrefragable for my *position*, if now I should not be able to save the *Antinomies*, to answer his *objections* from *scripture* to it, this were certainly but my *idleness*; another that hath a greater *ασχυρία* might be able to doe it) and therefore ought not to be any *prejudice* to the *truth* of the *affirmation*. But unless the *difficulties* be greater than as yet appear, I shall not much doubt of undertaking the *taske*, of reconciling all the *εναντιοφάνειαι* that can be *phansied*.

7. For what if Peter by *special vision* was once commanded to *preach* to *Cornelius* a *Gentile*? Sure this is very *competible* with my *position*, For not to mention that this is acknowledged to have been a *peculiar commission* by *special vision* determined to that *particular* person and his *family*, which, till he had this *vision*, he thought it utterly *unlawfull* to preach to, Act. 10. 28. (And it is certain that one *special case* were no *prejudice* to the *general position*) and again that *Cornelius* though a *Gentile*, was yet a *Profelyte* of the *Jews*, such as they called a *Profelyte* of the *gates*, though not of *justice*, a *οὐκ ἐκ*

or devout man, though not *circumcised*; To omit these, I say, the answer is obvious, 1. That this agreement, of which I speak, was at the time of *Paul's* going up to *Jerusalem*, *Act. 15.* i.e. some years after this of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, as may appear *Gal. 2. 1.* which defines it to be about 14 years after *S. Paul's* conversion, whereas that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, *Act. 10.* placed in the next chapter to that which described the conversion of *Paul*, must needs be some considerable space before this time of his going up to the Council at *Jerusalem*. And so that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, and his protesting the same in the Council of *Jerusalem*, hath nothing of opposition to this agreement (made for the future, not for the time past) what should be done in their after-preaching, I suppose I need adde no more to that which is thus evident.

8. Secondly, I have already sufficiently * exprest, how farre this * *Traſt* of agreement extended, and how farre exclusive it was, not that *Schism, c. 4.* it should be unlawful for *Peter* to preach to a *Gentile*, or for *S. 7.* *Paul* to preach to a *Jew*, but that when they met in the same city (as at *Antioch* certainly they did, and at *Rome* also I make no question) then the one should constantly apply himself to the *Jewes*, receive disciples, form them into a Church, leave them to be governed by a *Bishop* of his assignation, and the other should doe in like manner to the *Gentiles*.
9. And that this was so in the consequents of the story, is largely shewed in that *Traſt*. What could have been said more punctually to prevent this exception taken from *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, I cannot yet discern. I wish this Gentleman had pleased to take notice of it; As it is, I hope he will now be more sure to doe so. c. 4. §. 8. &c.

Sect. IV.

Paul's first preaching to the Jewes in every city. To what the agreement between him and Peter belonged.

- Num. 1.* **A** Nother argument he adds much to the same purpose, which will make his third Exception.
2. Again, if he were made the Apostle of the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, by the same reason S. Paul was made Apostle of the Gentiles exclusively to the Jewes, for the words are like; and yet the scripture teacheth us that whereever he came, he preached first to the Jewes: Is not this to make scripture ridiculous?
 3. Here is great severity again, a charge of making scripture ridiculous; But I hope I have been farre from any guilt of it. That S. Paul, whensoever he came to a city, where the faith had not been preached, and where there was any synagogue of the Jewes, went into that synagogue in time of their publick assembling, I never made any question, were this before, or were it after the story of *Act. 15.* when I suppose this agreement to be made betwixt him and S. Peter, &c.
 4. Great reason, and no small obligation there was for that; For 1. Christ had commanded that the preaching should begin at Jerusalem, the Metropolis of the Jewes, and as to the Jewes first (*ὑμῖν πρῶτον*) God had raised up his Son Iesus, *Act. 3. 26.* so the Gospel of the resurrection was to be revealed (*ἰσχυρῶς πρῶτον*) to the Jew first, *Rom. 1. 16.*
 5. And although in Paul's commission from Christ it were peculiarly exprest that he should preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, *Act. 9. 15.* & *22. 21.* yet according to this great fundamental æconomic he counted it necessary, first to make tender of his service, and of the glad tidings of the Gospel, to the Jewes, and so he tells them *Act. 13. 46.* It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you, and till the Jewes refuse it and reject it, he doth not betake himself so peculiarly to the Gentiles.
 6. Again, this was in some measure necessary to his publishing the Faith, For that was most advantageously to be done in the publick Assemblies, that it might be known to all that were

were in the city : And the *synagogues* of the *Jewes* being such, were in all reason by him, that was a *Jew*, to be preferred before the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *heathens* : And according to these *obligations*, and *inducements*, so generally he did ; But then as this no way *prejudiceth* his title of *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, to which he was at the first assigned by *Christ*, so neither is it any way *contrary* to, or *unreconcilable* with the *agreement* which I suppose to be made between him and *Peter* and *John*, which concerned onely those *cities* and *regions*, where they *met*, and came to plant *Churches* ; There, and there onely it is, that I *affirm* this *distribution* of *Provinces* to have been made, and consequently the *affirmation* is no farther in any *justice* to be extended, than thus, that when they so *met*, *Paul* betook himself to the *Gentile* part, compacted the *Gentile* *profelytes* or *believers* into a *Church*, put them into the *hands* of a *Bishop* of his own *assignation*, *Ignatius* at *Antioch*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, whereas *Euodius* was in the former, *Bishop* of the *Jewish* part, and in the latter, and in all *Asia*, *John* was the *Apostle* of the *circumcision*, and constituted *Bishops* there. And this I suppose, without farther enlarging, may satisfy the importunity of his *second Argument*.

SECT. V.

Of the *Gentiles* being *S. Paul's Province* peculiarly.

- Num. 1. **H**is fourth exception is to my producing the words of scripture, Gal. 2. 7, 9. to the proof of my position, Thus,
2. But he goes on telling us, that the *Gentiles* exclusively to the *circumcision* were the lot of *S. Paul* by *S. Peter's* own confession, his words are, for the *uncircumcision* or *Gentiles* they were not *S. Peter's Province*, but peculiarly *S. Paul's* &c. but look on the place and you shall finde no word of exclusion as [*peculiarly*] is, and whereon lieth the whole question, so that the *Dollors* evidence is his own word against the main torrent of scripture on the other side.
 3. How truly it is suggested, that the torrent of the scripture is against me, hath already been made manifest in the foregoing.

going *sections*, where the *contrary* appearances, by this *Gentleman* produced, as they are farre enough from a *main torrent*, or from the *common* force of such, (or but even of an *ordinary stream*) carrying the whole *businessse* before them, so they are severally examined, and allowed, as farre as they have any *force* in them, and found perfectly reconcilable with our *pretensions*.

4. And so likewise it hath already been cleared in what sense this *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, so stiled by himself, and so, by agreement betwixt the *Apostles*, acknowledged by *S. Peter*, was so, *peculiarly* or *exclusively* to the *Iewes*.
5. As for his argument drawn onely from hence, that in the *text* to the *Galatians* there is no word of *exclusion*, that sure is of little force; If there were any *agreement*, and *division*, and several assignation of *Provinces*, it must follow that what was said to be one mans *Province*, is his, so as it is not the *others*, and so *peculiarly*, and so as farre as that *agreement* holds, *exclusively* his, As in the *estate* first held in *common*, and then after by *agreement* divided, it hath appeared so evidently, that I need adde no more to that matter.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Peter's withdrawing from the Gentile-communion. Of the Gentile diet. The prudence of S. Peter's action.

NUM. 1. **H**IS *fift* Exception concerns an incidental passage about *S. Peter*, and is an *actio injuriarum*.

2. Again (saith he) see how he wrongs *S. Peter* and his *Iewish* *Profelytes*, where he saies he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*. Whereas the text expresseth no more, than that he withdrew from eating with them, that is keeping the *Gentile diet*.

3. What wrong I have done *S. Peter* and his *Gentile Profelytes*, I am yet to learn, nor am I sure that I know wherein this *Gentleman* placeth the supposed injury, But I think it most probable to consist in this, that I say he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*, whereas he conceives that

that he withdrew onely from keeping the Gentile diet.

4. But 1. let me demand of this Gentleman, what he means by Gentile diet? I suppose using those sorts of meats, which were by the Jewish law forbidden; And if that be acknowledged of S. Peter, that he would not thus eat with the Gentiles, lest he should seem to offend against the Jewish law, then by the same reason he must certainly be supposed to abstain from other communion with them, because it was equally against the Jewish law, that a Jew should converse with a Gentile, as the woman of Samaria tells Christ, when he spake to her, but to draw him some water, Joh. 4. 9. How, said she, dost thou being a Jew ask me to drink (and it was but water, none of the interdicted Gentile diet) being a woman of Samaria? and either she or the Evangelist renders the reason, in as comprehensive termes as mine were, ἐγὰρ συγγεγραμμένον Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρεῖταις, for the Jewes have no dealings with the Samaritanes, and accordingly v. 27. the disciples marvelled that he talked with the woman. And therefore certainly Peter did abstain from all those other waies of converse and communion with the Gentiles, which the Jewes thought as unlawfull, as eating of the Gentile diet, or else he failed of the end of his action, which is evident what it was, a fear of scandalizing his countrymen, and from thence a shew of compliance with them, lest he should be thought by those that came from Ierusalem to forsake the Judaical law.

5. That the very preaching to a Gentile (which was the loosest degree of communion) was, according to the Jewish principles as unlawfull as eating any unclean meat, using the Gentile diet, is plain by Peter's provision, Act. 10. 12. where the one is represented by the other, and had he not received that vision, which made it lawful to him to eat all kinde of meats, he acknowledged that he durst not have adventured to come to one of another nation, v. 28. affirming in as plain words as could be, that it was an unlawful thing for a man that was a Jew to keep company or come to one of another nation, κοινωνεῖν ἢ πρὸς σέξου, which certainly includes all communion, and not onely that of the Gentile diet. Thus unhappy is this Gentleman continually in his objections.

6. It were here obvious, and easie to shew the opinion of the Antients of the prudence and no kinde of uncharitableness of S. Peters action, which would farther evidence how farre I am from wronging S. Peter or his Profelytes, in affirming what I affirm of them. But the present objection doth not make that necessary, I referre the Reader for it to the (*Ἐγερθεῖα*) interpretation, or Comments of * S. Chrysostome, who sets it down exactly† not as a quarrel, but as an *οἰκονομία*, an act of prudent managery, a wise ordering, designed by him and S. Paul, as most likely to reduce the Jewes from their errors, when he that did thus much to comply with them (not for fear of persecution from them, but for fear of averting them from Christianity) and was herein seemingly opposed by S. Paul (the *κατεγνωσμένῳ* v. II. being not to be rendred, he was to be blamed, in Paul's opinion, but he was blamed by the Gentile Christians) made no manner of reply in defense of that compliance with the Jewes, and so yielded that S. Paul was in the right, and not the Judaizers. This interpretation of Chrysostome is followed by the Greek Commentators, and taken up by Ierome, but disliked by Augustine in his Epistles to Ierome, and therefore I lay not weight upon it, nor have my pretensions any need of it.

* Savil: ed:

t. 3. p. 730,

731.

† ὁ μάλιστα τα

ρήματα ἀλλ'

οἰκονομίας.

SECT. VII.

The two plantations of Gentile and Jewish Christians at Antioch. Euodius and Ignatius. The differences of the Antients about them reconciled. The two Bishops at Rome. Jewes in England. Simon Zelotes. Gentium Ecclesia the Church of Jewes as well as Gentiles.

NUM. I. **H**AVING gained so little by the several steps of his exceptions, and the position remaining still firm against all, I have lesse reason to suspect what is built upon this foundation in the ensuing sections: Yet against them altogether he casts one stone, before he will part, in these words,

2. Upon this wisely laid ground, he would perfwade us, followed the division of the Bishopricks both in Antioch and Rome, but bringing

bringing not one word of Antiquity proving this to have been the cause, yet is he so certain of it, that he will finde a colonie of Iewes even in England, for fear S. Peter should have touched a Gentile, and yet he cites S. Prosper, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome.

3. What force there is in any part of this suggestion, I shall not here need to set down at large. There be three branches of it, 1. That I bring not a word of antiquity to prove (what I say) that this is the cause of the divisions of the Bishopricks both in Antioch and Rome. 2. That I will finde a Colonie of Iewes in England. 3. That I cite Prosper, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome.

4. For the first, I desire the Reader to review what is already said in the Tract of Schism c. 4. from §. 8. to §. 20. and I shall much wonder if he return of this Gentleman's minde, that there is not one word there brought out of Antiquity to confirm what I say. The short is, It is there manifested from Antiquity, that the Church of Antioch was founded by S. Peter and S. Paul, that there were two Churches there, one of Iewish, the other of Gentile Christians, that in those Churches at the same time sate two distinct Bishops, Enodius and Ignatius; by which means some appearing difficulties in antient writers are explained.

5. To what is there said, I shall, instead of repeating, adde thus much more. Of Enodius, Suidas's words will be easily turned to, in Χριστιανοί, Ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, Πέτρῳ τῷ Ἀποστόλῃ χειροτονήσαντι Ἐνὸδιον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ &c. In the reign of Claudius Caesar, Peter the Apostle ordained Enodius Bishop at Antioch. Of Ignatius the * Author of the Constitutions is expressed, Ἰγνατίῳ ὃ καὶ Παύλῳ, Ignatius was ordained Bishop there by S. Paul. Now seeing in those Acts of Ignatius which are put together by Simeon Metaphrastes, Ignatius is said to succeed Enodius, as Enodius succeeded Peter (Πέτρῳ ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἐνὸδιον διαδέχεται. Ἐνὸδιον δὲ Ἰγνατίῳ) and the Anonymous antient writer of the Acts of Ignatius, which remains unprinted, hath the same, Ἐνὸδιον γὰρ Ἰγνατίῳ διαδέχεται Ignatius succeeded Enodius, and seeing this ordination of Ignatius is also said by † Theodoret, and by * Felix III. Bishop of Zenon:

* in Chron:
(MS. Oxon.)
§ 10.

of Rome to have been done by the hand of Saint Peter, This seeming difference is removed by * *Ioannes Malela Antiochenus*, who thus sets down the whole matter, ἐν τῷ ἀνίστασθαι αὐτὸν (Πέτρον) ἐν τῇ Παμῳ, διαρχοῦν αὐτῷ δι' Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Μεγάλης, σωθῆναι τὰς ἐκείνου Εὐόδιον ἑπίσκοπον, καὶ Πατριάρχην Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ ἄρμα τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰγνατίου, τὸ ἅγιον Πέτρου τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ χειροτονήσαντι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνθρονίσαντι, When Peter went to Rome, passing by Antioch the great, Eudodius Bishop and Patriarch of Antioch happened to die, and Ignatius (who was, as was said, first constituted by S. Paul over the Gentiles there) received the Bishoprick (that I suppose must now be, of the Jewish Province also, over which Eudodius had been in his life time) S. Peter ordaining and enthroning him, And so that is become most clear which * S. Chrysostome said of this Ignatius, that αἱ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀποστόλου χεῖρες &c. the hands of the blessed Apostles, (in the plural, first of Paul, then of Peter) had been laid on Ignatius.

* En'om:
Ignat:

6. The other part which concerned Rome, * was so cleared by Sect. 9. the words of Epiphanius, who saith of Peter and Paul both, that they were ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ Ἐπίσκοποι, Apostles and Bishops at Rome, and so many other evidences produced to the same purpose, from the inscription on their tombs, by Gains contemporary to Pope Zephyrinus, by Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, by Prosper, by the seals of the Popes, and so again Sect. 12. by the Ecclesiastick story, that makes Clement S. Peters Deacon and successor in the Bishoprick, and Linus S. Paul's, that sure there can be no need of farther proofs or testimonies from Antiquity in this matter.

7. Whilst in the mean, other Churches are * instanced in, particularly the Churches of Asia, wherein S. Paul and S. John Sect. 14. had all the command, and S. Peter had nothing to doe, whether in planting or governing them, which alone is sufficient to carry the whole matter against S. Peter's universal Pastorship, and no word is by this Gentleman replied to that so considerable a part of my probation, Onely instead of it, a farre more compendious way, that of the scornfull or fastidious scoffing at my wisely laid ground, as he pleaseth to call it, and adding that I bring not one word of Antiquity &c.

As

8. As to the second branch of his suggestion, that I will finde a colonie of *Jewes* in England, that is no where said by me, Onely thus, that upon supposition, if the saying of *Simeon Metaphrastes* (speaking of *S. Peter's* preaching and ordaining *Bishops* in England, *Neronis* 12.) should be thought to have truth in it, it must be extended no farther than the *Jewes*, which might at that time be dispersed there.
9. Where, as my conclusion from that supposition is founded in the analogie, that as, where *S. Paul* and *S. Peter* met in any plantation, they divided their Province &c. so in reason it ought to be, where *S. Peter* and *Simon Zelotes*, or *Ioseph of Arimathea* met in like manner, so all that of the *Jewes* in England I there affirm, is onely this, that it was possible they that were dispersed in so many regions, might be, some of them, dispersed in *Britannie*, which how improbable soever it may appear at that time, is sure as probable, as that *S. Peter* preached and ordained *Bishops* in *Britannie*, and in consequence to that onely it was, that I made the supposition of the possibility of it, knowing it the affirmation of our *Antiquaries*, that *Ioseph of Arimathea*, or *Simon Zelotes* ('tis possible also that *Simeon Metaphrastes* might mistake *Simon Peter* for him, and then that matter is at an end) planted the faith in this Island.
10. As for his last suggestion, that I cite *Saint Prosper*, that both *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* founded the Church of *Gentiles* in *Rome*, I desire the truth of it may be considered by the words which I cite from him, *In ipsa Hierusalem Iacobus & Ioannes apud Ephesum, Andreas & ceteri per totam Asiam, Petrus & Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma Gentium Ecclesiam pacatam unamque posteris tradentes ex dominica passione sacrarunt*, James at *Jerusalem*, John at *Ephesus*, Andrew and the rest through all *Asia*, Peter and Paul at *Rome*, consecrated the Church of the Nations. What Nations were these, sure of *Jewes*, as well as *Gentiles*, else *Jerusalem* could not be any part of them, no nor John's converts at *Ephesus*, for they were *Jewes*, and therefore this Gentleman did not doe well to substitute the word *Gentiles* for *Nations*, and yet could not, without doing so, have made this exception to my words.

11. And so much for *exceptions* to my first evidence against the *Universal Pastorship* of Saint Peter.

SECT. VIII.

No promise of Keyes to S. Peter, which was not made and performed to all the Apostles, Joh. 20. 21. the completion of the promise, Mat. 16. 19. Pasce oves. Joh. 21. an exhortation, not commission.

Num. 1. **T**HE second sort of *Exceptions* follows, those against my evidence drawn from the power of the *Keyes*, which I say, and prove both from *Scripture*, and expresse testimonies of the *Fathers*, that it was given equally to all the *Apostles*; And his exceptions begin thus:

2. A second evidence he bringeth from the donation of the *Keyes*, which he saith were given equally to the *Apostles*, Mat. 28. yet confesseth the *Keyes* were especially promised to S. Peter, Mat. 16. but performed onely in common, Mat. 28. which though they may be both true, yet is absurdly said, for who acknowledgeth a special promise, should have found out a special performance, which is done, Joh. 21.

3. This exception being not to the matter of what I say, but to the absurdnesse of the expression (to which censure I must suppose every thing liable, which is contrary to his pretensions, and yet proved so manifestly that it cannot be denied by him) I shall briefly evidence how commodious, and proper the expression was.

4. And 1. whereas he sets it down as my confession, that the *Keyes* were especially promised to S. Peter, this is not with truth suggested; My words are, *This power Mat. 16. 19. is promised to S. Peter* But the [*especially*] is an interpolation of this Gentleman's, to prepare my words for his exceptions, for which otherwise they were no way qualified.

5. All that can be fetcht from any words of mine toward this sense, is, that in the next Section, I foresaw, and so mentioned an objection from Christ's making this promise to him peculiarly (and yet even that is not, to him especially, but to him particularly;

enlarly, or singly, *I will give unto thee &c.*) To this, as to an objection, I presently made reply, that the repetition of that promise *Mat. 18. 18.* to all the Apostles indefinitely, and without any peculiarity of restriction (*I say to you, in the plural, and, Whatsoever ye shall binde &c.*) will take away all appearance from this objection.

6. And so it will from this Gentleman's exception also, For if what was at one time promised to S. Peter singly, was so soon after promised to all the Apostles indefinitely, what absurdity is there in seeking no other performance of this promise, than that which was at once afforded to all the Apostles together, in the descent of the Holy Ghost, when the fire, that represented that Spirit, divided and sat upon every one of them, and they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and no shew of peculiarity, or mark of especiall eminence to S. Peter in all this.
7. As suppose a Generall should promise a Commission this day to one, and to morrow should make the like promise to eleven more, that one being in their company, and then, upon a set day, some weeks after, should send 12 Commissions sealed to those 12, one for each of them, I wonder who would doubt of the exact performance of this promise to that first, or seek for any more special performance of it.
8. But this Gentleman having phansied a special promise (as that is with him somewhat more than a particular promise, for otherwise a common performance might have served the turn, it being certain that an Universal contains every particular under it) must needs have a special performance, and that *Ioh. 21.* I suppose in those words of Christ to S. Peter, *Feed my sheep,* and, *Feed my lambs,* thrice repeated.
9. But for this, 1. I cannot acknowledge that it hath any particular reference to the words of the promise, *Mat. 16. 19.* The promise was, *I will give thee the Keyes—* and, *Whatsoever thou shalt binde—* And sure the direct completion of this, as farre as could be expected from Christ personally, whilst he was here on earth, is that of *Ioh. 20. 21.* where, as the sending or commissionating is answerable to giving the Keyes, the insigne of the O Economus, so remitting and retaining of sins is all one with the binding and loosing.

10. As for that which is after this *Chap. 21*. It is 1. by that very position of it; but 2. more by the occasion; and yet more 3. by the matter of the words, prejudged from being any more than an exhortation to discharge that duty, for which in the former *Chap*: he, with the rest of the twelve, had received his commission, and so is still as farre from being a speciall performance, as that of *Matth. 16*. had been from a special promise.
11. The *Pasce oves, Feed my sheep* and *lambes*, thrice repeated, was certainly a direction to him how he might approve his love to that Master and Saviour, whom he had thrice renounced, testifie it now to be a sincere constant love (such as would cast out all fear of danger, through which formerly he had fallen) by an eminent diligence in discharge of that Pastoral office, which was intrusted to him, but 'twas not so much as an intimation, that his diligence would be actually greater than all others (for sure *S. Paul* said truth, that he laboured more abundantly than they all, of whom *S. Peter* was one) but rather that he, that after such professions had fallen so foully, had the more need now of having this proof of his love inculcated and preft, lest he should fail again (much lesse is it a sealing any power or authority to him, above that which before had been conferred on him, and with him on those others also).
12. And nothing being here offered to prove that there was any more of energie, or special commission in these words, but onely the thing crudely affirmed, by naming *Ioh. 21*. there is no need of making any farther answer, a bare deniall is a proportionable return to an unproved affirmation.
13. Onely this I shall adde, that 'tis certain that *S. Peter* thus understood the reiteration of *Christ's* question, as a reproach of his three denials; The Text saith, *Peter* was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, *Lovest thou me?* Which sure he would not have been, if he had looked on it, as an introduction to so great a preferment, as it must be, if the supremacy and Universal Pastorship of the Church were by those words conferred on him.

Sect. IX.

Of the peculiarity of the power given to S. Peter.

Num. 1. **T**O this head of discourse about the power of the *Keyes* follows a *second Exception* in these words,

2. *Again he would perswade the world that the Catholick Church holdeth, none had the Keyes but S. Peter, calling it a peculiarity and inclosure of S. Peter, as if the other Apostles had them not, which is a calumnie.*

Sect. 2.

3. How far I have been in this matter from *calumniating* the whole *Catholick Church*, or any one member of it, will appear by this brief review of what is there said, It is this, The power of the *Keyes* is promised S. Peter, *Mat. 16.* but to him that from hence, i.e. from the *promising* it to him singly in that place, pretends this *donative* and consequent power as a *peculiarity* and *inclosure* of Peter's, two considerations are there offered, and thought sufficient to supersede any such conclusion.

4. Here certainly a bare *supposition* will not be the *accusing* or consequently *accusing* falsely, i. e. *calumniating* of any. If no man say this, besides my losing my pains in *superfeding* such a (but *possible*) conclusion, there is no other *harm* done. Onely I shall demand, Is that *promise* of the *Keyes* to Saint Peter, *Mat. 16.* made use of by a *Romanist* to prove *Christ's* promise of some *special* power to S. Peter, which was not *promised* to the other *Apostles*? If this Gentleman answer, No; then 1. I must inferre, that this Gentleman is no *Romanist*, because in this very page he mentions the first words of this text, *Tu es Petrus*, as one of the two most *considerable* texts of *Scripture*, fit to be alledged for S. Peter's *supremacy*. 2. I shall conclude from this his present supposed *negation*, together with his own words in the last *Paragraph*, that the words of *Christ*, *Ioh. 21. Feed my sheep &c.* were not the *instating* of any power on S. Peter, which was not *common* also to the rest of the *Apostles*, for those words *Ioh. 21.* were, saith he, a *special* performance, answerable to that *promise* of the *Keyes* to Peter, *Mat. 16.* as a *special* promise, and consequently if there were nothing

nothing in that *promise* peculiar to S. Peter, there was nothing in that *performance* peculiar to him. And so neither he nor any Romanist must henceforth conclude any thing for S. Peter from either of those particular addresses of Christ to him, *Mat. 16.* or *Iob. 21.* which they will not equally yeild from thence to all the other *Apostles*; And then that will more *compendiously* perform what I by a greater circuit of considerations indeavour'd to doe, i.e. *superfede* all the Romanist's conclusions from one or both these places; for certainly if they pretend not to *inferre* somewhat for S. Peter, which is not by them equally granted to all the rest of the *Apostles*, all that those texts will be able to doe, is to confute the *Presbyterie*, not to establish the *Papacie*, no more being from hence deducible for the Bishop of Rome the *suecessor* of one *Apostle*, than for the severall other Bishops, *successours* of the other *Apostles*.

5. But if upon the sight of these consequences, he shall now say, that in this of *Mat. 16. 19.* there is any thing, be it never so little (so as to be capable of the phrase a *special promise*) ensured upon S. Peter, which was not elsewhere promised also to the other *Apostles*, I shall then conclude, that it seems I have not calumniated him, or the Church which he defends, in saying that they make this power a peculiarity and inclosure of Saint Peter, for so it must be, if it belong to him and not to others.
6. And 'tis not sufficient to say that the power of the Keyes was common to him with the other *Apostles*, but yet some other *special power* was there reserved to S. Peter, For of that *specialty*, whatsoever it is, my present Dilemma proceeds, and desires to be informed, whether any Romanist conclude it from that text of *Mat. 16.* and if he doe not, then the inconveniences will presse him, which I have here mentioned. If he doe then I shall now conclude anew (not that the *Catholick Church*, but) that this *Catholick Gentleman* holds that which he will not be able to prove, because there is not the least minute portion of power promised to him in that 16 Chap: which is not elsewhere promised to all the *Apostles*; Peter is called a *stone*, on which the Church shall be built, and to

Peter the Keyes are promised; and the twelve Apostles are in like manner, and all equally twelve foundation-stones of the same building, and the Keyes are equally promised to all them: And this being there proved at large S. 21. and the probations extended, not onely to the power of the Keyes, but (after) to the compellation of Tu es Petrus (and they will be extensible to all the most diminutive imaginary fractions of either of those powers) I shall farther conclude, that whatsoever he shall now return to this Dilemma, will equally secure me from having calumniated either him, or the Church maintained by him.

Sect. X.

Sitting on twelve Thrones, Mat. 19.

- Num. 1. **H**is third Exception to this Chap: is to another interpretation of mine, which it seems hath not the luck to approve it self to him, Thus,
2. *I cannot passe without noting another odde interpretation of Scripture, in his 20 Sect. out of Mat. 19. speaking of the twelve Thrones at the day of Judgment, he explicates, to rule or preside in the Church.*
 3. *I doe acknowledge to understand the twelve Thrones, Mat. 19. of the Apostles ruling and presiding in the Church, and S. Augustine long before so understood it, and if Christ's sitting on the throne of his glory may be the interpretation of ἐν παύσει, whether it be rendred in the regeneration, or in the resurrection, meaning thereby Christ's resurrection and ascension to the throne of his glory, there will then be no difficulty so to understand it, that when Christ was gone to heaven, these should succeed him in the government of his Church on earth, and so (as the Phylarche ruled and judged the severall tribes of Israel) exercise judicature, binde and loose, excommunicate and absolve in the Church, no one having the πτωλία, any more than of order, among them.*
 4. *But this Gentleman gives no reason for preferring any other interpretation, onely calls mine an odde one, And when I*

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have.

have replied *first*, that this place comes in *ex abundanti*, onely as it is (being thus interpreted) in concord with that other of *Mat.* 16. & 18. and therefore *secondly*, it is not an odde one, and *thirdly*, the cause in hand will stand as *firm*, though this interpretation should be found to have no truth in it : *fourthly*, that my interpretation is reconcileable with his, and therefore his, if granted, will not be *exclusive* of mine, they that shall judge the world hereafter may for some time have prestided in the Church, and so also judged here ; *fifthly*, that this

* Annot: on place, and the grounds of this interpretation are * elsewhere *Mat.* 19. d. insisted on at large, I shall need adde no more to this single and Power of dislike of his, in this place.

Keyes, c. 5.

§. 13.

Sect. XI.

The equivalence of Πέτρα and Πίσλις. Twelve foundation-stones.

Num. 1. **H**E concludes with some shew of dislike of what I had said to the vulgar place of *Tues Petrus*, Thus,

2. *His quibbling about the word is so light a thing, as it is not worth consideration, the sense being plain, that upon Peter the Church was built specially, though not with exclusion of others.*

3. What I said of the equivalence and perfect identity of the words, Πέτρας and Πίσλις, for a stone, seemed to me particularly usefull to the understanding of the meaning of Christ's speech, when he said, he would build his Church on this Πίσλις, or Πέτρας, i. e. this stone. For not to mention what hath by divers of the Antients been said of that text, applying it not to the person of S. Peter, but to the faith, whereof he then had newly made confession, I was here willing to grant the Romanist the utmost that he could pretend to, viz: that the person of Peter was that *Petra* or stone, on which Christ promised to build his Church : And why this Gentleman should be so unwilling to be gratified, or why the setting down the bare notation of the Greek word, should deserve his reproach, and be called quibbling or levity, I profess I can render no reason but

but his *haste*, which permitted him not to consider either the *undeniable* truth, or his own *advantages* from what was said.

4. The force of my answer lay in *another* branch of that *fourth* Section, viz: that this *stone*, from whence *Peter* had his name, peculiarly relating to a *building*, and so being to be considered as a *foundation stone*, not onely he, but *all* the rest of the *Apostles* were herein made *equall* with *Peter*, being all partakers of this *common* appellation, *δεσμίαις δώδεκα twelve foundations*, *Apoc. 21.14.* and those by circumstances in that text manifested to have an *equal* proportion of *power* and *Province* assigned to *each* of them. And to this there is nothing here answered by this *Gentleman*, and his unprovoked quarrel at that, which was said concerning the *nature* of the word, is an *indication* that he had nothing more to object to it.

5. When therefore he saith, that on *Peter* the *Church* was built especially, I demand what he means by *specially*? If no more than that he was one *special* person, on whom the *Church* was built, then I grant it, and reply, that so was *John*, and so was *Andrew*, and so was every other of the *twelve*, a *special* foundation-stone of the *Church*. But if by [*Specially*] he mean in an *extraordinary*, or more *eminent* manner, than any of the other *Apostles*, Then I answer, 1. that *Christ's* telling him he was a *stone* on which he would build his *Church*, implies no such matter; the other *Apostles* each of them are by *Christ*, in vision to *S. John*, affirmed to be *foundations* of this *building*, as well as he; 2. That among *foundation-stones* there is but one, that hath any *eminence* above others, and that is the *ἀκρογωνία*, the *chief* or *head-corner-stone*, and that title belongs not to *S. Peter* (as neither to any other *Apostle*) but onely to *Christ* himself, *Ephes. 2. 20.* And so still nothing belongs to *Peter* in this matter of being a *stone* or *foundation*, which doth not *equally* appear to belong to those others, as well as him. And so much for the *vindicating* of the *Evidences* set down in the *fourth Chapter*.

C H A P. V.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the first Chapter.

Sect. I.

Of light passing over Pasce oves, and Tu es Petrus.

- Num. 1.* **T**He first thing he here *excepts* against, is my too *slight passing over two*, which he thinks the most *considerable texts*, to support the *supremacie* of S. Peter, In these words,
2. *In the first Chapter he lightly passeth over the two most considerable Texts of Scripture fit to be alledged for S. Peter's supremacie, viz: Feed my sheep, and, Thou art Peter: because they have no appearance, and have been often answered: Why no appearance? because he and his fellows say so, and as if being so often repeated was not as likely to shew the answer was naught, as the answering to impeach the objecter: but who understands the principles of Catholick Faith, knows, that as well for other points of our Faith, as for this of S. Peter's supremacy we rely not only upon such places of Scripture.*
3. *For this of the light passing over those two places of Scripture, I think I can give a very reasonable account, 1. From his own words p. 10. where he tells me that I am mistaken in thinking that the Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an universal Primacy, For if he be not obliged to prove it, if the right pretended depend wholly upon possession, why should not I make haste, through those proofs, which some have ex abundanti (as to him it seems) made use of.*
4. *Secondly, I did in the simplicity of my heart verily believe (what here is recited from me) that those two texts had so very little appearance of strength in them, and this so often manifested by the variety of answers made to them by our writers, that no Romanist would in earnest have laid such weight*

weight on them; as to require of me a more *punctual* answer to them, than I had before given in the former *Chapter*. There I had evidenced that the whole world was not *S. Peter's* province, but onely one portion of one part of the world, the *Jewish* believers in *Antioch* and *Rome* &c. the *Gentile* *Christians* in those very cities being under *S. Paul*, and the *Jewish* of other countreys under other *Apostles*, those of *Asia* under *John* &c.

5. This to my understanding made it evident, that in case *Christ's* *Pasce* oves &c. *Feed my sheep* and *my lambs*, were granted to be a form of *commission*, instating of power on him, it must yet be restrained to his particular *Province*, so as to leave other his fellow *Apostles* their *Provinces* also, and not extended to an *Universal* *Pastorship*.
6. But then when this farther consideration was behinde, that indeed this of *Pasce* oves] was not the form of *commission* to *S. Peter*, but that in the former *Chapter*, *Joh. 20. 21.* as my Father sent me, so send I you &c. and that to *S. Peter* in common with the rest of the *Apostles*, and not the least indication of any branch of power appropriated to him (on which I have already insisted in this *Reply*, though in that *Traët* of *Schisme* I did not think it necessary) I hope I may have pardon for not returning to a *strict* survey of it in that *fift* *Chapter*.
7. As for that of *Tues Petrus*, that was the very text wherein the donation of the *Keyes* was promised to *S. Peter*, *Mat. 16. 18.* and that had particularly been examined in both parts of it, both as to the *Keyes*, and the *compellation*, in the *fourth* *Chap:* and the *Keyes* promised him, manifested by other texts to belong equally to all the other *Apostles*, and so the compellation of *stone*, or (which is all one, as was there shewed) *foundation*, or *foundation-stone* in the building of the *Church*, bestowed equally upon the rest of the *twelve* *Apostles* also. And so considering what I had already done my self, and what others had done much more largely, there remained little appearance of force in those texts, which might suggest to me a more diligent survey of them. And all these together, if not two of them alone, were a competent reason of passing lightly over them in that *fift* *Chapter*, where I was engaged in a new *stage*, i. e. of not returning *afresh*, and

- loco non suo*, to a yet larger consideration of them.
8. I should now from this notice of his displeasure endeavour to pacifie him by reforming my former omission, and enter upon a yet more solemn survey of these two texts, but that I see him already resolved not to trust his cause to the support which those texts can afford him, telling me in the close, that he relies not onely on such places of Scripture, and if I should dwell longer upon them, I should be thought impertinent, and again reprehended, as forgetting what matter I handle, And therefore till he please to tell me how farre he relies on them, and shew me that I have not yet removed them from being a foundation so farre to be relied on, I shall spare mine own and the Readers pains, and flatter my self, that I have said much more to invalidate any conclusion, which he shall inferre to his advantage from these two places, than he hath yet said in my hearing, to confirm his pretensions from both or either of them.

Sect. II.

The Bishop of Antioch's title from succession to S. Peter equal to the Bishops of Rome. Peter formed a Church there. His dying at Rome no argument.

Num. 1. **A**fter his velitation he now proceeds to the weightier impression, excepting first to an argument taken from the Primogeniture of Antioch, Thus,

2. Next he urges that if the succession to S. Peter were the base
- Sect. 3. of the Popes supremacy, Antioch should be the chief See, because S. Peter sat there, wherein to omit his first and second question, whereof the first is untrue, I answer to the third negatively, that the constituting a Church and Bishop at Antioch, before at Rome, did conferre no privilege extraordinary on that Church, and the reason is clearly deduced out of his second Quere, because it was before Rome, for he could not give any such authority, but by divesting himself, since there cannot be two heads to one body, and therefore this authority and privilege of S. Peter can rest and be no where but where he died.

3. In this matter I must first premise what I had warned the Reader of in that 5 Chap. §. 2. that what I there produced against the power of the Bishop of Rome, under the notion of *successour* to S. Peter, was perfectly *ex abundanti*, more than needed, the whole matter being sufficiently concluded in the former Chapter, which concerned S. Peter's person, and had shewed that S. Peter himself had no *Universal Pastorskip* belonging to him, or *supremacy* over any other *Apostle*, from whence it was evidently consequent, that to his *successour*, as such, no such power pertained.
4. This being premised, I did not pretend, that what should then follow, should proceed with that evidence as to demonstrate again what was so sufficiently cleared already, Onely to those, whose curiosity was not satisfied, when their reason was, I proposed some considerations, which pretended to no more than this, that beside that Peter had no *supremacy*, there were also other defects in the Bishop of Rome's tenure, particularly this, that he did no more succeed S. Peter, than the Bishop of Antioch did, nay, that S. Peter having left a *successour* Bishop at Antioch, before he did at Rome, the Bishop of Antioch had in a manner the *Primogeniture*, and by that, as good (if not a better) title to *preeminence*, as any the Bishop of Rome had, upon that tenure of *succession* from S. Peter.
5. Now to this part of discourse which pretended but to probability, there can lie no exception, unless it appear either to be untrue in any part, or in the whole lesse probable than what is offered by the Romanist for the other side; And this is now to be examined.
6. And 1. saith he, the first question is untrue; But he is so reserved as not to expresse his reason for so saying. I shall therefore give my reasons to the contrary, 1. because a question cannot be untrue, all truth and falsehood being in affirmations and negations (and asking a question, or proposing a thing to consideration whether it be so or no, is neither of those) in answering, not in asking of questions.
7. Secondly, Because this question being resolved into an affirmation, viz: that Peter as truly planted a Church at Antioch, and left a *successour* Bishop there, as he is or can be supposed to

to have done at *Rome*, it relies on the *uncontradicted Testification of ancient writers.*

8. By planting a *Church* I mean not that he was the first that preached the Gospel at *Antioch* (though *Leo the Great* seems to affirm it, (in *Antiochenâ Ecclesiâ primum prædicante beato Apostolo Petro, Christianum nomen exortum est, Ep: 53.*) and from thence pleads the right of precedence to belong to that *Church*, (in *paterna constitutionis ordine perseveret*) against *Anatholius Bishop of Constantinople*) for that seems by *S. Luke* to be attributed to those that were scattered abroad upon the persecution that rose about *S. Stephen, Act. 11. 19.* but his forming them into a *Church* or regular assembly. And that so he did, and left *Euodius Bishop* there, and after his death *Ignatius the Martyr*, is elsewhere manifested at large, and I shall not repeat it, but onely adde one *Testimony* (which I suppose will be authentick with him) of *Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, Ep: 62.* to *Maximus Bishop of Antioch*, bidding him be mindfull of that doctrine, *quam præcipuus Apostolorum omnium, beatissimus Petrus per totum mundum quidem uniformi prædicatione, sed speciali Magisterio in Antiochenâ & Romanâ urbe fundavit.* Where it is the clear affirmation of that *Pope*, that *S. Peter* founded the doctrine of *Christ* first in *Antioch*, then in *Rome* by a special authority, or power, or magisterie, which he had in those two cities, more than in the rest of the world. And so I cannot guesse what untruth there could be in that affirmation, if it had been such, which was but a consideration, or question, as he calls it.
9. Next, he saith, that *S. Peter's* constituting a *Church* and *Bishop* at *Antioch*, before he did the like at *Rome*, is a proof that he conferred no extraordinary privilege on *Antioch*, and renders the reason for it, because he could not doe it without divesting himself, and consequently this privilege must rest no where but where he died, and consequently at *Rome* onely, because he died there.
10. That he left any extraordinary privilege at *Antioch* I doe not believe, any more than he did so at *Rome*, and therefore I cannot be required to prove any more than this, that it is as reasonable for me to affirm it of *Antioch* upon the title

of

of succession, as for him to assume it of *Rome*, upon the same title.

11. From *Christ* there is nothing that will fix it at *Rome*, rather than at *Antioch*, and in the *Law of Nations* concerning inheritances, nothing is or can be applied to this purpose. It must needs be then from the free act of *S. Peter's* will, whatsoever is pretended to. And in respect of that 'tis sure as reasonable to believe, that he which planted a *Church*, and placed a *Bishop* first in one, after in another city, should delegate the διπλή τιμή double portion, the greater dignity and privileges to the former as to the latter. If the right of *Primogeniture* be no right in this matter, yet sure the younger sister hath neither law, nor custome, that the inheritance should belong to her.
12. And for his own reason here offered, that it cannot belong to the *Elder*, that is no reason; For *S. Peter* might doe, as *Christ* did, make an assignation of power in his life time, fix it by promise, yet not devest himself of it till his death, And if *S. Peter* had done so, if at his planting a *Bishop* at *Antioch*, on consideration that in that city they were first called *Christians*, he had decreed that after his own death that *Bishop* should succeed to all that authority, which he had received from *Christ*, with power to communicate it to any, I shall ask this Gentleman whether he might not have done it without either devesting himself whilst he lived, or making two heads to one body, or whether his bare dying at *Rome*, would have invalidated any such former act of his, in case he had done so. If it would, there must then be more owing to his death than to his life, to his martyrdom than to his preaching or ordaining of *Bishops*, that this privilege belongs to *Rome*. And then again *Jerusalem*, where *Christ* himself died, will by that title of his blood shed there, have a more unquestionable right, than that city where *Peter* did but faintly transcribe that copie, which had in a more eminent manner been set him by *Christ*.
13. Lastly, If by this argument of *Rome's* being the place where *Peter* died, the supremacy had belonged to that See, precisely or peculiarly, how could it be transferred to *Avenion*, as we know it was, and there continued for some time? But I shall no longer insist on such fiction of case, as this, if that had been

which never was, what then would certainly have followed, whether if S. Peter had been *Universal Pastor*, it must to ipso be concluded that his *successour* of Rome, and not at Antioch was such after him, when it hath been rendred evident in the former Chapter, that S. Peter had no such *supremacy*.

Sect. III.

The Act of the Councell of Chalcedon ; of the ground of Rome's precedence. The safety of the Church reconcileable with removing the chief See. Of the Bishop of Constantinople being ashamed of that act. No tumult in the Councell. The story of it.

- Num. 1.* **T**He next dislike is to my deriving the original of that precedence which belongs to Rome, as the Councel of Chalcedon had derived it, Thus,
2. Then he tells you that the dignity or precedence of the Bishop of Rome is surely much more fitly deduced by the Councel of Chalcedon from this, that Rome was then the Imperial city, or ordinary residence of the Emperour: a very wise judgment, that the quality upon which the unity, that is the safety of the Church Universal relies, should be planted upon a bottome fallible and subject to fail, but the resolution was so shameful, that the very Patriarch was ashamed, and imputed it to his ambitious clergie, who how tumultuary and unruly they were, is to be seen in the Acts of the Councel.
3. Here two objections are made to the wisdom of that Act or judgment of that Councel, and I that foresaw it would be thus rejected by him, and from thence observed how little Councels are considered by them, when they define not as they would have them, and therefore laid no more weight on that Canon, than the Romanists very rejecting it allowed me, might now spare the pains of defending the judgment of that Councel. Yet it is so easie to return answer in few words to his two objections, that I shall not decline doing it.
4. To the first, that the precedence of Rome, which there I speak of, being a Primacy onely of dignity and order, and not
of

of Power, is no such quality, on which the unity and safety of the Church relies. For how can that be concerned what Bishop sits uppermost, gives the first or last suffrage in a Council? This Gentleman thinks of a supremacy of power, when he thus speaks, but that he cannot but know is denied by us to be placed in any one Bishop, and therefore must not imagine me to assigne the original of that, to which I deny a being. And it matters not though he say I am injurious in denying it, for besides that that is *petitio principii* on his side, to say so, 'tis also certain that the question now betwixt us in this Paragraph, is not whether I am just in denying that supremacy, but whether it be more than a Primacy of order, which I divolve to this original.

5. Nay if I had spoken of the supremacy it self, and fixed it on a bottom so farre fallible, as that it might be removed by the change of Empires from one city to another, if it were but resolved that the supreme Ecclesiastical power, and so the fountain of unity should follow the Imperial seat, I see not why the safety of the Church might not by this means be provided for.
6. Let it but be judged of in little first, as it is easily supposable. Suppose the Church of England *αὐτοκέφαλον*, nay for argument's sake, suppose there were no other Church but that of England, and suppose there were a supremacy in one Bishop, in him, whosoever were the Bishop of that city, where the royal throne were placed, and suppose that that were for the present removed to Yorke, and so that the Bishop of Yorke were the supreme Bishop, and by that means the unity and safety of the Church competently provided for, I shall then demand, in case the royall seat should be removed to Winchester, could there be any question, but the supreme Episcopal See would be removed so too? and might not all appeals be made from thenceforth to Winchester, and the safety of the Church be as well provided for by this way, as by it's being fixt unmoveably at Yorke?
7. The Primacy we know hath oft thus been removed, and never more inconvenience come of it, than by S. Peter's See being removed to Avenion. And if any supremacy belonged

to any succession of Bishops over the whole world, and that were never mutable, but by the removal of the Imperial seat, a certain, illustriously visible thing, it is not easily discernible, how this should more prejudice the safety of the Church, than the change of that power from one Bishop that dies, to his successor in the same See. But this is still much more than needed to have been said.

8. As for the Patriarch's (I suppose he must mean of Constantinople) being ashamed of that resolution of that Council, and imputing it to his ambitious Clergie, 1. he gives us not any testimony for this, onely saith, that in the Acts of that Council may be seen how tumultuary and unruly they were. And to that affirmation, and that not very pertinent proof of it, I have two things to say, which indeed the Acts of that Council, and the Epistles both of Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople, and Leo Bishop of Rome, may assure us to have truth in them. 1. That if by being ashamed be meant retracting or renouncing this resolution of the Council, It then hath no truth in it, that the Patriarch was ashamed.

9. For 1. it is so evident that of all Leo's reprehensions in this matter of the Primacy adjudged him by that Council, Anatolius chose to take no notice, and to return no answer, that Leo tells the Emperor of it, Ep: 59. *maluit pradiſtus Antistes meam gratulationem tacere, quam suam ambitum publicare*, and chargeth it upon Anatolius himself, that he made no reply to what he had said to him; *Ad quas cum non rescriberes ipse te a colloqui nostri consortio separasti*, by not making any return to my admonitory letters, thou hast thy self separated thy self from the communion of our discourse. Ep: 71.

10. 'Tis true indeed when Leo charged it upon him, as an act of ambition and pride, that he had procured that Canon to be made (as he doth at large, * Ep: 53. making it an invasion of the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch his right settled by the Council of Nice, and so in his * Epistle to Martian the Emperour, and † another to the Empreſſe Pulcheria) Anatolius writing to him upon occasion, tells him that the Clergie of the Church of Constantinople, and * not he, brought this-mat-

* Colon: Edit: fol. 118.

* Ep: 54 fol. 119.

† Ep: 55. fol. 120.

* Culpam. quam de auctentia potestatis, alieni (ut asserit) adhortatione contraxeras, nisi non ad sola Clericorum consilia transfuſiſſes. Leo. Ep: 71.

ter before the *Council*, and therefore *Leo* needed not be so angry with him, and complain so sharply against his ambition.

11. And this I suppose is it which this Gentleman must referre to, if there be the least colour of truth in his suggestion; But sure this disclaiming of pride or ambition in what was done, regularly, according to a long continued custome, and the Canon of the Council of Constantinople is much more the justifying his innocence, than the acknowledgment of any fault, an act of confidence and assurance, no indication either of guilt or shame, no disowning the dignity confirmed to him by the Council.
12. Many evidences there are in the story of those times that the Bishop of Constantinople did no way reject this power and dignity, which that Council had confirmed to him; 'Tis annex to the Acts of that Council, how he exercised it in an eminent manner on the Patriarch of Alexandria, *Leo* the Emperour having put wholly into his hands the judging of a great affair, and quieting a disturbance in that Church, see the * third part of that Council of Chalcedon. In which matter may be observed that in the Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops, and Clergy of Alexandria, in a reiteration of the Bishops of the whole world, the first place being reserved to *Leo* the Bishop of Rome, the second is given * Regia Constantinopolis Anatolio, to Anatolius of Constantinople the Royal seat, and then follow Basil of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem. * Edit: Paris: Tom: 3. p 504. &c. * Ibid p. 506. B.
13. And indeed if it be but remembered, 1. That what was done here at Chalcedon was for the main but the reciting and confirming what was done formerly at the Council of Constantinople (a judgment, saith * Enagrim, that this matter was well-ordered already, ἐδικαιώθη ἡ κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνης μὲν ἡ κρίσις τετέλεσται, and what the Bishop of Constantinople held by Custome before that Council also, * τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ ἔστιν ὡς ἐστὶν, a custome that had been long in force, and * ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς συνωθείας by a precedaneous custome &c. Secondly, that this was done by this Council (if their professions may be believed) ἡ τοσούτων τῶν ἐκείνων κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὴν παλαιάν ἐκείνην ὡς ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις τετέλεσται τὴν ἐκείνην, not so much to add: Ecce: Ibid: L. 3 adde P 46. E.

of his affirmation, it hath it self no truth in it, and so cannot be a reason of the affirmation. It is not true; for there was no tumult nor unruliness in the Council, onely the Pope's Legates opposed the Canon, and made their complaint to the Judges, and were heard most regularly in all they could pretend, and at length the Canon was defined by the chearfull consent of all but them. See the story of it in *Binus*, παρὰ: ἱεροκρίτου:

16. After the passing of the Canon, the Legates, *Paschasius* and *Lucentius* make their addresse to the Judges, the ἑνδοξά-
τατοι ἀρχιερεῖς, that supplied the Emperours place, who had them speak what they would have; They say, that yesterday, after the Judges and they were risen, some things were done against the Canons, and desire they may be read. That was appointed to be done; but first *Aetius* Archdeacon of Constantinople makes a relation, how after matters of faith agreed on, they proceeded according to the manner to some constitutions, in these they desired the Legates to joyn with them, they refused saying, they had received commands from Rome to do so, which being remonstrated to the Judges they had bid the Council proceed, and hereupon the Council had unanimously decreed; Appealing to them all, whether it were not true, nothing being done ἐν παρβύσει ἢ κλόπῃς τέρπῃ, clancularly or by stealth, but πρὸς, ἀκοσίῳ καὶ κανονικῷ, of course, regularly and canonically. Then the Canon was read, being a plain recitation of what was before done in the Council of Constantinople, and then all the subscriptions follow. Then the Legates desire it may be inquired, whether none have subscribed by force, suggesting that the Constantinopolitan Canon was contrary to the Nicene; Thereupon the Canons were both read, and upon the Judges appointment, they that were most concerned, the Bishops of Asia, Pontus, and Thracia, who were now brought under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, being supposed formerly to be free, were called out severally and asked whether they had acted under any force, and they severally professe the contrary. Whereupon the Judges summe up the business and conclude, that they had weighed all, and found that none had inury, the privileges of the Bishop of Rome were preserved intire

intire according to the *Canons*, and that the *Bishop* of new *Rome*, *Constantinople*, was to have equal *priviledges* with him, &c And this being their *sense*, they desire the whole *Council* to deliver *theirs*, and they all cried out. αὐτὴ δίκαια ψήθη, ταῦτα πάντες λέγουσιν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, αὐτὴ δίκαια κείσιν, τὰ τυπωθέντα κελεύτω. *This is a just sentence. This we all say, let this be consigned and confirmed*, desiring they may now be *dismiss'd* every man to his home, and so the *Judges* pronounce, Πάντα ἡ συνόδος ἐκύρωσε, *The Synod hath confirmed all.*

17. No dissent of any but of the *Legates*, and that, it seems, went for *nothing* when the rest so *universally* consented; so farre is this *suggestion* from all *show* of truth, that the *Clergy* of *Constantinople* were *tumultuary* and *unruly*.

18. If any the least *unruliness* there were, it was on the *Legate's* part, who would thus *stand out* and *complain* without the least reason to doe so, not on the *Councils*, which proceeded according to the *precedent* custome and *Canon*, and such grounds to which neither the *Pope* nor his *Legate* did then so much as *object* any thing, *viz.* the same *ritle* by which *Rome* it self ascended to her *greatness*, * by being the *Imperial city*.

* διὰ τὸ βασιλεῦν τῷ πόλει ἐκείνῳ.

SECT. IV.

The Popes judging in his own cause. His Legates suffrages in Councils, Of what necessity. Antioch's equality to Rome. Constantinople preferred to no more but a Patriarchy. The dignity of the Bishop of Rome meerly from Rome's being the Imperial city.

NUM. I. IN this matter of that *Council* of *Chalcedon* two exceptions more he offers (which are not so *weighty* but they may be put together) in these words,

2. Secondly, he cavilleth at the *privilege* of *Supreme Magistracy*, calling it a *method* of *security* beyond all *ammuletis*: then he tells us of *Antioch's* being equal to *Rome*, and that *Constantinople* desired but the same *privileges*, against the very nature of the story; for *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if
that

that made it equal to Rome, as this Doctor feigneth, what did it pretend *ἵνα πρεσβεία* for? seeing the Doctor assumes before that all Patriarchs were equall, neither Rome it self, and lesse Antioch had cause to complain.

3. For the former of these, which he calls my cavilling at the privilege of *supreme Magistracy*, that sure is but *gratis dictum*, and a begging of that, which in the whole controversy he knows to be most denied him.

4. That he, that assumes a *supreme Magistracy* to himself, should by no means be concluded to be an *assumer*, till he make his own confession of it, and give his *suffrage* to his condemnation, I mentioned, and cannot but look upon still, as a method of perfect security, beyond all amulets and defensatives; For how can it be imagined, that he, that contests a right, should at the same time acknowledge it not to belong to him, when he knows that nothing but this confession is sufficient to deprive him of it? As for any such privilege belonging to *supreme Magistracy* in generall, or any way applicable to the Bishop of Rome, in relation to a General Council, it may be worth considering a while.

5. And first for *supreme Magistracy* in general, This privilege doth not extend to all matters. In a contest of parricular right between a *supreme Magistrate* and a subject, brought before any legal judicature, 'tis certain the *supreme Magistrate* may be concluded without his own *suffrage* or consent, and agreeable to that it was, when the question was brought in this Council before the Judges by the complaint of the Pope's Legates, whether the Canon were the day before, after the Legate's departure, duly passed or no, For if it were not so, what needed this complaint to the Judges, the bare absence, and so not consenting of the Legates had been sufficient to cassate and annull the Acts: Whatsoever Magistracy therefore was then pretended to by the Bishop of Rome, this Privilege doth not then seem to have belonged to it, that his, or his Legate's suffrages should be necessary to the passing every Canon.

6. That they might have liberty to come to the Council, that nothing were done clancularly or by stealth, at a time when

they knew not of it, that no force were used on those that were present, nor the like to hinder the presence of any, this was necessary to the freedom, and so to the very being of a Council, and consequently to the validity of every act thereof, and accordingly on these heads it was that the Legates in their complaint to the Judges insisted (and so doth * Baronius, styling that last Action of that Council, *spuriam & clandestinam*, & ab Anatolio *furtim adjectam*, a *spurious clandestine action stolen in by Anatolius*) as also, on the authority of the Nicene Canons, which they pretended to be infringed by that latter of Constantinople, on which this of Chalcedon was founded, and this they thought sufficient to cassate this Act, but for this of the want of the Pope's or his Legate's suffrage, that it should invalidate that decree, it is not so much as pretended by the Legates, in the relations of the passages of that Council.

* Tom. 6. Ann:
451. Num: 143.

7.
Decret: par: 1.
dist: 193. c. Legi-
mus.
* de auctor:
Ecel: 7:

And therefore according to that saying of S. Hierome, put into their Canon Law, *si auctoritas quaritur, orbis major est urbe*, if authority be looked for, the whole world is more than the one city of Rome, it is the resolution of * Almain, *merito Concilium Chalcedonense Leoni resistenti praevaluisse*, that the Council of Chalcedon did well in standing out against Pope Leo, and did justly prevail against him.

8.
* Ann: 454.
Num: 13, &c.

This amulet it seems had not virtue to stand him in so much stead, as * Baronius is pleased to phantasie, setting out the power and greatness of Pope Leo by this, that he did alone cassate what this Council had decreed by the suffrages of 600 Bishops. Which how well it consists with his former affirmation, that this Canon was *spurious and clandestine*, and *stolen in by Anatolius*, I shall not here examine. 'Tis sure, if the Popes authority were so sovereign, the act needed not have been made *spurious* first, to qualifie it for the cassation. But this of the power or superiority of a Pope over an O Ecumenical Council, is a question not so necessary here to be debated, unlessse what this Gentleman was pleased to mention of the privilege of supreme Magistracy, had been indeavour'd some way to be proved by him.

9. Next he quarrels my saying that Antioch was equall to Rome,

Rome, and that Constantinople desired but the same privileges, and this he saith is against the very nature of the story.

10. That Antioch had the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, so farre as to the dignity of a Patriarchate &c. (allowing to Rome the Primacy of order and dignity) I thought was competently concluded from the Pope's pretensions against that Canon of Chalcedon, making it an invasion of the rights of Antioch, and as derogatory to that as to Rome; And so still it seems to me, For if Antioch had not *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, how could Constantinople's aspiring to equal privileges with Rome, be as derogatory to Antioch as to Rome? But I need not this help from Pope Leo's argument, the thing asserted by me, is not denied, that I know of, by any Romanist, viz: that Antioch had the dignity of a Patriarchate, for that is all that I expresse my self to mean by Antioch's having *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, and that maintain (as this Gentleman truly saith I doe) that all Patriarchs are equal (in respect of Power, differing onely in order or precedence) cannot be imagined to mean any thing else by it.

11. So again that Constantinople desired no more but the privileges of a Patriarch, and that that is the meaning of the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges, is by me said in opposition to acquiring any ordinary jurisdiction over other Churches, and this instead of being contrary to the nature of the story, is directly agreeable to the whole course of it, and to the expresse words of the Canon, which defines, that as the city of Constantinople was honoured with the Empire and Senate, and enjoyed equal privileges with old Imperial Rome, so the Church of Constantinople (as *ἐκείνη μὲν αὐτοκρατορὶς*) should be exalted to the same height with that, *ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτοκρατορὶς ἔχουσαν*, having the next place after it, adding that the Metropolitans (and none else of Asia, Pontus and Thracia, &c. should be ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople, the Bishops of each of those Provinces being left to be ordained by their respective Metropolitans; This is so plain that there can be no need of farther proof of it.

12. And for this Gentleman's objection, by way of Question, that

that *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if that made it equal with *Rome*, for what did it pretend *ἰσαπεσθῆναι*, I answer 1. that *Constantinople* being by *custome*, and by *All* of the *Council* held in that city, a *Patriarchate* already, it sought not to acquire any new advantage or increase by this *Canon* of *Chalcedon*, but onely to continue what already it had.

13. This again appears by the story, where that *Canon* of *Constantinople* was produced and read, as the foundation on which this new *Canon* was built, and so by the expresse words in the beginning of the *Canon*, *Παραχρῆ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατέρι ἐν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις &c.* following constantly the definitions of the Holy Fathers, and knowing the *Canon* newly read of the 150 Bishops assembled in the reign of the Emperour Theodosius at the Imperial city Constantinople or new Rome. And agreeably Eusebius sets down the story, that in this Council of Chalcedon ἐδικαιώθη it was thought just or determined that the Constantinopolitan See ἐκδοῦς μὲν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατέρις was rightly and duly placed next after Rome.

14. And when this Gentleman assumes, that if this were so, the neither Rome it self, and lesse Antioch had cause to complain, I shall most willingly joyn with him in it, being no way obliged by my pretensions to justify the Pope or his Legates dislike to that *Canon*. And for Antioch I am sure enough that the Bishop thereof, *Maximus*, though he had received an Epistle from the Pope to exasperate and perswade him to stand upon his right, did very readily subscribe it, setting his name and consent next after the Bishop of Constantinople, as hath formerly been set down out of the story.

15. And if Antioch did so, who was the loser by it, if precedence signifie any thing, I confesse I can render no cause (unlesse it be the Pompejusve parem, impatience of any equal) why the Bishop of Rome, who lost not so much as precedence by this advancement or confirmation of dignity to the Bishop of Constantinople, should be so obstinately and implacably offended at it.

16. Thus have I answered every attempt and sittle of exception offered by this Gentleman in this matter, and have now leisure to complain, that the one thing that I desired to be taken notice

notice off from this *Canon*, is not so much as considered, or at all replied to by him, viz: that the *Dignity* that old Rome had by *antient Canons* inoyed was given it upon this account, *ὡς τὸ βασιλεῖον τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην* because Rome was the *Imperial seat*; which as it is the proof of my whole *pretension*, that the Pope was not *Universal Pastor*, upon title of his *succession* from *S. Peter*, (for if whatsoever he had, the *Councils* gave it him, *οἱ πατέρες ἐκείνων*, saith the *Canon*, and gave it him as *Bishop* of the *Imperial See*, then sure 'twas no inheritance from *S. Peter*) so it was truly observed out of the *story* of the *Council* of *Chalcedon*, and may be seen both in the *Legate's* complaint to the *Judges*, and in the *Epistles* of *Leo* to the *Emperour* *Martianus*, the *Empresse* *Pulcheria*, *Anatolius* *Bishop* of *Constantinople* and *Maximus* of *Antioch*, and his instructions to his *Legates*, that he never made any exception to that branch of the *Canon* that thus derived the original of his greatness from the *Imperial dignity* of the city, never thought himself injured by this way of setting down his title.

Sect. V.

Of the Canon of Ephesus. The power of Metropolitans, of Primates. The case of the Archbishop of Cyprus no peculiar case. The deduction thence against the Popes Universal Pastorship. Of the Popes tenure by the institution of Christ.

Num. 1. THE next exception concerns the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Ephesus*, thus,

2. As for the *Canon* of *Ephesus* touching the *Archbishop* of *Cyprus*, it plainly sheweth that the *Metropolitans* were subordinate to the *Patriarchs*, seeing this case of *Cyprus* was a peculiar excepted case, the reason given doth shew that the superiority of *Patriarchs* was by custome received from their *Ancestors*, contrary to that which the *Doctor* before affirmed, however it is still nothing to the purpose, because the authority, which we say belongs to the *Pope*, is neither *Patriarchal*, nor derived from any institution or custome of the *Church*, but from the institution of *Christ*.

Sect. 6.

3. This Canon of Ephesus, saith he, plainly shews that *Metropolitans* were subordinate to *Patriarchs*, seeing this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case. To this I see not how any pretensions of ours oblige me to make any return, yet because it may be subject to some mistake for want of explicating, I shall clear that whole matter by these three Propositions.
4. First, that the controversy, which occasioned that Canon, was this, Whether the Bishop of Constance, Metropolitan of the Province of Cyprus, was to be ordained by the Patriarch of Antioch, or (without seeking abroad) by his own Synod, the Bishops of Cyprus. Thus is the state of the question set down in the Councils, Tom.2. p.670. at the beginning of the 7th Action. *Discussa est controversia inter Rheginum Episcopum Constantia Cypri, & Johannem Antiochenum, qui sibi Cyprias Ecclesias subdere moliebatur.* The controversy was discussed between Rheginus Bishop of Constance of Cyprus, and John of Antioch, who endeavoured to bring the Cypriotes Churches into subjection to himself.
5. Secondly, that the ancient custome had been favourable to Rheginus his pretension, and so the claim of Antioch is defined *περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς δεσμὰς—καυνομένην*, a thing innovated against the Ecclesiastical Lawes, and so *τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ πάντων*, that which, by the example, or president, would concern the liberty of all Churches. Cod: Can: Eccl: Un: gen.
6. Thirdly, that the Council defined on the Cypriots side, that according to the Canons, and ancient custome, the Bishops of Cyprus should retain their privilege inviolable, *δι' αὐτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόπων ποιῆσαι*, ordaining their Bishops within, and by themselves, and consequently that it was an act of assuming, and invasion in the Bishop of Antioch, to claim *τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιῆσαι χειροτονίας* to make any Ordinations within Cyprus. And what was thus adjudged in the case of the Cypriots, was by that Council in the same Canon thought fit to be extended in like manner to all other Provinces (*τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ πανταχοῦ παρὰ φυλαχθήσεται*, the same shall be observed also through all Dioceses and Provinces every where) *ὅπου πάντα &c.* that no Bishop shall

shall meddle with another Province, which hath not from the beginning been under him, i. e. under his predecessors power. And so there is no truth in what is here suggested, that this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case; It certainly, by the expresse words of the Canon, belonged to all other Metropolitans and their Provinces over all the world, that neither Bishop of Antioch nor of Rome was to meddle with any ordinations except in their own particular Provinces, but the Synod of the Bishops of each Province, δι' αὐτῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀποκριπὼν ποιεῖσθαι, to make the ordinations of their Bishops by themselves.

7. What he adds of the superiority of Patriarchs by custom received from their Ancestors, First, that the reason given in that Ephesine Canon doth shew it; Secondly, that it is contrary to that which the Doctor before affirmed; Thirdly, that it is still nothing to the purpose in hand, of the authority of the Pope; hath not, that I can discern, any truth in any part of it. For as to the first, whatsoever superiority Patriarchs be acknowledged to have, there is no word of mention concerning it in that Canon, neither was there any occasion to define any thing of it; It was the Synod, and Bishops of Cyprus their right, that was invaded, and of that onely that Canon speaks, devolving it to original custome, and Canons, and so for all other Metropolitans. But that is not the superiority of Patriarchs. Secondly, for my affirmation, certainly it was never such as could be deemed contrary either to that Ephesine Canon about ordination of their Metropolitans, or that due superiority, which by Canons or customs doth belong to Primates or Patriarchs; what this is I have often set down, and need not again repeat it.

8. Lastly, for the application of this Canon to the present affair of the Universal Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome, thus much is evident, First, that all Provinces every where, αἱ ἀπασταὶ ἐπαρχίαι were concluded by this Canon, that they should ordain their Bishops within themselves, and then I pray how can the ἡγεμονία power of ordaining all belong to the Bishop of Rome, and ordination and jurisdiction going together, how can he have the Universal Jurisdiction, or which is all one the Universal Pastorship?

Secondly,

9. Secondly, if the Pope his authority be not Patriarchal, as this Gentleman here saith, then till he hath proved that it is more than Patriarchal, and answered all that is said to the contrary in that *Traſt of Schisme*, that which is by the *Ephesine Canon* judged in order to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, will also conclude him.
10. And thirdly, that which is held by the institution of Christ being certainly derived ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the beginning, must needs be included in the words of this Canon, which requires that all should remain, as by custom (immemorial) from the beginning it had been, to which therefore we appeal, and inquire, whether Cyprus was not as Independent from Rome at that time, as from *Antioch*; if not, how any such dependance at that time appears, or how is it imaginable there should be any such, when all Provinces every where were to be ruled and ordered δι' ἐαυτῶν by their own Synod and Bishops.
11. As for the tenure, by which the Pope is now, in the close of this Paragraph, clearly said to stand, not from any institution or custom of the Church, but from the institution of Christ. First, this is more than ever this Gentleman would acknowledge before, telling us p. 14. that who understands the Principles of the Catholick faith, knows they rely not only upon such places of Scripture, as, *Thou art Peter, and Feed my sheep*, From whence I thought my self obliged to conclude they relied not only on Christ his institution, for that I suppose must be set down in some, and if in any, sure in those Scriptures, And in another place, that I forget my self when I think a Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an Universal Primacie (referring all to his Possession) whereas in case he pretend to hold by the institution of Christ (as here he saith) certainly he is obliged to produce that institution, and that is to prove his pretension.
- p. 10. 12. But then secondly, that there is indeed any such thing, that the Pope holds by Institution of Christ, is still the thing denied by us, and the contrary, I think, demonstrated in the former chapter, and all the places producible for it, answered, and so it must not be here begged or assumed, without any word added for the proof of it.

SECT. VI.

The exemption of Justiniana prima, The several exceptions against this instance answered.

Num. 1. HIS next Paragraph pretends to be answer to the evidence brought from the example of *Justiniana prima*, which was by the Emperour made independent from any other Ecclesiastical power. His answer is this,

2. Then he goes on with two examples, in which he would persuade us that *Justiniana prima*, and *Carthage* were made exempt cities by the Emperour, and seeth not that his own instance giveth the answer, for as in the temporal donation, he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual, nor as much as giveth them the style of Patriarchs; though the Bishop of Constantinople in his own city ordinarily had it.
3. That *Justiniana prima* was by *Justinian* exempted from all others (and so from the Bishop of Rome his) Jurisdiction (and so *Carthage* also, being invested with the same privileges) I thought sufficiently proved by the plain words of the constitution, that for any differences that should befall in that Province, the Archbishop of that new erection from time to time, should decide them finally, *nec ad alium quendam eatur*, and they should go to no other for decision, or by way of appeal. and so in the Novell, ἐχρησάμενος τῶν ἰδίων δικαιοδοσιῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων &c. he shall have under his own jurisdiction the Bishops of *Dacia*, &c. which what is it, but a perfect exemption and independency?
4. The same appears also by the other part of the constitution, that concerning ordination of that Archbishop, It was, as was said, to be done by his own Synod of Metropolitans. To which agrees that of the Novell 131. αὐτόνδε καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνόδῳ χρεολωμένος He must be ordained by his own Synod.
5. To this the answer given here, and given, saith he, by my own instance, is no more than this, that as in the temporal donation he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual. But sure there is no force

in this comparison; For the not exempting him in temporal things from his own power, doth no way conclude a non-exemption from the Pope; When Henry VIII. removed the Papal power out of this nation, no man thinks he divested himself of the regal; the Archbishop of Canterbury was made Independent, and exempt from the Bishop of Rome, but remained still subordinate to the King: So in like manner Justinian might doe, make Justiniana a Primacy, and yet leave the Bishop and his whole Province in the same subjection to the Emperour, that before it had been; And as this is very possible, so if it were not the plain truth of the fact, that must be made appear by the story, or by the investiture.

6. In that there is no found of any word for the exempting that Bishop from the Imperial subjection, and so we cannot imagine, without any ground, that there was any such thing, but for Ecclesiastical judicature and ordination, they are both distinctly specified, that he and his Metropolitans should have them within themselves, without fetching them abroad from any other; and so by that the Bishop of Rome is explicitly excluded from having any thing to doe there.

7. This farther appears, not onely by the matter of fact, for after the first Archbishop was ordained by Pope Vigilius, his successors were constantly ordained by their own Metropolitans, and not by the Bishop of Rome, but also by farther expresse words in the *Novell, ἐν τῇ αὐταῖς προκείμεναις αὐτῷ ἐπαρχίας ἢ τοπὸν ἐπέχειν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ Ῥώμης θρόνῳ, In the Provinces subject to him he shall hold the place of the Apostolical seat of Rome, i. e. doe all within those Provinces that the Bishop of Rome was wont to doe, before this Primacy was erected, and this, it seems, by direct consent of Vigilius then Pope, as there it follows, καὶ τὰ δευτέρῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πάππα Βιγιλίου, according to what was defined by the Holy Father Vigilius.

8. Which words if they be conceived to denote no more than a deputation from the Pope by which this power was held, and so be made use of as an argument to inferre his continued dependence on the See of Rome, that will be found to be a mistake, the whole investiture giving the Archbishop there an ἀνεκκοιμῶσα a perfect freedom, and absolutenessse, to be heard within

within his *Province*, independent from all others. And should it by any other way appear that *Vigilius*, who ordained the first *Bishop* there (as 'tis sure he must be ordained by some body, and none fitter for it than the *Bishop* of old *Rome*) did farther give him a *deputation*, as I see it affirmed (but not by this *Gentleman*) both of *Vigilius*, and after him of *Gregory*, yet certainly this was but a *formality*, without any farther effect or influence on the *investiture*, the *privileges* of that *See* came to it meerly by the *Act* of the *Emperour* (and that *Act* was entred a part of the *Imperial Law*) to which the supposed addition of the *Pope's* *deputation* can be no *prejudice*; And secondly, the *Bishop* of *Carthage*, which by that *Constitution* is invested with the very same *privileges* by the *Emperour*, is not pretended to have received any such *deputation* from the *Pope*, and yet by virtue of the *Emperours* act was freed from all former dependence, and enjoyed the *πρωτόμειον* and *δικαίον* *μετεπολιτικὸν* the privilege of a *Metropolitan*, in the same manner, as *Iustiniana* did.

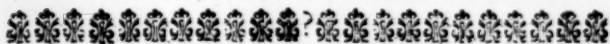
9. What this *Gentleman* adds, that the *Emperour* gave not so much as the *style* of *Patriarch* to the *Bishop* of *Iustiniana*, though the *Bishop* of *Constantinople* in his own city ordinarily had it, will soon appear to signifie nothing; For first, the power, not the title is that we speak of, and that may be had in plenitude, without the name; the *Archbishop* of *Cyprus* was by the *Council* of *Ephesus* adjudged to have all power within himself, so as to go neither to *Antioch* nor to *Rome* for it, and yet was not raised to any higher title, than that of *Archbishop*.

10. Secondly, I suppose *Primate* and *Patriarch* to be perfectly all one, as to matter of power and dignity; that the *Archbishops* of *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*, so styled in the ancient *Canons*, were yet ordinarily called *Patriarchs*, was no injury to the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, saith *Theod. Balsamon*, himself *Patriarch* of *Antioch* in his *μελέτη ἐπὶ Πατριαρχῶν*: *περὶ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ταυλότητα τῆς τιμῆς*, because of the identity of the honour. And accordingly in the *Councils* the *Archbishop* of *Constantinople*, under that title is placed before the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, yea and of *Alexandria*, who yet by the

ῥέται καὶ ἁγία γράφαι *divine and holy writings* (i. e. the *Canons*) by the πατέρες παροδόσας *traditions of the Fathers*, was styled *Pope*, saith *Balsamon*. And therefore for *Justiniana* also this was sufficient; It was made a *Primacy*, and then it matters not, though it were not styled a *Patriarchy*; The exemption from *Rome* and all other foreign power is all I pretend this city had, and of that there can be no question, whatsoever title belonged to it.

- II. Thirdly, this Gentleman's saying that the Bishop of Constantinople had the title of Patriarch in his own city, would make one believe that he had it not elsewhere, which yet it is notorious that he had, Παλειάρχας ἀνακηρύττης, he and the Archbishop of Jerusalem were publickly called Patriarchs, saith *Balsamon*, and he renders the reason, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ χεῖρ τὰς πέντε παλειάρχας τοπὸν τῆς μιᾶς κεφαλῆς ᾧ σώματι Ὁ ἀνακτὴρ ἡμῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, *because the five Patriarchs* (of which number they were two) held the place of the head of the body, to wit, of the holy Churches of God. But whatsoever the title were, it is still sure enough it had the power and dignity of a Patriarchate, first by custom, then by *Canons of two General Councils, Constantinople and Chalcedon* (for I suppose the setting it next and equal to *Rome*, and before *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, will amount to this) also by that very *Novell of Justinian*, where the privileges are conferred on *Justiniana*, Τὸν μακαριώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῆς νέας Ῥώμης δευτέρα τάξιν ἐπέχει μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον τῆς πρεσβυτέρης Ῥώμης, καὶ ἢ ἄλλων πάντων περιμετρῶν, *the Archbishop of new Rome, Constantinople, hath the next place after the Apostolical See of old Rome, and the precedence of honour before all others.* And so much for the *Exceptions* to the *fift Chapter*.

Nos. 32.



C H A P. VI.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the sixth Chapter.

Sect. I.

*The plea for the Popes power from the conversion of England:
Of acquiring of right by two titles.*

Num. 1. **T**HE plea from plantation, which was considered in the sixth Chapter, he now proceeds to, in these words,

2. In his sixth Chapter he examineth another title peculiar to England; viz: that our Nation was converted by mission from Rome, and this is totally beside the question, for no man is so stupid as to pretend S. Peter or the Church of Rome to have power over the Universal Church, because his successors converted England: But some pretend a special title of gratitude, the violation of which aggravateth the sin of schismatizing from the Church of Rome in our nation, yet no man, as farre as I can understand, thinks this latter obligation of so high a nature, as that for no occasion or never so great cause, it may not be dispensed with, but onely presse it then when the benefit is slighted, or by colourable arguments to the contrary unworthily avoided: And yet this Doctor quite mistaking the Question frameth an argument, as full of words as empty of matter, affirming there cannot be two successive titles to possession of the same thing, telling us, that he who claimeth a reward as of his own labour and travel must disclaim a donation, &c. if any passed before, and that if a King have right by descent, he cannot claim any thing by conquest, by which you may see his understanding the Law is not much more than his understanding of our principles.

3. What this Gentleman here premiseth, that this plea from the Conversion of this nation by mission from Rome is not used

Sect. II.

Sect. 2.

by the *Romanist* to prove us *schismaticks*, I have no reason to confute, but shall from thence suppose that that *sixt Chapter* might have been spared out of that little *Treatise*, and our *Church* competently justified by the *precedent Chapters*; And then all that I shall need adde, is, *First*, that I hope what was by me added *superfluously*, above the necessities of our cause, will not destroy what was before said *pertinently*, and then as I shall onely have lost my *pains*, and there is no farther *hurt* done, so it must needs be very *unnecessary* for this *Gentleman* to adapt any farther *answers* to that *sixt Chapter*, when he hath once adjudged all that is there said to be totally beside the *Question*.

4. Secondly, That if others had been as *prudent*, as this *Gentleman*, I had certainly spared that *Chapter*, It being no interest of mine to invent *pleas* for the *Romanist*, and although, as this *Gentleman* hath pleased to set it, it be a competent stupidity, and that which I never thought any *Romanist* guilty of, to make the *conversion* of *England* a plea to power over the *Universal Church*, yet *England*, and not the *Universal Church*, being the subject of our *Question*, there is not quite so much stupidity in it, to plead the *Popes* power over *England* from the *supposed Conversion* of *England*. And certainly I did not dream that some *Romanists* have thus *pleaded*, but, as I said before, if this *Gentleman* will not insist on it, neither shall I farther *importune* him about it.

5. For that of *gratitude* which he now mentions onely as an *aggravation* of the sin of *schismatizing*, ^{which} that we are guilty of, he acknowledges must be proved by some other means, I yeild to the force of it, that it might justly adde a *weight* to the obligation, which formerly lay upon us, supposing any such there were, but cannot lay an *obligation* to obedience where before it was not due, much lesse were it due unto another. All the benefits that can be heaped on me by any man that gives me not my being, cannot *oblige* or *engage* my *subjection* to him, without the *intervenience* of my own *consent*, if I am perfectly free to choose my *Sovereign*, and without the consent of my former *Sovereign*, if I have any.

6. So that the whole *Question* must be, whether by any *original*

ginal right the *Bishop of Rome* had power over this *Kingdome*, and so whether by that, our *obedience* was due to him, for if it were, then this *gratitude* was not the *tenure*, but that other; and if it were not, then neither of the *titles* are in force against us; not the first, which hath no being; nor the second, which whatsoever it be, obligeth not to *obedience*.

7. This I thought was apparent by the *instance* of the several *claims* to a *Kingdome*, by *descent*, and by *conquest*, the one of which, if it stood, as the *title*, supersedeth the other, he that holds by *inheritance*, cannot be properly said to hold by *conquest*, even when it is true that he hath *conquered* also. For in that case, when the right heir being forced to make use of his sword to give him *possession*, is *successfull* and *victorious* in it, all that his sword doth, is to give him *possession*, not to give him *right*, for that he had before by *inheritance*.

8. That the same *right* cannot be held by two *tenures* appears by this; because if it might, it being evidently possible that those two *tenures* might be *separated* and placed in several *subjects*, the *inheritance* in one, the *conquest* in another, it must follow from thence, that each of those persons shall have the *right*; which as it is unimaginable, speaking of the whole *right* or *propriety in integrum* to the whole *power*, for if one have it *all*, the other can have no part of it, so if it be applied to a *partial right* (which more than one may have, either *severally*, or *socially*, and *jointly*, to the same thing) then that is the changing of the *Question* which spake of the *whole right*, and not onely of some one or more *parts* or *branches* of it.

9. And therefore as this *Gentleman* agrees with me in the *conclusion*, that *Rome* hath no title to our *obedience*, from that of *converting* us, or if it had, it could not plead the same from *S. Peter's universal Pastorship*, so I cannot discern, why my way of *inferring* it was disliked, or my *ignorance* in the *Lawes* censured, for saying that the *title* of *descent* is exclusive to that of *conquest*, meaning it not of *several* parts, of which one comes by *descent*, the other by *conquest*, but of the same whole thing, of which he that hath the *right* by *descent*, may by the *sword* and *conquest* vindicate his *right*, and acquire
quies.

quiet possession, but cannot be said to acquire his right by those means, being supposed to have had it, before he made use of them.

SECT. II.

The British Church not converted from Rome.

Num. 1. **H**AVING granted me my conclusion, that our obedience to Rome is not due from the Nation's conversion by mission from thence, he is yet resolved to examine my arguments, by which I prove what he grants. And there be three things, that here he takes notice of. The first in these words,

2. *But to come to some matter, His first argument is that this Island was converted before S. Augustine's time, surely he means by the name of Island, the Land and Mountains and trees, for if he speak of the men, what hath the conversion of the former Islanders to doe with the subjection and duty which the Saxons owe.*

3. I answer, by this *Island*, I mean not the mountains, nor trees, on one side, any more than the present individual persons on the other side, but the inhabitants of it indefinitely, who have succeeded one another, whether British or Saxon by extraction. For, first, of the British it is certain that they were not converted by mission from Rome, but were Christians long before S. Augustine's coming hither, And secondly, of the Saxons it may be remembred, that Augustine did not absolutely introduce Christianity among them here, but Luidhardus, that came out of France with Bertha, Ethelred's Wife, and was a Bishop here, had prepared the way for Augustine. See Bede Hist: Eccl: lib. 1. c. 25, 26. And Thirdly, if Augustine were the first converter of the Saxons, and so that be, without farther question, granted of him, yet that cannot belong to the whole Island, the Dominion of Wales being neither of Saxon extraction, nor converted from Rome to Christianity. And this is the designe of that argument of mine, In case there were a duty owing to that See, from whence the converter came, and in case that were acknowledged

knowledged to pertain to the Saxons, yet still the *British* part would not be concluded by either of these, it being certain that their *Ancestors* were not comprehended in this number.

4. But because this *Gentleman* waves this title from *conversion*, neither shall I farther insist to disprove it; But rather ask, why no answer was made to those *testimonies*, which in that place were occasionally vouched to shew that at the time of *Augustine's* coming into this *Island*, the *Christian Church* here acknowledged no subjection to *Rome*, or to any other *Church*, to be due from them, which certainly is some prejudice to the claim drawn from the *Universal Pastorship* of *S. Peter* and his successor at *Rome*.

5. To that which is there said for the evidencing this out of the *Annals of Gisleburne*, It will not be amiss here to add what our *stories* tell us, that when the *Pelagian heresie*, which first sprang from *Morgan* a *Britain*, was by *Agricola* brought into this *Island*, the *Britains* * unwilling to receive their *insults*, and yet unable to resist them without assistance from some other *Church*, in this time of need, applied not themselves to *Rome*, as in their * secular distresses they had accustomed, but to their neighbours of *France*, who calling a *Council* sent *Germanus Alesiiodorensis* and *Lupus* to their aid, by which means the *Catholic Faith* was much revived and increased and propagated among them.

* Neq; suscipere
dogma perversū
vellens, neque
versusiam ne-
faria persuasionis
refutare verbis
certando suffice-
rent: Bed. l. 2.
c. 17.

* Bed. l. 1.
c. 12, 13.

SECT. III.

S. Paul's plantations an argument against the Universal Pastorship of S. Peter. S. Paul's being Bishop of Rome, no answer to it.

Num. 1. THE argument which he next speaks to, is that wherein from *Paul's* having planted some *Churches*, which yet are not subjected to the *Chair*, where *S. Paul* late (whether *Antioch* or *Rome*) I conclude against this claim of power from the title of *conversion*: To this he thus speaks,

2. His next Argument demandeth, whether all that *S. Paul* converted, were obliged to be under him; truly if it were to purpose,

Sect. 8.

pose, I believe there might be proof that S. Paul expected it; but he doth not remember that he told us S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question, but indeed he quite misseth the matter, for no body stateth this for the Popes title, but aggravation of the schisme.

3. 3. To what purpose it is to say there might be proof, and yet to produce none, I know not; This onely I desire to note, that if any such proof were produced, and, without that, by the bare pretending that it might be proved, S. Peter's universal Pastorship must be disclaimed, and consequently all right which derives its original from thence.
4. For S. Paul's labours being more abundant than all the Apostles, tis certain great numbers were converted by him, and if all they were to be under S. Paul, how can S. Peter be Pastor and Ruler of all, it being certain, that S. Paul was not subordinate to S. Peter.
5. And it is of little force what I am reminded of (though sure I never forgot it) that S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question: For 1. S. Paul being Bishop of the Gentile part of the Roman Christians, as S. Peter of the Jewish, and those then dissparate congregations, S. Paul cannot be thought in his converting the Gentiles of other nations, to bring in subjects to S. Peter; And 2. it is evident that S. Paul was not Bishop of Rome when he placed Timothy over Asia, and Titus over Crete, and consequently the conversion and establishment of those Churches was not in any reason to acquire any Dominion to Rome, which S. Paul had never seen at that time, and which was it self converted after those, and that was it which I was proving.
6. But he bethinketh himself at last, and confesseth that this of conversion is not the Pope's title to England, And having done so before, why might he not have permitted me to bring undeniable evidences for the proof of it?

Sect. IV.

The concernments of Rome in the Princes power to remove Patriarchates. The examples of it. Justiniana, the Canon of Chalcedon, and the 6th Council. Valentinian making Ravenna a Patriarchate. ^{Ἀπαρχὴν Ἀποβίσα.}

Nm. 1. **T**O put this whole matter out of controversy, viz: that the Church of England is not bound to be subject to that Church, from which it first received the Faith, one head of argument I pitch on, the power of Kings to remove or erect Primacies and Patriarchates, which if it have truth in it, evidently proves, that in case we were once under the See of Rome, as our Patriarchate or Prime See (supposing that of Universal Pastorship disproved before, and not reconcilable with this title to England by having converted) yet it was in the power of our Kings to remove that from Rome to Canterbury. For the proof of this, evidences were brought both from the Council (and that OEcumenical) of Chalcedon, and from the practice of Princes, particularly Justinian in an eminent instance, and Valentinian and others before the Council of Chalcedon, and many the like examples in the Records of this Kingdom, and of others, as is shewed at large, and the ground of all insisted on, the supreme power of Kings in Ecclesiastical affairs, and this is done in 16 sections, from the 9th to the end of that Chapter. Against all which (that we may see how true the title of this Gentleman's Book is, *An Answer to the most material parts &c.*) that which is confronted, is contained in these words,

2. *Thirdly. He saith it was in the Emperors power to constitute Patriarchs: whether that be so or not, it will not be much to our purpose to dispute here, onely this I say, that he seems neither to understand the question, nor proves what he would; he understands not the question, which hath no dependency on the nature of Patriarchs, or terms of gratitude, but on the donation of Christ: he proves not what he would, for he produceth onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannical towards the Church, without proof and discussion whether it was well or ill done, which*

was requisite to make good his proof; neither doth he say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businesse, he adderth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian the third, for giving of privileges purely Ecclesiastical to the Bishop of Ravenna, which out of his liberality he makes a Patriarch, but on the whole matter this is to be observed, that generally the Bishops consents were pre-demanded or praordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. it is ordered that the Church should translate their Bishoprick; according to the Emperours changing of his City, and when the Emperours did it, it is said they did it according to the power given them, to wit, by the Church, so that a few examples to the contrary, produced in the reigns of headstrong and Tyrannical Princes, as the most of those are noted to be, under whom they are urged, prove nothing, and if they did, yet cannot they be taken as testimonies, when these matters of fact are onely so attributed to Princes, as no way to exclude the Church, but whatsoever it was, it doth not at all appertaine to the question, since the Popes authority, in the sense he calls him Pope, is not properly Patriarchal, nor hath any dependency upon, or from change of places made by the command of Princes.

3. The first thing here answered is, that it is not much to the Romanists purpose to dispute, whether or no the Emperour hath power to constitute Patriarchs. (He ought to have added, or to translate them from one City to another, for that is in that *Traitt* also expressly proved, but this I suppose not without reason omitted, because the power to erect or constitute, supposes and implies the power to translate them.) And if this be not this Gentleman's interest to dispute, I shall then by his good leave, suppose it yeilded me, and observe what the consequences will be.
4. And 1. In case the power of the Pope be a Patriarchal power, and no more, and that appear to be all that the ancient Councils ever allowed it to be, then it immediately followes, that it is in the power of the Emperour to translate and remove it from that to any other See, and in that case what befell Constantinople by way of advancement, from the

title of an ordinary *Suffragan Bishops See*, it ascended to equal dignity and privileges with *Rome* it self, will in the reverse be the condition of *Rome*; from the first *Patriarchal See* in the whole world, nothing hinders but that it may become the *See* of the most ordinary *Bishop*. And sure 'twill be the *Romanists* concernment to dispute that principle, from which this may possibly be the undeniable conclusion.

5. But if, as here it seems to be interposed, the power of *Rome* be that of *Universal Pastorship*, no way dependant on the nature of *Patriarchs*, or on any other tenure, but the donation of *Christ* to *Saint Peter*, then 1. it must be remembered that after the refusing of any such right from *Christs* donation in the former Chapters, the removal also of this was in all reason to prove of some interest to the *Romanist*, and so it must, till the proofes of those Chapters be perfectly answered, which yet hath not been done in any degree, as this reply to the few answers applied to those Chapters hath shewed.

6. Secondly, This adhering thus wholly to this donation of *Christ*, and the *Universall Pastorship* deduced from thence, is the direct disclaiming of all the *Canonical Privileges* belonging to *Rome*, on the score of *Patriarchy*, and so in case that first tenure shall faile, it is the degrading of *Rome* from that dignity, which by *antient Canon* belong'd to it, that of the *Prime Patriarchy*, and so cuts the *Romanist* off from all the advantage he can reape either from the affirmation of *Fathers* or *Councils*, any farther than they are founded in, and referre to *Christs* donation of *Universal Pastorship* to *Saint Peter*, which whether it will prove to be the interest of this Gentleman, I must leave him to judge for himselfe, and onely adde in the last place, that against him that asserts the *Bishop* of *Romes Universal Pastorship* upon what title soever, this will necessarily be a shrewd prejudice, if it be not disputed but yeilded, that it is in the power of *Princes* to erect or translate *Patriarchies*, by *Patriarchies* understanding (as it is evident I doe in that discourse) chiefe *Independent* authorities over other Churches, such as was by *Iustinian* conferred on *Iustiniana Prima* and *Carthage*, by *Valentinian*.

on *Ravenna*, without any *subordination* to, or *dependence* on any other, particularly on the *See of Rome*.

7. Can any thing be more *prejudicial* to the *Universal Pastorship* of *Rome* than this? Can *Rome* be *Pastor* of those who have no *dependance* on her? or can that be *Universal*, from which some particulars are *exempt*?
8. This made it but *necessary* for this *Gentleman* to undertake two things in the following words, that I *neither understand the question, nor prove what I would*; for if I shall yet appear to *judge* aright of the *question*, even as it is by this *Gentleman* brought back to that which had been debated in the former *Chapters*, whether the *Bishop of Rome* be *Universal Pastor* by *Christs donation* to *Saint Peter*, and if I have really proved that it is in the *power* of *Emperours* and *Princes* to *constitute* and *remove Patriarchies*, It will certainly follow, that I have done all that I *undertook* to doe, evinced the matter of the *question*, and shewd that it is in the *power* of *Princes* to *exempt* some *Churches* from the *Popes* dominion, and so superseded the *Universality* of his *Pastorship*.
9. As for the *validity* of my *proofes*, that must be judged by the *view* of the *Answers* applyed to them, 1. that I *produce onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*. To this I answer, 1. that the word [*onely*] excluding all others, the *proposition* can have no truth in it, it being evident that I produce many other *acts* of the same *Imperial power*, as the *Reader* may finde by casting his eye on the place, the latter part of that 6. *Chap*: and this *Gentleman* himselfe shall be my witness, (who saith of me [*he adderth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian*] which though it be not a *recitation* of all that are by me added, yet is sufficient to *refute the contrary*, to what the [*onely*] had affirmed.
10. Secondly, The *character* that is given that *Emperour*, whose act I first produced, that he is *accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*, will, I suppose, signifie but this, that he that did any thing *derogatory* to the *Universal Pastorship* of the *Bishop of Rome*, is by this prejudged from yeilding us any *competent* testimony in this dispute, which is in effect that this *Gentleman* is in the *right*, and all that is, or shall, or can be brought

brought against him must signifie nothing, which sure is not the way of answering arguments, but adhering to conclusions, without weighing what is or can be brought against them.

11. Thirdly, For that particular act, and the Emperor which is thus censured: It is Justinian, that great and famous Emperour, his making the Bishop of Justiniana Prima the head of all Dacia, &c. of which this Gentleman had past a very different judgement, when it came under his view in the former Chapter.
12. There his answer was, the Emperour exempted it not from the Popes subjection, pag 15. and yet now when the very same passage comes in his way againe, he hath forgotten himselfe, and the Emperour, that just now had as great care of the Popes spiritual power, as of his owne civill, is in a moment become Tyrannicall towards the Church. I desire one of these answers, being thus engaged, may make good the contest against the other.
13. But then 4. whatsoever can be said of that Emperor in other respects, 'tis certaine that this erecting of Justiniana was no act of tyranny against the Church, but the very thing that is authorised by the 17 Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon (which is one of those that the Pope at his consecration solemnly vows to observe, and all the Ordinances made in them) for that resolves that if any City be built or restored by the Kings power, the Ecclesiastical order must follow the Political, τύποι i. e. the βασιλικὰ πρᾶγματα, saith the Scholiast, the Imperial decrees concerning that City * ἔχειν ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα ἢ μητροπόλεως, to have the dignity of * Balsam. in an Episcopal or Metropolitocal See. And the same againe in the same words was decreed by the 6. Council in Trullo, Can. 38. Council in Trullo: Can. 38. from whence certainly Balsamon's conclusion is irrefragable, * ἐτι ἔξῃς τῷ βασιλεὶ πρὸς νόμιμα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀπαρτεῖσθαι, that * I Council Chal. it is lawfull (and so sure not Tyrannical) for a Prince to take away (or remove) the privileges of the Church of any City, and * ὁποῦν τὰ βουλόμενα αὐτοῦ ἔχειν τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν δικαίων, * Ib. pag. 342. to determine, as he shall please, concerning the Privileges of Bishops.

His

14. His second answer is, that I doe not say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businessse. To which I answer, that when I have made it appear to be the act of the Emperour, and that by the Canons of Councils it was acknowledged fully lawfull for the Emperour, and so for other Princes, to doe so, I need neither inquire whether the consent of Bishops, or of the Pope himself were added to it, such formalities of consent may be had or omitted without any disturbance to, or influence on the matter.
15. His third answer is applied to that Act of Valentinian, which made Ravenna a Patriarchate, and first he calls the Decree of that Emperour an Apocryphall decree; 2. He saith that it was giving to the Bishop privileges purely Ecclesiastical, reproving me for making him a Patriarch; For the first, I answer, that as I never thought it any piece of the Canon of Scripture, by which Valentinian did this or any more than a Rescript of an Emperour, which, if such, is certainly sufficient to expresse it an Imperial Act, so the authorities for this may rescue it from farther question, for though it were not Baroniinus's interest to believe it, and so it is by him suspected of forgery, An. 432. n. 93. yet even he acknowledgeth it to be very antient, and owned by several Writers, n. 92. and afterwards, when the same authorities which are produced for this, Hier. Rubem, and the Records of Ravenna, seem to favour his grand design, i. e. make for Rome, he can then very fairly make use of them, though it be but a narration of a vision, An. 433. n. 24. But I need not lay more weight on this, than the Apocryphal (as he calls it) Decree will be able to support, this is no singular president, many examples there are of the like which are there mentioned in the Tract of Schisme.
16. For the second, Patriarchal power Ravenna had without any dependance on the Bishop of Rome, and I pretend no more for the Bishop of Canterbury, and therein also shall bate him the title of Patriarch, What he adds (by way of observation on the whole matter) 1. that generally the Bishops consents were pradedanded or praordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. Secondly, that what the Emperours did, they
did

did by the power given them by the Church, will soon appear to bring him little advantage, For

17. 1. The Bishop's (I suppose he means the Bishop of Rome his) consent was not asked; One part of the story is, that when the Bishop of Ravenna, being fain to flee to the Bishop of Rome for support against the Longobards, submitted himself to him, the people of Ravenna thought themselves injured thereby; And 2. it is not truly said, that it was *praordered*, and the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon cannot be brought to that purpose, this act of Valentinians dated Anno 432. being 19 years before the Council of Chalcedon, which was assembled Anno 451. and so sure not *praordained* by that which was subsequent; And indeed the Canon of that Council mentioning Cities and Churches in the plural, which had been before their Session made Metropoles by several Kings, is a clear evidence that there were other such, beside that of Ravenna, and *Balsamon expresseth them by the name of *Madyta*, and *Abydus* &c.

* ὅσα ἦσαν πόλεις διαγεγραμμένων βασιλικῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, Can. 12.

* Διαφορεῖ βασιλεῖς ὁρίσασθαι εἰς μητροπόλεις ἐτιμήσαν, Balsamon: in Can. 12.

18. Thirdly, If this be acknowledged an act of Council confirming the lawfulness of what the Emperours had thus done, and decreeing (as clearly the Council of Chalcedon and that other in Trullo did) that generally it should be thus, that as the Prince made an ordinary City a Metropolis, the Church of that City should be a Metropolitane Church, then still this is the fuller evidence, that it was lawfull for Princes thus to doe, and that as oft as they did, such changes in the Churches followed, for sure a King was not obliged to ask the Churches leave to repair or build a city.

19. Lastly, What out of Balsamon was cited by me, that what the Emperours did in this matter they did according to the power that was given them] was, it seems, either an occasion of stumbling to this Gentleman, or an excuse of it; For from hence he concludes that this power was given them by the Church; This, if it be true, is the thing that I would demand, and so farre, from answering mine instance: for if the Church have given Princes this power, then they may freely and lawfully make use of it; and Justinian's doing so could be no tyrannical act against the Church. But let us view *Balsamon's

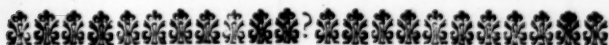
* in Chalced. Can. 12.

words, They are these, τὰς τοιούτους γίνεσθαι δεσμούς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνῶθεν ἐξουσίαν, such definitions are made by Kings according to the power given them from above. That word ἀνῶθεν from above, sometimes signifies in respect of time, sometimes also in respect of place; In the first respect it signifies from of old, and is oft joyned with ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning; and if it be so taken here, as *Gentianus Hervetus* interprets it *olim*, it must then signifie that this power was yeilded to Kings either by the *Apostles*, or by the *Primitive Canons* of the Church, and if it were thus given them by the Church, then sure they might justly challenge and exercise it freely. But in the second sence, it is as certain that ἀνῶθεν signifies from above, i. e. from heaven, so *Joh. 19. 11.* Christ tells Pilate, thou couldst have no power over me, καὶ μὴ τὸ σοὶ δεδομένον ἀνῶθεν, unlesse it were given thee from above, i. e. sure from heaven, from God, by whom Kings reign and have their power, and so it very frequently signifies in the * Scripture; And if that be the the meaning, then this Gentleman sees how well he hath inferred his conclusion from this passage.

* *Am. I. 17.*
3. 15, 17.
&c.

20. By all this it already appears what truth there is in this suggestion, that the examples produced are but few, and those of tyrannical Princes, and no way excluding the Church] just as much, and no more, as was in the premisses, which induced it, and those being discovered already, it is *superfluous* to make repetitions so soon in this place.

21. In the close he thinks fit to retire again to his old *fortresse*, that the Popes power is not *Patriarchal*, and so that he is still safe from all that hath been said on that head; But it hath now appeared, that if any other be made a *Patriarch* or *Primate*, or (whatever the style be) a *Bishop* without any dependence on the Pope, this is a prejudice sufficient to his *Universal Pastorship*, and other disadvantages he is rather in reason to expect by disclaiming the *Patriarchal authority*, which the *Canons* have allowed him, than hope to gain any thing by contemning his *inheritance*.



CHAP. VII.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the seventh Chapter.

SECT. I.

King Henry's desire of Reconciliation to Rome. The sacrilege, &c. no argument against Regal power to remove Patriarchies. Possession in the belief of the Popes supremacy. Prescribing for error. Napier's testimony. Possession, if granted from Augustine's coming into England, no argument of truth. Confessions of Popes. Augustine required it not. Pope Gregory's testimony. Many evidences that this belief was not received after Augustine's time.

Num. I. **W**Hat in the next place is replied to that part of Chapter 7. which concerned Henry VIII. his act of ejecting the Power of the Pope, will be full matter for a first section of this Chapter. He begins thus,

2. *In his seventh Chapter he intends a justification of the breach Begun in Whereof as he doth not teach the infamous occasion, and how to his Hen. 8. dying day the same King desired to be reconciled, as also that it was but the coming two daies short of a Post to Rome, which hindered that the reconciliation was not actually made, as may be seen in my Lord of Cherbery's Book fol. 368. and that the moderate Protestants curse the day wherein it was made, so the very naming of Hen. VIII. is enough to confute all his discourse, Sir Walter one of the darlings of his daughter having given him such a Raleigh in character, as hath stamped him for England's Nero to future Posterity, and as it was said of Nero in respect of Christian religion, so might it be of him respecting the unity of the Church, World. viz: it must be a great good that he began to persecute and abolish: and as for the Acts passed in the Universities, Convocation,*

tion or Parliament, let the blood shed by that Tyrant bear witness what voluntary and free Acts they were. especially those two upon his Seneca and Burrhus, Bishop Fisher, and the Chancellor More, that he might want nothing of being thoroughly paralleld to Nero.

But methinks the Doctor differs not much in this, seeming tacitly to grant the Bishops were forced, awed by that noted sword in a slender thread, the pramunire which did hang over their heads, though in the conclusion of that Sett: he saies we ought to judge charitably, viz: that they did not judge for fear nor temporal Interests, yet after waves the advantage of that charitable judgment, and saith, That if what was determined were falsly determined by the King and Bishops, then the voluntary and free doing it will not justifie, and if it were not, then was there truth in it, antecedent to, and abstralled from the determination, and it was their duty so to determine, and crime that they were unwilling: laying the whole weight of the argument upon this, that the pretensions for the Popes supremacy in England must be founded either as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church, so including England as a member thereof; or upon paternal right respecting S. Augustine's conversion, or upon concession from some of our Kings &c. To which I answer, that we relie on the first as the foundation and corner-stone of the whole building, On the second as an action worthy the successor of S. Peter, which requires a gratefull consideration from us; And on the third not as a concession, but as a just acknowlengment of what was necessary for the good of Christian Religion, taught our Kings by those who taught them Christian Religion; of which belief, I mean that the Pope as Successor to S. Peter is head and governour of the Universal Church, we have been in possession ever since the conversion of our English Ancestors, then Saxons, to the Christian religion, made by Austin the Monk sent hither by Pope Gregory for that purpose; untill that good King Henry the VIII. out of scrupulosity of conscience (no doubt) was pleased to cut the Gordian knot of those bonds, within which all his Ancestors limited themselves; neither shall all that the Doctor and his fellows have said, or can say, justifie themselves so, but that such a possession, as I here
speak

speak of, will convince them of schisme, though all those replies, which by ours have been 40 times made to every one of those arguments the Doctor uses, should bear but equal weight in the scale, which we think hoises it up into the aire, for the arguments must be demonstrative and clear to men of common sense, that must overthrow such a possession; and therefore it is that the Puritans, who are much lesse friends to the Church of Rome than to the Church of England, wave all disputing out of Antiquity, and confesse that the Church of Rome hath born a sway without any debatable contradiction over the Christian world 1260 years, a time that no King in the world can pretend to by succession from his Ancestors for possession of his crown, and yet I believe the Doctor would conclude those subjects guilty of rebellion, which should goe about to deprive such a King of his Crown, though he could not shew writings evidently concluding for him 12, 14, 15, or 1600 years agoe, how much more if he could shew them demonstrating his right, in the interpretation of as wise and learned men as the world hath, and 20 times the numbers of their adversaries.

Napier on
the Revela-
tion.

3. The first thing here objected to my discourse, is, as Orators are wont to doe for the raising of passions, a mention of some circumstances, which though extrinsecal to the matter, may yet hope to have some influence on an unwary Reader, and infuse no small prejudices into him; such are the infamous occasion of the breach begun by that King, and such is the odious character fastned on him of England's Nero &c.
4. But it cannot be necessary for me to offer an Apologie on either of these two heads. If that which he did in this particular of ejecting the Papal power, be in it self justifiable, both in respect of the matter of the action, and the competency of the power that did it, it matters not what moved him to doe it, or how inclinable he was to have rescinded it. The farther he were from a truly pious man, the more likely it is, he might be brought by secular interests (and the lesse likely that it was by any religious) to undoe all that upon the weightiest grounds of reason, had been establishd by him. Without examining therefore the truth of that suggestion, that to his dying day he desired to be reconciled, and without demanding,

what is meant by that phrase, *desired to be reconciled*, whether any overture to receive the *Popes* on his *owne* termes, into full possession againe, or onely a *desire* to approve himselfe to the *Pope*, that he still maintained the *Catholike*, nay *Roman Faith* (as we know he put men to death for denying some *Doctrines* profest at *Rome*) that what he had done was no whit injurious to him, prejudiciall, or derogatory to any right, which could justly be chalenged by the *Pope* in this *Kingdome*; without either of these inquires, I say, If I shall take for granted the utmost that can be pretended, that for a long time together he *desired* to have rescinded what he had done, I see not what disadvantage this can be to our pretensions.

5. For 1. I shall demand, was he all this while, that he thus desired to be reconciled, a truly changed and Pious Prince, was that principle of wicked life so soone eradicated, which even now denominated him a *Nero*, and made it fit to esteeme that a great good, which he began to abolish, and did he thus continue a new, reformed penitent to his dying day? If so, then truly Sir *W. R.* was very unkinde and unchristian in recording his crimes, and omitting his repentance; and it is no excellent port of this Gentlemans character, that he thought fit to imitate and quote him in this; the same injustice in an Historian or Observer, that it had been in *Eusebius* to take so much of the life of *Constantine* out of *Zosimus* or *Julian's* *Cesars*, as should render him justly odious, and to omit the whole latter part of his life, which was so eminently vertuous and Christian.
6. But if this Prince still continued to be like that image, which here is portrayed of him, then sure I shall with the same evidence of prooffe be allowed to object those vices, and those no excellent Christian motives that incited it, to his desire of being reconciled, or his willingness to re-admit the Papall power into this *Kingdome*, and conclude, that the ejection of it must be a great good, which he was so inclinable to abolish, and to the faith of the reformed, which he so more than began to persecute, and all this as regularly as his personall vices, and the infamous occasion, be it never so truly so, can

can be objected to that act of State, which pass in that Kings reign, for the disclaiming the Papal powers among us.

7. Nay, if that passage in his storie had acquired a yet farther degree of Truth, if the Post had come two dayes sooner to Rome, and so had actually composed the difference between that King and that Pope, so as had been most for the interest of Rome, yet it is evident, that my discourse had no way been concerned in this; This evidently had been no more, than what afterwards came to passe in Queen Marie's dayes, and it would still be in the power of King Henries immediate successor, to remove the power from Rome to Canterbury, as it had been in the power of Henry either to doe it, or undoe it againe.

8. And therefore the whole matter still divolves (as it did in the tract of Schisme) to that one question, whether the Bishop of Rome had at that time any real authority here, which the King might not lawfully remove from him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and must be decided as there it is, by the view of Evidences, whether that pretended from Peters Universal Pastorship, or that from Augustines planting Christianity here, or that from the voluntary concession of some Kings, and each of them is so disproved there, that till some competent answer be rendered to those particulars, (which certainly is not yet done by this Gentleman, who onely here tells us the manner how he relies on each of these, and the possession they had of the believe that the Pope was head of the Universal Church) 'tis perfectly unnecessary farther to consider what is here added, onely to inflame passions, but not to satisfy Conscience, to exasperate, not to argue.

9. For what if moderate Protestants should truly curse the day, &c. or, in a more Christian dialect, expresse their dislike to the great Sacrilege, and some other enormities, which were committed in that Princes reigne, what prejudice will this be to any lawfull exercise of that regal power? 'Tis certaine that all the Acts of a bad Prince are not invalid or null, and much more evident still, that he that hath not offended in assuming the power which really belongs to him, may by being denied that,

that, be *irraged*, and laid open, to importune *Temptations*, and if he be not a. through *Christian*, *constant* and *masterly*, fall, and that foulely under those *temptations*. And if *Henry VIII.* did so, still this is very *extrinsecall* to the *present* inquiry, whether he as *King* had power to *remove* a *Patriarchy*, and by that to *remove* all *forraigne jurisdiction* or *authority* out of this *Church*,

10. All that remains in this *Section*, farther to be spoken to, is the *possession* that is here *pleaded*, not in the *power* it selfe, (if it were, that hath formerly been spoken to) but in the *beliefe*, that the *Pope* as *successor* to *S. Peter*, is *head* and *Governour* of the *Universal Church*, This *beliefe*, saith he, they have been in *possession* of, ever since the *Conversion* of our *English Ancestors*, till *King Henry*; and for this, beside his own bare affirmation, he brings no other *prooffe*, than one *testimony* of *Navier* on the *Revelation*, confessing that the *Church of Rome* hath borne a *sway* over the *Christian world* above *1200. yeares*.

11. And 1. for this kinde of *Possession*, *possession* in the *beliefe* of any thing, any farther than that which is *believed* is *true*, and that appeare some other way, than by our having so long *believed* it, certainly this is no matter of any deep *consideration* to us; If it still appeare to be *true* upon grounds of *reason*, those grounds are the *considerable*, and not the *beliefe*; And if the grounds be discovered to be *fallacious*, and the contrary to be more *reasonable* to be *believed*, then sure this hath but the advantage of an *Antient error*, and the older it is, the fitter not to be longer continued in, it must be immediately *deposited*. And against this, or instead of doing thus, to talke of *possession* is *unnatural*, and *irrational*, the same plea that may serve for any *sinne* that hath had the *luck* to get the first hold in us, the same that would certainly have held for all the *Idolatrie* of the *Heathens*, when *Christ* came into the world; And he that hath long lived in *obscurity* and *misery* (he, and his *Ancestors*) for many years together, and were now offered an *advancement* out of that *sad condition*, would he ever be so *unkinde* to himselfe as to refuse that *offer*, upon this one account, because it is the *turning* him out of a *possession*? This

pre-

prescribing for Error, and prescribing for Sin, and prescribing for Misery, are in effect the same, equally unnatural and irrational, supposing it to be truly Error and Sinne, and Misery which we treat of.

13. But then secondly waving this, and applying our selves to the particular before us, how doth it appeare that the Romanist hath been in possession in this beliefe, so long as he pretends? He here brings but one Testimony to confirme it, that of Napier; But for this testimony the answer is easie, that the affirmations or confessions of such as Napier was (and is by this Gentleman acknowledged to be) in their arguing against the credit of Antiquity, or to make good other hypotheses of theirs, are of as little authority with us, as I suppose they will be with them, when they are contrary to their pretensions or interests; Secondly, that the Popes bearing a sway over the Christian world is not interpretable to signifie his Universal Pastorship; The Bishop of the Prime imperial See, may justly be very considerable, and so beare a sway, but it follows not thence that his ordinary jurisdiction hath been thus extended to the whole Christian world.

14. Nay thirdly, the contrary to this hath been sufficiently evidenced Chap: 4. and 5. both as concernes Saint Peter himselfe, and the Bishop of Rome as successor to Saint Peter, and till those evidences are refuted, the affirmation of Napier being so imperfect and infirme, both in respect of the testifier and the matter of the testimony, will be very unfit to bear sway with any rational man.

15. And so the whole weight of this argument prest with so much confidence is resolved into the bare authority of the Speaker, this Gentleman, who saith it, that ever since the conversion of the English Nation, the Romanists have had possession of this beliefe, that the Pope, as successor to Saint Peter is Governour of the Universal Church.

16. And that I may apply some answer yet more particularly to this, I shall premise one thing, that if indeed this were granted, which is suggested, it would not be of any great force toward the inducing of this conclusion, that the Pope really was and is Universal Pastor. For supposing the Pope

to have assumed that *authority*, at the time of *Augustine* the *Monke* his coming into *England* and making his *plantation*, and supposing him to have *preacht* this to *King Eschelbert*, and the rest of his *Profelites*, with the same *gravity* and *confidence*, that he used in imparting all the *Doctrines* of *Christian Faith* (in the same manner as *Xaverius* the *Apostle* of the *Indies* imparted to them *two Gospels*, the one of *Christ*, the other of *Saint Peter*) I shall not doubt but upon these grounds it would be very *consequent*, that all, that willingly *embraced* the *preaching* of *Augustine*, and had no other *Doctrine* to compare it with, or *examine* it by, should probably receive this branch of *believe*, and so all others *from* and *after* them, that insisted firmly and punctually on *Augustine's* way; and thus 'tis possible the *possession* of that *belief* might be *continued* till the *dayes* of *Hen. VIII.*

17. But then this is no *prooffe* that what in this *particular Augustine* affirmed was true, or that the *believe* of it had *possession* in the whole *Church* before, Nay, the contrary will be most evident, that at that very time the *British Bishops* acknowledged not any such *power* over them in the *Pope* or any other, as is cited from the *Abbate of Bangor*, cap. 16. *Self. 5.* and much more to the same purpose.

18. And 'tis no newes to remind him out of their owne *Canon Law*, that some of their *Popes* have disclaimed (and that not without great *aversion* and *detestation* of the *arrogance* of it) the title of *Universal Bishop* or *Pastor*, and acknowledged it is a very *ominous Symptome* in any that shall assume it, and considering the *prejudices* that lye against it, from the *first acumenical Councils*, all the *Ordinances* whereof the *Popes* at their *creations* vow to maintaine *inviolably*, and against which to constitute or *innovate* any thing, *ne hujus quidem sedis potest autoritas*, it is not in the power of this *See*, saith *Pope Zosimus*, 25. qu. 1. c. *Contra*. I may justly conclude that all are obliged to doe the like.

19. But then *secondly*, what *truth* there is in it *in thess*, that from *S. Augustine's* *plantation* to this time of *Henry VIII.* the *Romanists* have been in *possession* of this *belief* of the *Popes universal Pastorship*, must be contested by evidences. And 1.
For

For *Augustine* himself it appears not by the story in *Bede*, that he did at all preach this doctrine to the nation, nay, as upon *Augustine's* demand concerning ceremonies, *Pope Gregory* binds him not to conform all to the *Canons* or practice of *Rome*, but bids him * freely choose that which may most please * *Eccl. Hist.* God, wheresoever he findes it, sive in *Galliarum*, sive in qualibet *Ecclesia*, whether in *France*, or in any other Church, & hec quasi in *Fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere*, make up a Book of such *Canons* to be observed in *England* (which clearly shews that the *Romish Canons* were not to be in power in *England*) so when the difference betwixt him and the *British Bishops* (of whom it hath been shewed that they acknowledged not the *Pope* to have any power over them) came to be composed, he required compliance and obedience from them but in three things, the observation of *Easter* according to the order of the Church * *Ib: l. 2. c. 2.* of *Rome* (and the *Nicene Canon*) the *Ministration* of *Baptisme*, and joyning with him to preach to the *English*; Which is some prejudice to the founding of this belief in *Augustine's* preaching.

20. Nay when *Bede* comes to speak of *Gregory* then *Pope*, by way of *Encomium* at his death, the utmost he saith of him is, that cum primum in toto orbe gereret Pontificatum, & converfis jamdudum *Ecclesiis* praelatus esset &c. being *Bishop* of the *Prime Church* in the whole world, and set over those Churches which had been long since converted, and having now taken care to propagate that faith to *England*, he might justly be called our *Apostle*, and say as *S. Paul* did, that if to others he were not an *Apostle*, yet he was to us.

21. As for that of *Universal Pastorship* certainly we may take *Gregory's* own word, that no such thing was then thought to belong to him, in his *Epistle* to *Eulogius Bishop* of *Alexandria*, visible among his works, and inserted in the * body of their *Canon Law*. Nam dixi &c. I told you that you were not to write to me or any other in that style, and behold in the Preface of that *Epistle* directed to me who thou prohibited, you have set this proud appellation, calling me universal *Pope* or *Father*, which I desire you will doe no more, for it is a derogating from you,

* *B. Gre: Ep: ex regist: l. 7. Indict: 1. c. 30. par: 1. dist: 99. Ecce*

you, to bestow on another more than reason requires, I count it not my honour, wherein I know my brethren lose their honour, My honour is the honour of the universal Church, My honour is that my brethren should enjoy what fully belongs to them (so I render *fratrum meorum solidus vigor*) then am I truly honoured when the honour, which is due to all, is denied to none. For if you call me universal Pope, you deny that to your self which you attribute all to me; And farther tells him, with expressions of averſation, *Abſit* and *recedant*—, that this honour had by a Council been offered to his Predecessors, the Council of Chalcedon (that gave it equally to him and the Bishop of Constantinople, which is in effect to give to neither the power or sense, but onely the title of it) but no one of them would ever use this title. This sure is evidence enough, that if at that time any such belief of the Universal Pastorship of the Pope entered this Nation, it must needs be the belief of a known acknowledged falsity, and so farre from a *bonæ fidei sessio*.

22. After this, what possession this belief had among us, may be
 * *l. de diff:* judged by some of those many * instances put together by the
Reg: et Eccl: Bishops in Henry VIII. his daies, as the premises whereon that
Potest: King built his conclusion of ejecting that Power which was then usurped by the Pope.
23. First a statute, that for Ecclesiastical appeals they shall in the last resort lie from the Archbishop to the King, so as not to proceed any farther without the Kings assent.
24. Secondly, that Turstan Archbishop elect of Yorke, asking leave of the King to go to a Council designed by Calixtus, had it granted with this reserve, that he should not receive Episcopal benediction from the Pope.
25. Thirdly, that the Kings of England from time to time, had and exercised authority of making laws in Ecclesiastical matters; Eight such Laws are there recited of Canutus his making, the like of King Ethelred, Edgar, Edmund, Æthelstane, Ina King of the West Saxons, and King Alfred.
26. Fourthly, that William the Conquerour instituting and indowing the Abbey of Battell, gave the Abbat exemption from all jurisdiction of any Bishops, *aut quarumlibet personarum dominatione.*

minatione, from all dominion or rule of any persons whatsoever, sicut Ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis, in like manner as the Church of Canterbury; Which imports two things, 1. that the Church of Canterbury had no such Ruler over him (but the King) and 2. that the Abbat of Battell was by regal power invested with the same privileges.

27. But I suppose all these, and many the like instances, which might be brought, derogatory enough to the possession in this belief here pretended, will but adde one more to the number of such arguments, of which this Gentleman saith, that they have forty times had replies made to them; And truly this is a good easie compendious way, which as it secures him against all that can be produced, so it doth not encourage me to spend time in collecting and producing more, and therefore this shall suffice to have added now concerning this matter, being apt to flatter my self, that these arguments are demonstrative and clear enough to men of common sense, to disprove, and so to overthrow this Possession.

Sect. II.

Queen Mary's retaining the Supremacy. Power of refusing Legates, unreconcilable with the Popes Supremacy.

Num. 1. THE next Paragraph is an account of a passage cited by me from the story of *Queen Mary*, Thus,

2. *Queen Mary's titular retaining of the Supremacy untill she could dispose the disordered hearts of her subjects to get it peaceably revoked, is no authority for the Doctor, she never pretending it to be lawfully done, but that she could not doe otherwise, no more is her refusing of a Legate, which in all Catholick times and countries hath been practised and thought lawfull.*
3. What civil or secular motives they were, which kept that *Queen* so long from rejecting the title of *supreme* in her own Kingdom, I shall not need to inquire; If it were no unpardonable sin in her to continue the title, and exercise of that power, which was incompatible with the *Pope's universal Pastorship*, then why should it be so hainous in her Father to

assume it? Her Inever pretending that it was *lawfully* done, signifies very little, as long as she pretends not the *contrary*, that it was *unlawfull*; The truth may well lie in the *middle*, that she thought it *lawful* to retain it, yet *lawful* also to bestow it on the *Bishop of Rome*, and upon the strength of the former *perswasion*, my *charity* obligeth me to think, that she did the *former*, and in force of the *latter* it is possible also, that she did the *latter*, though *possible* too, that she did it upon reason of *state*, the *validity* of her *mother's marriage*, and consequently her *legitimation* depending upon the acknowledgment of the *Pope's absolute power* in this *Nation*.

4. But the truth is, her *opinion* or *practice* is of no more force one way, than the other, and therefore was taken in as a *supernumerary* observation, and not such as on that alone to found any *grand argument*.
5. As for the *power* of *refusing* a *Legate* from the *Pope*, I cannot discern how that is reconcileable with the *Popes* pretensions to *supreme power* in this *Kingdome*; Can it be lawfull for any *Province* to refuse a *Procurator*, or *Prator*, or *Proconsul*, sent solemnly commissioned by the *Lawfull Prince*? Was it lawfull for the *tenants* or *dressers* of the *vineyard* to deny entrance to the *King's son* or but *servant*? Is not this a *derogation* to *supreme power* and *domination*? If this be *practiced* and counted *lawful* in all *Catholick times* and *Countreys*, this is to me an *indication*, that in no *time* or *countrey* there hath been *possession* of this *belief* that the *Pope* is the *supreme Pastor* of all, for sure if he were, his *Legate* which is his *image*, might in *power* of the *original* require *admission*, and he that is *πεμπόμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* thus sent and commissioned by him, must by *S. Peter's precept* be allowed obedience from all his *subjects*, and so from that *Queen*, if such she were, and such she *must* be, so farre as he had the *supremacy*.
6. So again when *Cardinal Petou* was sent to be *Bishop of Salisbury*, the denying him that *Bishoprick* was a check to the *Pope's absolute supremacy*, but of that this *Gentleman* was in *prudence* to take no notice.

Sect. III.

King Edward his Reformation. The Duke of Somerset. The Duke of Northumberland, his Treason no prejudice to the Reformation under that King.

Num. 1. **H**Is next exception is to the passages concerning King Edward VI. King Henry's immediate successor, Thus,

2. King Edward a childe of nine years old fell into the hands of wicked and ambitious traytors, who knowing the Kingdome affected for religion-sake to Queen Mary, to cut off her succession, and introduce their own, thought fit to strengthen their faction, which beside what they might hope from abroad, consisted of many Lutherans and Calvinists at home: those two sects having by opportunity of that rupture in Henry VIII. his time, spread and nested themselves in many parts of England.

3. What is here said hath little of truth in it, and as little of argument, if it were truth. That the youth of the Prince can be no foundation of argument against the Legality of what was done by the Duke of Somerset his uncle, the Protector, in his nonage, was sufficiently shewed before, and might be exemplified through all times and places. That this Protector should at this time, when the young King legally fell into his hands, be styled a wicked ambitious Traytor, hath not any degree of truth in it, the crime, for which he afterward lost his life, being farre from any disloyalty to his Sovereign.

4. As for the Duke of Northumberland, who obtained the King's consent to settle the inheritance on Jane Grey, and accordingly, after the King's death, proclaimed her Queen, and suffered as a traytor for so doing, all that I shall need to say is this, 1. that this act of his, how trayterous soever, cannot justifie what is here said, that the King at nine years old fell into the hands of traytors, for that one Duke cannot truly be called traytors in the plural, and the King at that age did not fall into his hands, but into the hands of Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset, under whom the six Articles and other acts of severity against the Protestants were called in, and the Acts against the Papal authority confirmed, the Romish Masse

Masse abrogated, the *Bible* translated, and published in the *English tongue*, the *Liturgie* reformed, and the publick offices performed in *English*, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administred in both *kindes* &c. And so whatsoever was afterward done (were it never so *traitterously*) by the *Duke* of *Northumberland*, could have no influence on this change, and is therefore very *impertinently* here inserted, after the manner of the *Orator*, not the *historian*, to raise *passions*, inflame *dislikes* and *aversions* in the *Reader*, and not to give him any exact view of the *truth* of the *story*.

5. Secondly, that the designe of the *Duke* of *Northumberland* not succeeding, but costing him so dear, the losse of his own life and hers, whom he set up to be *Queen*, and the succession regularly descending on *Queen Mary*, there can be no reasonable account given, why this *treason* of that *Duke* should here be proposed as the one *considerable*, it being evident in the *story*, that all things were composed to the full satisfaction of *Queen Mary*, and just as they should have been, in case that *traitterous* attempt had never been made by that *Duke*.
6. To which I might adde, that this *treason* of his was founded on that very *act*, which in the next paragraph this *Gentleman* thinks fit to vouch as *authentick*, and if it were so, that could be no *treason* in that *Duke*, viz: the *Act* whereby *Mary* as well as *Elizabeth* were adjudged *illegitimate*, and so incapable of the *succession*. But these are *considerations* very *extrinsecal* and *remote* from the matter, as it lies here in the contest between us.
7. I shall onely, for conclusion, observe, that if, as he saith, the *Kingdome* were for *Religion's* sake affected to *Queen Mary*, it could not certainly be skilfull, or *popular*, or any way *Politick* in them that thus desired to strengthen themselves, to introduce this change in *Religion*. For whatsoever aid they might hope for, either from *Lutherans* or *Calvinists* at home or abroad, sure they might have hoped for more by the other way, if it be true what he affirms of the *Kingdome* indefinitely, that it was affected to *Queen Mary's Religion*. For that other *Kingdomes* of *Europe* generally were so at that time, there is small question. Sect.

SECT. III.

Queen Elizabeth's illegitimacy answered. The unpolitickness of her Councils of Reforming.

Num. I. **N**OW follows his exceptions to that part of the story which concern *Queen Elizabeth*; The first by the by, Thus,

2. *Queen Elizabeth being by Act of Parliament recorded a Bastard, and so pronounced by two Popes, and therefore mistrusting all her Catholick subjects, who she feared did adhere to the Queen of Scots title, in which she was then likely to be supported by the King of France her husband, was by the advice of men partly infected with Calvinisme or Lutheranisme, partly ambitious of making their fortunes, cast upon that desperate counsel of changing religion; desperate I say, for see amongst what a number of rocks she was, in consequence of that Counsel forced to sail, witness her adhering to the rebels of all her neighbour Kings, so provoking them thereby, as if the French King had not been taken out of this world, and winde and weather fought against the Spanish Armado, in all likelihood she had been ruined, especially her Catholick subjects being so provoked as they were, by most cruell and bloody Laws: but this by the by: though from hence the Reader may judge of reason of changing religion in her time, and what a solid foundation the Church of England hath.*

3. That *Queen Elizabeth* was by Act of Parliament recorded a bastard; hath no farther truth in it, than is of force against *Queen Mary* also, The same Act of Parliament affirming the marriages with *Queen Katharine*, and *Anne of Bolen* void, and their children *Mary* and *Elizabeth* illegitimate, and so involving them equally under the same censure.

4. Nay, if there were any force in this (as this Gentleman by mentioning it is obliged to think there is) it must be much more to *Queen Maries* disadvantage, for 'tis certain that upon the birth of *Queen Elizabeth*, 'twas enacted by Parliament, that the marriage with *Katharine* was null, because incestuous, and so this with *Anne* lawfull (which certainly it

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was, if the former was incestuous and the resolution of the Universities and most learned men, not onely in England, but at Paris, and elsewhere was, that it was of such a nature, as it could not by the Pope's power be dispensed with, being so contrary to the law of God) and by the same act Elizabeth is declared heir of the Kingdome, in case the King should have no heir male, and Oath of Allegiance taken to the King and to his heirs by Anne the mother of Elizabeth. And to conclude, the subsequent act, that decreed the succession, and establish'd it first in Edward, then in Mary, then in Elizabeth, by which it was that Mary did actually ascend to the throne, was equally favourable to both of them.

6. And so still if any thing were to be concluded from this Gentleman's proœmial consideration, it still lies more against Queen Mary, than against Queen Elizabeth, if not in respect of the merit of the cause (on which this Gentleman will give me leave to suppose it was, that our stories tell us, that the Pope had given Cardinal Campeius his Legate a private Bull, much in favour of the King's pretensions, but kept it under some restraint till he saw how the Emperour's affairs in Italy would succeed) yet in respect of the several declarations against the one, and but one onely against the other, and that how well founded, is easie to discern, if this were a place for such disputes.

7. But it is not so, much lesse for the other Politick considerations that here follow, whether the counsel of re-excluding the Papacy, and proceeding to a farther Reformation in her Kingdomes, were a desperate Counsel or no, For if to this Gentleman's arguments I shall grant it were so, the conclusion will be onely this, that her action was unskilful in secular considerations, from which it is no way consequent, that it was more than, as Prince, she had power to doe, or impious in the sight of God, or that that, which being built on so feeble a foundation, proved yet competently successfull, is by this means concludible to have been unlawful and null, for in that alone can be founded the truth of the suggestion here, that we that adhere to her Reformation, must be adjudged schismatics.

Sect. IV.

The Ordination of Bishops in Queen Elizabeths time. Mr. Mafons Record. Introducing of Turcisme.

Num. I. **W**Hat remains on this head of *Queen Elizabeth*, as the narration after this long *Proueme*, the *5^{year}* after an acknowledged (yet at large) *παράγρον*, will be soone dispatch't; It is thus,

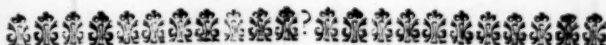
2. How far *Master Mason* can justify the ordination of *Queen Elizabeths Bishops*, I will not now examine; but certaine it is, that the *Record* (if there be such an one) hath a great prejudice of being forged, since it lay some fifty years unknowne amongst the *Clamors* against the flagrant act, and no permission given to *Catholikes* to examine the ingenuity of it, but howsoever it is nothing to our purpose, for whatsoever material mission they had by an external consecration, those *Bishops*, who are said to have consecrated them, are not so much as pretended to have given them order to preach the *Dectrine*, or exercise the *Religion* they after did, which is the true meaning and effect of mission. I cannot end without noting in his 24. Parag: the foundation upon what he himselfe saies his whole designe relies; which is, that because the recession from the *Roman Church* was done by those, by whom, and to whom onely the power of rights belonged legally, viz the *King* and *Bishops* of this *Nation*, therefore it is no *Schisme*; that is, whatsoever the reason of dividing hath been, even to turne *Turkes*, or for violating never so fundamental points of *Religion*, yet it had not been *Schisme*.

3. What *Mr. Mafons Records* are, and of how good and unquestionable authority, I leave to the view of his *Book*, which sets downe all so particularly, and irrefragably, that nothing can be more contrary to the *Gentlemans* interests, than the most strict examination of that whole matter, in order to the vindicating and justifying this truth, that the succession of *Bishops*, and order *Ecclesiastical* hath been regularly preserved in our *Church*, at that time, when alone the *Romanist* accuseth us for the interruption of it, i. e. in *Queen Elizabeths reformation*. (To which head of discourse it is not amisse to

adde the resolution of Cudsemin the Jesuite, de desper: *Calvini causâ*, cap. 11. that the English Nation are not *Hereticks*, because they remain in a perpetual succession of *Bishops*.)

4. Which being the only thing that in that *Seet*. 16. I purposed to conclude from Mr. *Masons* worke, and the *Records* by him produced, it lyes not on me to prove that they which ordained those *Queen-Eilizabeth-Bishops*, gave them order to preach the *Doctrin* they after did, or to examine the truth of his suggestion, that this is the true meaning and effect of *Missi-on*. It may suffice that they which consecrated them, gave them the same power which themselves derived by succession from the *Apostles*, and that was sufficient to authorize them to preach all *Apostolical* doctrine, and if they preacht any other, let it appeare, and I shall never justify their preaching. But that is not attempted here, and therefore I have herein no farther matter, that exacts reply from me.
5. For as to his parting blow, which he cannot omit, in reply to *Seet*. 20. certainly it hath little impression on my discourse in that place, which doth not inquire what is unlawful or criminous *Universally*, for then sure I should have acknowledged that the bringing in *Turcisme*, or violating fundamental points of Religion had been such, but peculiarly and precisely this, what is *Schisme*, in that one notion of *Schisme*, as that is a voluntary separation from our Ecclesiastical Superiours; of which that we are not, or cannot be guilty, when we act in perfect concord, compliance and subordination to all those to whom the right of superiority legally belonged, is I suppose, so manifest, that it can need no farther proof.
6. As for any such act of lawful Superiors in bringing in *Turcisme*, or violating fundamental points, I should not be apt to stile that *Schisme* (any more than I would call perjury, lying, or incest, simple fornication) it being in the first part of the instance, *Apostasie* and total defection from *Christ*, which I hope is a little more than denying the *Popes Universal Pastorsbip*, or *Infalibility* of the Church (in which consists his grand species of *Schisme*) and in the second, *Herefie*, and the grossest sort of *Schisme* together, that of departing from the

the *unity* of the *Faith*, which being by me *Chap. 8.* distinctly handled, as a second *species* of *schisme*, all that I need here say to this *Gentleman's* exception, is, that I indeavour'd to speak as *distinctly*, and not as *confusedly* as I could, and therefore did not mix things that were *distant*, and therefore did not speak of that second *kinde* of *schisme* at the same time when I propos'd to speak of the *first* onely, and upon this account onely said nothing to it in that *Chapter*. And I hope this was but my duty to do, agreeably to all rules of *method*, and so that he might very well have spared that *animadversion* which he saith he could *not end without noting*.



CHAP. VIII.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the eighth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The Division of Schisme. An Answer to many Questions about Schism, A retortion.

- Num. 1. **I**N proceeding to the view of Chap. 8. this Gentleman without any cause is pleased to change the division of the second sort of schisme there handled, into another, which it seems was more sutable to his understanding, and then to make two light skirmishes against the discourse of that Chapter. He begins thus,
2. In his 8th Chapter, as farre as I understand, he divideth Schisme into formal, that is, breach of unity; and material, that is, breach of Doctrine or Customes, in which the Church was united: the former he brancheth into subordination to the Pope, of which enough hath been said; and breach of the way provided by Christ for maintaining the unity of faith, the which he puts in many subordinations without any effect, For let us ask, if inferior Clergie-men dissent from their own Bishops, but not from their Metropolitan, in matter of faith, is it Schisme? he will answer, No: If a Metropolitan dissent from his Primate, but agree with the rest of the Patriarchs, is it schisme? I think he must say, No: If a Patriarch dissent from the first, but agree with the rest, is it schisme? No: If a Nation or a Bishop dissent from the rest of the General Councel, is it schism? still I believe he will answer, No: Where then is schisme provided against? or where truly is there any subordination in Faith? if none of these are subject, and bound to their Superiors or Universals in matters of faith?

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3. What my *division* there is, will be obvious enough to any man's *understanding*. In the third *Chap:* the *foundation* had been laid in the *opposition* betwixt *Schisme* and *Ecclesiastical Unity*. and as the *unity* was the conserving all due *relations*, whether of *subordination*, or *equality*, wherein each member of *Christ's Church* is concerned one toward another, so there were two *prime* branches of *schisme*, the one against the *subordination* which *Christ* settled in his *Church*, the second against the *mutual charity*, which he left as his *Legacy* among *Christians*. And the former of these being discussed at large in order to the *present* debate, in the 8. *Chapter*, the method led me to the latter of them, to consider *Schisme*, as it is an *offence* against the *mutual unity*, *Peace*, and *Charity*, which *Christ* left, and prescribed among *Christians*; And that I might be sure not to *streighten* the bounds of this sort of *Schism*, or omit any thing, that can, by any rule of *discourse*, be placed in the *borders* or *confints* of it, by the means either to lay *charge* on us, or render our *Vindication* the clearer, I distributed it into as many parts, as in my opinion the matter could by any be thought to beare, *i. e.* into *three Species*,
 1. A *breach* in the *Doctrines* or *Traditions* (together with the *institutions* of *Christ*, his *Apostles*, and the *Primitive Church*, whether in *government*, or *observances*.)
 2. An *offence* against *external peace* or *communion Ecclesiastical*.
 3. The *want* of that *Charity* which is due from every *Christian* to every *Christian*.

The first of these againe subdivided and considered, 1. in the *grosse*, as it is a *departing* from the *rules* appointed by *Christ* for the *founding* and *upholding* *unity* of *Doctrine*, &c.
 2. in *particular*, the asserting of any *particular doctrine*, contrary to *Christ's* and the *Apostolical* pure *Churches* establishment.

4. The *Scheme* being thus laid as *regular*, and as *comprehensive*, as I could devise 1. here is not one word said to expresse any cause of *dislike* or *exception* to it; and yet 2. it is quite laid aside, and another of *formal* and *material Schisme*, &c. substituted instead of it, upon what *temptation* or *designe*,
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save onely a *willingnesse* to gaine somewhat by the *shuffe* and *confusion*, more than the *distinctnesse* of *discourse* could yeild him, I cannot divine.

5. As it is, I yet discern not the *particular advantages* he had in his *intuition*, but suppose them *latent* and *reserved*; For to his *special discovery* that he means to make by *asking* (and supposing answers to) many *questions* proportionable to the several links in the *subordination*, the account will be easie enough, that as long as any *particular Bishop* remains in the due *subordination* to his *Canonical superiors*, so long the departure of any *clergie* man that is under his *jurisdiction*, from that *obedience* which *Canonically* he owes him, is in him that is thus guilty of it, an act of *schisme*.
6. But then 1. when instead of *departure* he puts *dissent* (which may belong to *light* matters, wherein liberty of *dissent* from *Superiors*, is yeilded to all men, or to *greater* matters, without departing from *obedience* or *Communion*) this is not fairly done, this difference having a visible influence on the matter.
7. *Secondly*, when of the *inferiour clergie-man's dissent* from his own *Bishop*, he makes me answer that it is not *schisme*, if it be not from his *Metropolitan*, I never gave him my letter of *Proxie* to doe so: But on the other side, if the *dissent* be supposed to be improved into a *departure* (which alone makes *schisme*) I shall not doubt to pronounce it *schisme*, unlesse he have first made his *appeal* from his *Bishop* to his *Metropolitan*, and by him and his *Councel* of *Bishops* be adjudged to be in the *right*, and then if his *Bishop* by that *judgment* be reduced to order, he may not, he cannot again without *schisme* depart from him.
8. *Thirdly*, when from *Primates* he ascends to *Patriarchs*, as if that *latter* had a *power superiour* to the *former*, and again from the *Patriarchs* to the *first Patriarch*, i. e. the *Bishop of Rome*, this he knows hath no place with us, who acknowledge no power of any *Patriarch* above a *Primate*, no *supremacie* over all in the *Bishop of Rome*, but yet allow them and him (proportionably to the Πατρις Σίμων, if that will content him) that *Primacie* of order, which by the *antient Canons*, is allowed them.

Fourthly,

9. Fourthly, whatsoever concerning these several steps from the lowest Clergie man to the first of Patriarchs, he phantasies to be answered by us; and from thence concludes, that then *schism* is no way provided against, is visibly much more true of any Romanist; For certainly if he dissent not from the Bishop of Rome, it must be no *schisme*, in him though he dissent from his own Bishop, his own Archbishop, Primate, and Patriarch, and if he doe dissent from him, 'tis not his consenting with all his inferior Governors, that will stand him in stead for his vindication.
10. And therefore if what he hath formed against me by his making answer himself to his own questions, be found really to conclude (as he saith it doth) against all *subordination*, 'tis now evident, who is most blameable for it, he doubtlesse, that hath divolved all into the Monarchike supremacy of the Pope, and permits us not to consider, what any other our immediate superiors require of us.
11. Lastly, what he puts into my mouth by way of answer, concerning *subordination* to a General Council, that if a nation or Bishop dissent from the rest of a General Council, still it is not *schisme*, unlesse, as I said, there be deceit in substituting the word Dissent, for Departure or Recession, I shall no way acknowledge the answer which he believes I will make; For certainly I acknowledge, as much as he, or any man, the authority of a General Council against the dissents of a nation, much more of a particular Bishop. And these were misadventures enough to be noted in one Paragraph.

Sect. II.

The sufficiency of the few heads resolved on by the Apostles. The notion of Fundamentals. The Canon of Ephesus concerning it. The definition of the Council of Florence. Many Churches have not betrayed this trust. Christian practice to be super-added. The few things preserved by Tradition.

Num. 1. **N**EXT he proceeds to another part of the discourse of that Chapter, concerning the heads resolved on by the Apostles,

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Num. I. **N**Ext he proceeds to another part of the discourse of that Chapter, concerning the heads resolved on by the Apostles,

postles, in order to planting Christian life, and to that he thus offers his exceptions.

2. But, saith the Doctor, the Apostles resolved upon some few heads of special force and efficacy to the planting of Christian life through the world, and preaching and depositing them in every Church of their plantation. Truly I doe not know what a Catholick professeth more, so that by the word few, he meaneth enough to forme a Religion, and Christian life, and will shew us a Church which hath not betrayed the trust deposited; for if there be none, what availeth this depositing? if there be any, cleave it is that it preserved it by Tradition; if there be a question whether it hath or no, againe I demand to what purpose was the depositing, so that if the Doctor would speak aloud, I doubt he would be subject to as much jealousie, as he saith Grotius was.

3. That what I affirme, as he confesseth conformably, to the Catholikes profession, may be as full and explicite as he can desire, I doubt not to expresse my meaning to be, that the few heads, that the Apostles resolved on, were sufficient both for number and efficacy, or in * Athanasius his language, ἀὐτάρχεις πρὸς ἀναγερτὴν πάντων ἀσεβειῶν, ὁρτῶσιν δὲ εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ, sufficient for the averting all impiety, and establishment of all piety in Christ; And for his satisfaction therein, I referre him to the Treatise of Fundamentals, printed since that of Schisme, of which the onely designe was to insist on this, as the grand notion of Fundamentals, such as were by the Apostles and Christ himselfe, deemed most proper and effectual to plant Christian life in a world of Jewes, and Gentiles, and briefly to set downe and enumerate all those that the Apostles thought thus necessary.

4. To which I shall now adde one observation, that this sufficiency of the foundation by them laid and somewhat explained (on occasion of Heretical opposers) by the Council of Nice, &c. was such, that the Ephesine Council following that of Nice, 106. yeares, made a decree, ἐπεὶν τίςιν μὴδὲν ἐξ-ῆναι προσέτιν ἄλλαν συνῆθεσιν, ἢ ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, &c. that it should not be lawfull for any man to produce, write, or compose any beliefe beside that which was established by the

Fathers

* Epist. ad
Epist.

Fathers at Nice, and that they which should dare to compose or offer any such to any that would from Gentilisme, Judaisme, or whatever Heresie convert to the acknowledgment of the truth, if they were Bishops, should be deposed from their Bishopricks, if Laymen, anathematized, &c. Can. 7.

5. And this authority being prest by the Greeks to the Latines, in the Council of * Florence, and that with this smart expression, *ἡδεῖς ἐγκαλέσει ἀπέλυσαι τίςως, εἰ μὴ τις ἐν μαθηματικῇ*, *Sess. 10.* No man will accuse the Faith (that which those Fathers had profest) or charge it of imperfection, unlesse he be mad, Concil. 1.7.p.642. A. The Latines answer is but this, that that Canon did not forbid, *ἑτέρον ἔχουσιν σύμφωνον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐν τῇ πίστει*, another explication agreeable to the truth contained in that Crede, acknowledging that it did forbid *διαφορὰν ἢ ἀντιθέσιν*, difference as well as contrariety (pag.644.b) and even for such a bare explication they counted not that lawfull for any but the Fathers convened in O Ecumenical Synods, citing it from Aquinas, 2a. 2a. qu. 1:ar.10. and adding that he spake, *περὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν συμβόλου. ὑπερὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, of any Creed whatsoever which was common to the whole Ib.p.641.D. Church.
6. And accordingly there follows out of the Epistle of Celestine to Nestorius, *ἡ πίστις ἡ παραδοθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὅτε περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτε μὴ αὐτῶν ἀπαίρει*, *Ib.p.644.D.* The believe delivered by the Apostles requires neither addition nor diminution.
7. In all which, how they are concerned, who impose so many new articles of believe upon their owne Churches, and upon all that desire Communion with them, I leave to each Romanist to consider, and shall onely adde the words of the Catechism taken out of the workes of Costerus, Petrus de Soto, and others, and set out by command of the Archbishop of Triers, *resp.ad 2. qu. Neque ulla unquam ex titis heresis, qua non hoc symbolo damnari potuerit*, There was never any Heresie which might not be condemned by the Apostles Creed. It were well we might be allowed the benefit of this tryal.
8. And now having given this pledge of my readinesse to answer his questions, though I discern not any obligation, arising from my former discourse, to lye upon me, yet I shall not be

so nice or sparing of my paines, as to deny him a clear account also of his subsequent demands, but shall speak as loud as he would wish, and tell him first to the first demand, that as to those few heads I spoke of, I can, blessed be God, shew him Churches enough, which have not betrayed the trust deposited; The Church of England, even now, under the saddest persecution, hath not been tempted to betray that trust, the Church of Rome, through all the Prosperity and Splendor, and Grandeur, which it hath long enjoyed, and which, the Historian tells us, *acrioribus stimulis animum explorant*, hath as yet held out thus farre: I meane hath retainnd those few heads, and in that respect is not accused by us to have betrayed that trust (I wish it were as blamelesse in all things else, particularly in that wherein our present debate is most concerned, in imposing new Articles of Faith on all Christians, and her own infallibility for the first of them.)

9. The same I can as freely affirm of all other National Churches, that I know of, confining my discourse still to the small (yet in the Apostles opinions sufficient) number of heads of special force to the planting of Christian life through the world.

10. And so as this Gentleman is much disappointed in his expectation, that I should not be able to name any Church that hath not betrayed the trust deposited, so I must professe to him, I think it as reasonable, that they that agree in believing and conserving those few pretious heads of truth, designed to so glorious an end, as is the peopling a world with a peculiar colonie of inhabitants, all uniformly zealous of good workes, should all joyne hands and hearts, to adde that superstructure to the foundation, pure, immaculate, Elevated, Heroical, i.e. Christian practice, to the untainted believe of these few things.

11. And then how much blame (by force of that Canon of Ephesus) most justly belongs unto them that make it their great interest to quarrel, divide from, and anathematize, all others, who cannot believe all other things which they chance to believe, though they know they agree with them in all that the Apostles thus thought necessary to be agreed in; & indeed how contrary this is, and destructive to this superstructure, of which Charity in one principall ingredient, and so to the designe of lay-

laying the *foundation*, though not to the *foundation* it selfe, I shall leave this *Gentleman* and every sober *Christian* to consider, and if he judge not as I doe, yet I shall not ~~exaggerate~~ number it among the *prodigies* of the *age*, or indeed thinke *stranger* of it, than I have long done of the great *distance* betwixt *Reason* and *Passion* in the same sort of creatures, *Man*, and (God knowes too oft) in the same *Individual* creature, the same *Man* and *Christian*.

12. Having gone thus farre in ready obedience to this *Gentlemans* lightest intimation of his pleasure, in *satisfaction* to his *first* demand, I shall in the same humour proceed without all reserve to the next, doubting as little as he, but that these few things (all *justice* must allow our discourse to be *coherent*, and so to adhere to the same *subject* with which we began) have been preserved in each *Church* by *Tradition*, and then to the third, that there is no place of *doubt* concerning the *fact*, and so of *question*, whether they have or no, and if by thus *speaking aloud* to every of his demands, I render my selfe *subject* to as much *jealousie* as I say *Grotius* was, I shall not accuse him as my *tempter*, but onely support and *comfort* my self, that I have retained as much *innocence* as I alwaies thought *Grotius* had done, and by declaring my meaning thus *clearly*, and *professing* that I mean no whit more than I say, I see no place for *jealousie* remaining to any.
13. If to believe the *Apostles Creed* to be conveyed down to us by *tradition* in every *national Church* from the *Apostles* time to this, be any *heresie*, I am visibly guilty of it, and need not have my words put upon the *rack* (as *Grotius's* have been) to extort a more explicite *confession* from them.

SECT. III.

Submission without opinion of infallibility. The appeal to the Fathers of the first 300 years, and the four General Councils, to what it belongs. The silence of the first times no advantage to the Romanist. Two Questions of Additaments to Faith; The way of debating each of them.

NAM. I. **H**IS last exception to this Chapter is to our profession of humility and temper, which it seems those of our religion must not be permitted to assume to themselves (and which I was no farther so insolent to assume, than as it is observable in the peculiarity of the frame of the Church of England's Reformation) Thus,

2. I cannot but admire indeed the great temper he professeth men of his religion have, in choosing of Doctrines, to wit, their submission to the three first Ages, and the four first Councils, but I confesse it is a humility I understand not, first to professe, they know not whether their teachers say true or no (that is, that they are fallible) and then to hold under pain of damnation what they say. Another piece of their humility is in submitting to ages, where very few witnesses can be found, in regard of the rarity of the Authors and the little occasion they had to speak of present controversies. A third note of humility is, that whereas the fourth Council was held about the midst of the fifth Age, these lovers of truth will stand to it, but not to the fourth Age precedent, or that very Age in which it was held, so humble they are to submit to any authority, that toucheth not the questions in present controversie, but where doe they finde Christ's Church shall be judge in three Ages, and fail in the fourth, or that the Councils in the fifth Age shall be sound, but not the Fathers.
3. It is very hard, it seems, to please this Gentleman. Our humility is one while by him censured as really too great, another while the want of it is our crime, and we equally to be scoffed at on both accounts.
4. It is a criminous excesse of humility forsooth, to submit to those, of whom we first professe not to know that they are
in-

infallible. But as long as we doe verily believe they doe actually affirm truth, why may we not *submit* to them, though we *know* not that they are *infallible* ? For certainly I may *submit* to my *natural*, or *civil parent* in this manner, obey him in all his *commands* (supposing, as now I doe, that none of his *commands* are by me apprehended to be *unlawful*, as none of these *Councils definitions*, as by us believed to be, contrary to the Word and Will of God) though yet I neither account him *inerrable* nor *impeccable*. But of this I have spoken already Chap:1. Sect:3.

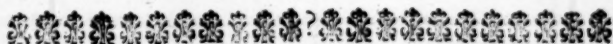
5. What he adds of *holding under pain of damnation what they say*, is in this place an *insertion* of this Gentleman's, no word being said of it in that *section*, to which his words are confronted, and having elsewhere spoken to that, I abstain from adding more at this time.
6. In the next place it seems our *humility* is too scanty, for when I have *submitted* to be judged by the *scriptures*, the consent of the first 300 years, or the four *General Councils*, whether we have departed from the *Apostolical doctrines* or *traditions*, this, saith he, is *submitting* to *Ages* where very few witnesses can be found &c. But I desire it may be remembered, what there I speak of, (for perhaps this Gentleman's haste hath not permitted him to advert to it) the *contesting* or *innocence* in this, that we of the Church of England have not departed from the *Apostolick doctrine* and *traditions*; And for this whether could the *appeal* more properly be directed, than to the *scriptures*, the *Conservatorie* of the *Apostles written doctrine*, and the three first *Centuries*, the *conservatorie* of their *traditions*, It being unimaginable that any thing should be so *per saltum* conveyed to us from the *Apostles*, as to leap over those three *Centuries* next to them, without leaving any footstep *discernible* among them.
7. For let the *witnesses* of those times, the *authors* that remain to us be never so few, yet unlesse by some of their *hands* we be directed what the *Apostles* delivered to them, how can we know what was *delivered* ? It being all one in this respect not to be, as not to appear, *Tradition*, even *Apostolical*, being no more than an *empty name*, unlesse we suppose our selves
able

able to *vouch* some competent *testifiers* of the *Tradition*.

8. And if to these two, I have added the *four General Councils*, because they were held against the great *disturbers* of the *unity* of the *Faith*, and they maintained the *true faith* by these two special *weapons*, the *Scriptures* and *Tradition*, testified by the *first Writers*, and our *Church* hath taken in their *Creed* into our *Liturgies*, and their *definitions* into our *Articles* of religion, and so I have by that *appeal* so farre testified our *non-departure* from the *Faith*, I hope there is no *offence* in this, no degree of *defect* in our *humility*.
9. As for the *little occasion* these *first* had to *speak* of the *present controversies*, that sure cannot be *objected* against our *procedure* (any more than the *paucity* of the *Authors* could) for if the *Romanist* doe but grant this one thing, it will be found a *real prejudice* to his *pretensions*, if (which was the point in hand) the *question* be, whether the *Church of England* have *departed* from the *unity* of the *Apostolick Faith*, denied any *Apostolick Doctrine* or *Tradition*.
10. For in this *Controversie* how shall it be proved, that we have *departed*, unless that *Doltrine* or *Tradition* being specified what it is, it be evidenced also, that it was *delivered* by the *Apostles*, and how can that be evidenced, but by those which within some competent distance of their time, affirm that from them, and how can they be pretended to *affirm* that, if it be granted of them that they had no *occasion* to *speak* of it, and so are utterly *silent* in it.
11. To his last note of *humility* i. e. the next expression of his *scopical humor*, there can be no need of applying any answer, it being no where intimated in that *Treatise* that we are not ready to stand to the *fourth Age*, or that wherein the *fourth Council* was held; All that was said, was, that the three *first Ages*, and the *four General Councils* were competent witnesses of the *Apostolical doctrines* and *traditions*, and I desire any man to name any other that were more *competent* to this purpose, i. e. to *testifie* what the *Apostles* taught, It being certain that whosoever doth (not by *inspiration*) tell us any thing of that kinde, must assume to tell it from them, and as *evident* that all those things (that even now were

were spoken of) which the *Apostles* resolved on, as *heads* of special force to form religion and *Christian* life, were by this means conveyed to us.

12. Mean while other matters there are, which we look on as *additaments* to the *doctrines* of Faith, and so are the subject of a double question, 1. whether they be parts of that faith which was once, or at once delivered to the *saints*, 2. whether not appearing to be so, there be any other just reason to believe, though but by an *humane* Faith, that they have any truth in them.
13. Now of these two questions, as the resolution of the former depends upon those Ages, which alone can convey Tradition to the succeeding, and so still for that we referre our selves to the former *Umpirage*, so of the second, I did not then, because I had not occasion to speak in that place.
14. And if my answer be required now, I shall readily give it, that in matters of this nature the *Opinions* of the *Fathers* of the Church in the most flourishing Ages of it, wherein their writings are most voluminous, and their Learning in Theologie most venerable, are with us of great weight and consideration; we doe (and shall upon all occasions demonstrate our selves to) allow them as full an authority, pay as great and true a reverence to their judgments, endeavour as uniformly to conform our selves to the declarations of their sense, as any sober *Romanists* are by us discerned to doe, or as it can be their interest to doe, in respect of the controversies that lie between us. And so still I discern not, wherein our humility can be judged to fail by those, with whom I now dispute, being content that it should by others be judged excessive.



CHAP. IX.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the ninth
Chapter.*

SECT. I.

*The hinderances of Communion imputable to the Romanist, not
to us. Siquis Ecclesiam non audierit, one of our grounds.
What is meant by Ecclesia.*

NUM. 1.

THE Exceptions to this Chapter are not very great, whether we respect their weight or number, yet upon the same account that the former have been our exercise, these may for a while detain us also.

2. In his 9th Chap: saith he, he pretendeth the Roman Catholic Church is cause of this division, because they desire communion, and cannot be admitted, but under the belief and practice of things contrary to their consciences, of which two propositions, if the second be not proved, the first is vain, and is as if a subject should plead he is unjustly outlawed, because he doth not desire it: Now to prove the latter, he assumeth that the Protestant is ready to contest his Negatives, by grounds that all good Christians ought to be concluded by, what he means by that, I know not, for that they will convince their Negatives by any ground, a good Christian ought to be concluded by, I see nothing lesse.

What then will they contest it by? all grounds a good orthodox Christian ought to be concluded by? If they answer in the Affirmative, we shall ask them whether siquis Ecclesiam non audierit be one of their grounds, and if they say no, we shall clearly disprove their Major, but then their defence is, if any ground, or rule of it self firm and good, speaketh nothing clearly of a point in question, they will contest that point by those grounds, and is not this a goodly excuse?

The

3. The designe of Chap:9. of the *Treatise of Schisme*, is to vindicate us from all guilt of *schisme*, as that signifies offence against *external peace* and *communion Ecclesiastical*, and it being certain that we exclude none from our *Communion*, that acknowledge the *foundation*, and that we desire to be admitted to the like *freedom* of *external communion*, with all members of all other *Christian Churches*, the result is visible, that the hinderances, that obstruct this *freedom*, are wholly imputable to the *Romanist*, such are their *excommunicating* us, and imposing *conditions* on their *communion*, such as we cannot admit of without *sin*, or *scandal*, acting contrary to *conscience*, or making an *unsound confession*.
4. To this all that is answered is, that unlesse this second be proved, *viz:* that such *conditions* are by them imposed on their *communion*, the first, that of our desire of *Communion*, is *vain*; And to this I make no doubt to yeild, for if we may with a *good conscience* be admitted to their *Communion*, and yet wilfully withdraw our selves from it, then I confesse there is no place for this plea of ours; But for the *contesting* of this, there was not then, neither will there now be any place, without *descending* to the *severals* in difference between us (which was beyond the designe either of those, or these *Papers*) and therefore for that all that can be said is, that we are ready to maintain our *Negatives*, by *grounds* that all *good Christians* ought to be concluded by; And because it is here askt, whether *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* be one of those *grounds*, I answer without *question* it is, and so is every other *affirmation* of *Christ*, or the *Apostles*, however made known to us to be such. And I cannot sufficiently admire, why, when it is known to all *Romanists*, that we are ready to be judged by *Scripture*, and when it is certain that *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* are the words of *Scripture*, he should suppose (as here he doth) that we will say, *No*: i. e. that we will *refuse* to be tried or concluded by that.
5. Here I must suppose that by *Ecclesiam* he understands the *Roman* (which he calls *Catholick*) *Church*; but then this interpretation or understanding of his, is one thing, and those words of *Christ* are another, for they belonging to the

Church indefinitely, under which any man, that hath offended, is regularly placed, doe to a member of the particular *Roman Church* signifie that, as to an *English man* the *Church* wherein he lives, and that, is not the *Roman*, or the *Universal Church* of God, and that is more than the *Roman*.

6. And so by acknowledging that ground of *Scripture*, we are no way obliged to believe all that that particular *Church* of *Rome*, to which we owe no obedience (and are as ready to contest that by the same means also) exacts of us.
7. As for our contesting any point by that ground or rule which speaketh nothing clearly of it, I gave him no occasion to make any such objection against us, and withall have said what was sufficient to it *Chap. 8. Sect. 3. n. 7.* and so need not here farther attend to it.



CHAP. X.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the tenth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The Romanists want of charity wherein it consists.

Num. I. IN his view of Chap: 10. he takes notice of two charges by us brought in against them, 1. judging, 2. despising their brethren, but contents himself with a very brief reply, and that onely to one of them, Thus,

2. In his 10th Chap: he saith, we judge them and despise them: as to the first I have often wondred, and doe now, that men, pretending to learning and reason, should therein charge us with want of charity, for if our judgment be false, it is error, not malice, and whether true or false, we presse it upon them out of love and kindnesse, to keep them from the harm, that according to our belief may come upon them, but since they deny they are Schismaticks, and offer to prove it, we must not say it: yet I think we ought, untill we have cause to believe them, since our highest tribunal, the Churches voice, from which we have no appeal, hath passed judgment against them.

3. The want of charity, with which we charge the Romanist in this matter, is not their warning us of our danger, which may reasonably be interpreted love, and kindnesse, and care to keep us from harm, and if they erre in admonishing, when there is no need of it, there is nothing still but charity in this; but it is their casting us out of their Communion on this score, that we consent not to all their Dictates, that we withdraw our obedience from those, who without right usurped it over us, their anathematizing and damning us, and being no way perswadable to withdraw these sanguinary Censures, unlesse we will change or dissemble our beliefs, and as there cannot

be *charity* in this, any thing that can tend to the *mending* of any, for how can it be deemed any *act* of *reformation* in any, to forsake his present *perswasions*, whilst he is not convinced of any *error* in them, and surely the bare *damning* of us is not any such matter of *conviction*; so there is a double *uncharitable*ness, 1. of being *angry* without *cause*, and expressing that *anger* in very *ill language*, of which that of *Heretick* and *Schismatick* is the mildest, and each of those *cause*less too, if they be affixt to any *particular man*, much more to a *whole Church*, before either of them be sufficiently *proved* against us: For certainly as the *Romanist's judgment* concerning us, if it be *false*, may yet be but *error* not *malice* (by which this *Gentleman* here justifies himself from want of *charity*) so our *opinions* and *perswasions* of the *erroneousness* of their *doctrines* and *sinfulness* of their *practices*, if possibly they be not *true* also, are still as *justly* and *equitably* capable of the same *excuse*, that they are *involuntary errors*, and then by their own rule, cannot justly fall under such their *rigid censures*, which belong to none but *voluntary offenders*.

4. Secondly, the *indeavouring* to *insnare* and *pervert* *fearful* or *feeble* minds, using these *terrors*, as the *Lion* doth his *roaring*, to *intimidate* the *prey*, and make it not *rational*ly but *ast*onishingly, *fall down* before them. And as the offering due *grounds* of *conviction* to him that is in *error* may justly be deemed *charity*, so this tender of nothing but *frights*, without offer of such *grounds* of *conviction*, is but leading men into *temptation* to *sin* against *conscience*, to *dissimulation* &c. and so the *hating* the *brother* in the *heart*, *Lev. 19.* the more than *suffering sin* upon him.

5. To these might be, not unseasonably, added a farther consideration, which hath carried *weight* with the *Fathers* of the *Church* in all times, that seeing the *Censures* of the *Church* were left there, *πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ἢ πρὸς κατὰλυσιν*, for *edification* not for *destruction*, and are onely designed to *charitative* ends, (must never be used to any other purpose) therefore when *obedience* it utterly *cast off*, the *band*, be it of *subordination* or *co-ordination* so broken, that the issuing out of *Censures* cannot expect to *compose*, but onely to *widen* the *breach*,

not

not to *mollifie* but *exasperate*, there *Christian* prudence is to in-
deavour by *milder* waies, what *severity* is not likely to effect,
and so the *thunderbolts* to be laid up, till there may be some
probability of *doing good* by them.

6. But this is not the case, as it really lies betwixt *Rome* and
us, save onely as *a majori* it may be *accommodated* to us; we
have cast off neither *obedience* to any, to whom it was *due*,
nor *charity* to those, who have least to us, nor *truth*, to the
utmost of our *understandings*, and yet we must be cast out
and *anathematized*, and after all that, condemned as *wilful*
schismaticks, i. e. *διωκόμενοι*, *dividers* and *condemners* of
our selves, because we quietly submit to that *fate*, which will
cost us too dear, the *wounding* and *disquiet* of our *conscience*,
to qualifie our selves for a *capacity* of getting out of it.
7. What he adds of their *highest tribunal*, the *Churches voice*,
which hath passed this *judgment* against us, belongs I suppose
to those *Bishops* of *Rome*, which have sent out their *Bulls* a-
gainst us, and therefore I must in reason adde, that those are
principally guilty of this *schisme*, and so their *successors* prin-
cipally obliged to *retract* and *reform* the *sin* of it, and after
them, all others in the *order* and *measure*, that they have par-
taken in this *guilt* with them.
8. And there can be no greater *charity* than to beseech all in
the *bowels* of *Christ* to return to the *practice* of that *charity*,
which hath too long been exiled from among *Christian* Pro-
fessors.



CHAP. XI:

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the last Chapter.

SECT. I.

Of the present state of the Church of England. The Catholicks promise for eternitie to his Church. Roma æterna. Particular Churches perishable. Mr. Hooker's prediſtion of the Church. The power of the ſecular Magiſtrate to remove Biſhops Sees, not to make Biſhops. The Council of Florence concerning the Popes ſupremacy &c. Marcus's opinion of it. Joſeph: Methonenſi: his answer briefly examined.

Num. I. **T**HE last part of this Gentleman's indeavour is to perſwade men that the Church of England is not onely perſecuted but deſtroyed, and of that he means to make his advantage to fetch in *Proſelytes*, being out of his great charity very ſenſible of their eſtate, unwilling they ſhould ſit any longer in the vault or charnel houſe to communicate with ſhades, when they are invited to a fairer ſunſhine, in a vital and very flouriſhing ſociety. Thus then he begins his reply to the 11th Chapter,

2. In the laſt Chapter he complaineth of the Catholicks for reproaching them with the loſſe of their Church, and arguing with their diſciples in this ſort : Communion in ſome Church, even externally, is neceſſary, but you cannot now communicate with your late Church, for that hath no ſubſiſtence, therefore you ought to return to the Church from whence you went out ; truly in this caſe I think they ought to pardon the Catholick who hath, or undoubtedly is perſwaded he hath a promiſe for eternitie to his Church, and experience in the execution of that promiſe for 16 Ages, in which none other can compare with him, and ſees another Church judged by one of the learnedſt and moſt prudent perſons

Hooker's
Eccl: Pol:

persons confessedly that ever was among them, to be a building likely to last but 80 years, and to be now torn up by the roots, and this done by the same means by which it was setled; I say if this Catholick believe his eyes, he is at least to be excused; and though I know the Doctor will reply his Church is still in being, preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained, yet let him remember how inconsequent this is, to what he hath said before, for ask him how it doth remain in being, if there be no such Bishops or Presbyters among them, for his defense against the Church of Rome is, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters: from whence it will follow, that as they were set up by a secular authority, so are they pulled down, and unbishoped by another secular authority; if it be said the Parliament that pulled them down had not the three bodies requisite to make a Parliament, no more had that which set them up, for the Lords Spiritual were wanting both in Parliament and Convocation, so that there was as much authority to pull them down as to set them up: but it will be replied that though they are pulled down, yet are they still Bishops, viz: the character remains upon them.

Alas what is their Character, if their mission of Preaching and Teaching be extinguished, which follows their jurisdiction, which jurisdiction the Doctor makes subject to the secular authority, so that whatsoever characters their Bishops and Presbyters pretend to have, they have according to his principles no power over the laity, and so no character can be made of any Bishop as head and Pastor, and of the People as body and flock, and consequently their Church is gone.

But we account our selves Bishops and Priests not from an authority dependent upon Princes, or inherited from Augustus or Nero, but from Peter and Paul, and so shall stand and continue, whatsoever Princes or secular powers decree; when they according to their doctrines and arguments are not to wonder if they be thrown down by the same authority that set them up, and as the Synagogue was a Church to have an end, so is this with this difference, that the Synagogue was a true Church in reference to a better, but this is a counterfeited & tyrannical one to punish a better.

As concerning the Doctors prayer for Peace and Communion, all good people will joyne with him, if he produce *Fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*, especially if he acknowledge the infallibility of the Church, and supremacy of the Pope, the former is explicated sufficiently in divers Books, the latter is expressed in the Council of Florence in these words, viz. we define that the Holy Apostolical See, and the Bishop of Rome have the primacy over all the world, and that the Bishop of Rome is successor to S. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and truly Christs Vicar, and head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and that there was given him in Saint Peter from Christ a full power to feed, direct and governe the Catholike Church: So farre the Council. Without obeying this, the Doctor is a Schismatick, and without confessing the other, an Heretick, but let him joyne with us in these, all the rest will follow.

3. I shall not here repeat my complaint (if it were indeed such, and not rather a bare proposing of a last foreseen objection against us) knowing how little compassion any sufferings of ours may expect to receive from this Gentleman, I shall onely joyne issue with his renders of proof, that our Church hath now no subsistence; but yet before I doe so, take notice of one part of his arguing, viz. that the Catholike hath, or is undoubtedly perswaded he hath a promise for eternity to his Church. Where certainly the fallacie is very visible, and sufficient to supersede (if he shall advert to it) his undoubted persuasion. For what promise of eternity can this Gentleman here reflect on? undoubtedly that of the Church of Christ indefinitely, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against it, Mat. 16. 18.

4. What is the full importance of that phrase is * elsewhere largely shewed, and need not be here any farther repeated, than that the promise infallibly belongs not to any particular Church, of any one denomination, but to the whole body, Christ will preserve to himselfe a Church in this world, as long as this world lasteth, in despite of all the malice, cunning, or force of men, and devills.

* Annot. on
the place.

5. Now that this is no security, or promise of eternity to any particular Church, whether of Rome or England, any more than

than of *Thyatira* or *Laodicea* (which contrary to any such promise, is threatened to be *Spued* out, *Rev.* 3. 16.) is in it self most evident, because the destroying any one particular Church is reconcileable with *Christs* preserving some other, as the *Species* of mankind is preserved, though the *Gentleman* and I should be supposed to *perish*, and because the *Ἐκκλησία μου*, my Church, which is there the subject of the discourse, is not the *Romanist* (or in that sense the *Catholike*) his Church, as is here suggested, but the Church of *Christ* built upon the foundation of the *Apostles*, of which *Simon* is there said to be one *Πέτρος*, i.e. *stone* or *foundation-stone*, so as he was of other Churches, beside that of *Rome*, and so as others were of other Churches, which he never came neere, and even of this of *Rome*, *Saint Paul* as well as he.

6. From hence therefore, by force of this promise (which as truly belongs to every Church, as it doth to *Rome*, but indeed belongs to no particu'ar, but to the *Christian Church*, to conclude that the Church of *Rome* is eternall, is a first ungrounded persuasion in this Gentleman, the very same, as to conclude a particular is an universal, or that the destruction of one part is the utter dissolution of the whole; and the proof from experience of 16. ages, which is here added, is a strange way of argumentation, such as that *Methusalem* might have used the very day before his death, to prove that he should never dye, and the very same that *Heathen Rome* did use, at the time of their approaching destruction, calling her selfe * *Urbem aternam*, the eternall City, and † *ἡ πόλις αἰώνιος* *Paulw*, *Rome the Heaven-City*, and * *Paulw* *ἡ πόλις*, *Rome a Goddess*, which accordingly had by *Adrian* a Temple erected to it, and the Emperors thereof, and the very name of the place worshipt as a deity (*More Dea, nomenque loci seu numen adbrant*) and all this upon this one score, that it had stood and prospered so long.

7. The like may be affirmed of the Church of the *Jewes*, built upon a promise, which had more of peculiarity to the seed of *Abraham*, than this of *Mat.* 16. can be imagined to have to the Church of *Rome*, and yet that Church was de-

* *Hieron. qu.* 11.
ad *Alga*.

† *Athenens.* l. 1.

* *Goltzius* in
Thebau. Dio in
Adriano Pru-
denzio.

froyed, and nothing more contributed to the *provocation*, and merit of that *destruction*, than their owne *confidence* of being *unperishable*. The best admonition in this respect, is that of the *Apostle*, *Be ye not high-minded but feare*, and *If God spared not the Natural branches, take heed also lest he spare not you*; and this *Gentleman* cannot be ignorant what

* *Rom. 11. 2.* * *Church* it was, that was then capable of this *exhortation*. And the very making this matter of *argument*, and in this respect (not of *purity*, but of *duration*) exalting the *Romanist's Church*, above all other *Churches* in these words [*none other can compare with him,*] as it is one character which determines the speech to the *particular Church* of *Rome*, (for else how can he speak of *others* and affirme that they *cannot compare*) so it is no very *humble*, or consequently *Christian* expression in this *Gentleman*.

8. What he addes out of *Master Hooker*, and applies as the judgement of that *learned man* concerning the *Church* of *England*, yeilds us these farther observations, 1. That in all reason this *Gentleman* must in his former words speak of his *Church* of *Rome*, as that is a *particular Church*, for else how can he after his *Church*, name another *Church*; meaning this of *England*, of which saith he, *Mr. Hooker* speaks? and that will conclude the evident *falsity* of his *assumption*, that by *Christ's promise* eternity belonged to it, for that it cannot doe to any *particular Church*, because the *Universal* may be preserved, when that is destroyed, and the *promise* being made indefinitely to the *Church*, may be performed in any *part* of it.
9. Secondly, That a very small matter will serve turne with this *Gentleman*, to support a *conclusion*, which he hath a mind to inferre, otherwise *Master Hooker's Testimony* had never been produced to this matter. The words of that (truly) most *learned* and *prudent* person, are to be found in his *fifth Book*, *Num. 79.* in the *Conclusion*. The subject of that whole *Paragraph*, beginning pag. 424. is of *Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes*, all intended for the *perpetuity* of *Religion*, which was in his opinion sure to be *frustrated*, by *alienation* of *Church livings*, and this being largely handled by

by him throughout that *Paragraph*, at length he observes, 1. what waste *Covetousnesse* had made in the *Church* by such *commutations*, as were proportionable to *Glancus's change*, giving the *Church* flanel for *Gold*: and 2. how *Religion* it self was made a *Sollicitor* and perswader of *Sacrilege*, signifying, that to give to God, is error, and to take it away againe *Reformation* of error, concluding in these words, *By these or the like suggestions received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian world, they have brought to passe, that as David doth say of Man, so it is in danger to be verified concerning the whole Religion and service of God, the time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten yeers, or if strength doe serve unto fourescore, what followeth, is likely to be small joy for them, whosoever they be that behold it. Thus have the best things been overthrowne, not so much by puissance and might of adversaries, as through defect of Council in them that should have upheld and defended the same.*

10. This is the first importance of that place which the Gentleman hath so disguised in his abbreviation. Mr. Hooker foretells what a destructive influence, *Sacrilege* may have on the whole *Religion* and *Service of God*, observes in certain parts of the *Christian world* (without naming any) that *sacrilegious suggestions* are received with all joy, and putting these two together, presageth sad events to the whole *Religion*, and *service of God*, within threescore and ten, or fourescore yeares, and from hence this Gentleman concludes it Master Hooker's judgement, that the *Church of England* was a building likely to last but fourescore yeares.

11. In what mode and figure this conclusion is thus made from the premisses, he leaves us to divine, who have not sagacity enough to discern it; The conclusion to all mens understanding will most regularly follow thus, that the *Church of England* was so constituted, that all the enemies thereof on either side were never likely to destroy it by arguments, and consequently that the most probable way remaining to Satan to accomplish his designe was, by *sacrilegious violations* to impoverish and subdue the maintainers of it, which as he foresaw very likely to come to passe within the age of a man, so it

would be no joyfull sight when it should come, he was not so unkind to any part of the Church of God, as to be willing to live to see it.

12. And if this Gentleman's inclinations have qualified him for the receiving pleasure or joy in such a spectacle, I shall as little envy him the prosperity which hath thus petrified his bowels, as he shall think fit to envy me the honour of being a member of the purest (being withall the most persecuted) Church.
13. Thirdly, That these words of Mr. Hooker thus pitifully distorted are the onely proof he hath for his assertion, that this Church of ours hath now no subsistence, and that it is now torn up by the roots, A way of arguing very conformable to his characters of a true Church, of which external glory and prosperity must never misse to be one, but very unlike the image of Christ the head, to which his Church the body may be allowed to hold some proportion of conformity, for of him we can give no livelier pourtraiture, than as we finde him crucified between two thieves, whilst the souldiers divide his garments, though they were not over-sumptuous, and cast lots who shall have his vesture.
14. What next follows is an answer to a supposed objection of ours (and that is a farther evidence of what I said, that Mr. Hooker's distorted speech is the onely proof of his proposition) The objection is, that our Church is still in being preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained; and to this objection he will make some answer from our own principles, of which he supposeth this to be one, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters, and saith without any regrets, that this is my defence against the Bishop of Rome.
15. Many replies might be made to take off all appearance of force from this answer. As 1. that this, to which the answer is accommodated, is not my objection. The truth is, I took not on me the objectors part in that place, but evidenced it by clear demonstration, that if twenty years agoe the Church of England was a Church, it must needs be so now, being the very same that then it was, except these bands, as the Apostle once said, who I hope did not cease to be an Apostle by being

ing imprisoned. And when I mentioned the Church of England being preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained, together with multitudes rightly baptized (which sure are all the necessary ingredients in constituting a visible Church) I added, none of which have fallen off from their profession, and then foreseeing the onely possible objection to inferre the Church guilty of schisme, I answered that by remembering the Primitive persecutions and night-meetings, and the very manner of the Romanists serving God in this Kingdom for these many years.

16. And all this is pulled off from the clue, and fumbled together into an objection of mine, supposed to be made against that which the Romanist, without either tender of proof, or reason, had crudely affirmed. But truly I may be believed, that I meant not that affirmation so much respect, as to offer objection against it : And then that is one speedy way of concluding this matter.
17. But then secondly, for that saying of mine, on which he will form his answer to this imaginary objection, tis certain I never said any such thing, as is here suggested : That the supreme Magistrate hath power to erect and translate Patriarchates, and the like, I had affirmed indeed, i. e. to make that a Patriarchal See, which had not formerly been such, so to ennoble a town or city, that according to the Canons of the Church it should become an Episcopate, or Archiepiscopate, or Chief, or Patriarchal See, and my meaning is evident, and not possible to be mistaken by any that understands the Language, and adverts to what he reads.
18. But sure I never said that the secular authority hath power to make Bishops and Presbyters, and there is no question but this Gentleman knows, if he hath read what he answers, that in the Tract of Schisme I never said it.
19. So again it is of daily practice in this Church, as in all others, for the supreme power to change, as that signifies to remove Bishops from one See to another, and so for every lay-Patron in the same sense to change Presbyters : But what is that to the making of Bishops or Presbyters, did ever King or lay-Patron pretend to that ? This is too visible to need insisting on.

Thirdly,

20. *Thirdly*, when he saith there *was as much authority to pull down Bishops and Presbyters in this nation as to set them up*, I might demand, 1. Whether he hath any reason to pretend that *Presbyters* are now *pulled down* in this nation, for this is by him supposed, who inquires by what *authority* they are *pulled down*: 2. Whether he can, either upon mine or his own principles, assume with any colour of truth, that none had any hand in *setting up* the *Bishops* in this *Kingdome*, but those whom here he affirms to have consented to the *pulling* them down, and consequently affirm, that there was as much *authority to pull them down*, as to *set them up*? 3. Whether it have any truth in it, (whether he speak of what was done in *Parliament* in *King Henry's*, or *King Edward's*, or *Queen Elizabeth's* daies) that the *Lords Spiritual* were wanting both in *Parliament* and *Convocation*? 4. What he hath said to make it in the least degree probable, that the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* mission of *preaching* and *teaching* is *extinguished* among us, any more than it was in the *Primitive Church*, when the *Emperour* was not *favourable* to the *profession*, and when the *Jewes* called it *heresie*: And lastly, whether, if no one of these can with any degree of *verity* be answered in the *affirmative*, this be not very immoderate liberty, which this *Gentleman* hath given himself in *affirming* or *supposing* all these, and then adding, that our *portion* is to be lookt for with the *Jewish Synagogue*, as one, so the other, to have an *end*; not considering that he hath as little skill in *revealing secrets*, as even now in *interpreting* *Mr. Hooker's prophecy*, that he cannot yet tell, what *God* hath within his *veil* decreed concerning our *Church*, and which may yet make the greatest speed to follow the *Synagogue's fate*, they which are *cast down*, but not *destroyed*, or they which (to say no worfe) *stand by*, and *rejoice* at it.
21. The *Treatise of Schisme* concludes with a *Prayer for Peace and Communion*, and for the matter of it, we have his seeming confession that *all good people will joyne* in it. But even in such a *Prayer*, wherein *all good people will joyne*, this *Gentleman* will not *joyne* with me, but upon such *termes*, which I shall not undertake, to *qualifie* me for his *favour*, I meane
not

not the *fructus dignos pœnitentia*, such as John Baptist would prescribe, but the penances of this severer confessor, to acknowledge the *Infallibility* of the Church in his notion of the Church, *Supremacy* of the Pope, &c.

22. And all that I shall need to reply is, to beseech him that he will then, without *joyning* with me, pray in *secret*, what I began to him, and endeavour so to qualifie himselfe with *charity* and other *graces*, which may *wing* his prayers unto that holy place, where all *humble Christians* supplications daily meet, and then I shall againe pray God, that i may be found in the number of *those*, that so I may be secured to meet and *joyne* with him, at that *common* throne of *grace*.
23. He is pleased to shut up all with an expression of the *Council of Florence*, to the businesse of the *Popes Supremacy*. To this I might reply that this *definition* is there visibly subscribed, as the act of the *Bishop of Rome, Eugenius IV.* (who was a *liberall* carver and *definer* for himselfe) as may be seen in that very * page, where the words cited will be found, both * *Concil: t. 7.* by the *Seale* of his *Pontificate* there *imprest*, *Saint Peter* on p. 858. edit: the *left hand*, *Saint Paul* on the *right*, and *Eugenius Pp. IV. Paris:* under it; and by the last part of the date in these words, τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἡμετέρας ἐννάτου, in the *ninth year* of our *Pontificate*; which though I shall suppose to be the *mode*, the *Pope* to pronounce the *definition* of the *Council*, yet this was much varied from the *old form*, and the *Council* being dated at *Florence*, in the year of our *Lord 1439.* so near *Rome*, and so farre from the *first times*, where more *simplicity* and just *distribution* of *rights* might be expected, this might be a competent answer to this testimony, and a *vindicating* my self from all *schisme* or *heresie*, that my want of the *obedience* or *confession*, which he requires, might fix on me.
24. But I shall for this once, choose somewhat the *longer way*, and transcribe part of *Marcus* the *Metropolitan* of *Ephesus* his answer, wherein he expresseth his opinion, and others, of that *definition* of the *Council*, as it lies in the * *Apologie* of * *Joseph Methonenis* for that *Council*, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν Πάπαν ὡς then: pro Con- να τῆς Παλειαςχῶν λογισμῶν, ἡτοι ὃ βικαριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πα. cil: Florent: τῆς καὶ διδασκαλον τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀπάντων μάλα σεμνῶς διαφαι- p. 1023.

ποτα, We also account the Pope as one of the Patriarchs, But these doe with great gravity pronounce him Vicar of Christ, and Father and Teacher of all Christians: and this both to them and us is matter of some wonder, how (μάλα σπουδῆς) with so much gravity, they could thus pronounce, what had so little of truth in it.

25. And it is worth recounting here, what for the justifying of that definition Joseph Methonensis was able to reply there to that Bishop (and that reply thought worthy to be inserted into the Acts of the Council) 1. That he doth not say that the Pope is two or three, but only one of the Patriarchs, ἐν ᾧ ἐκκαταστάσει τῆς προέλευσιν, having preeminence among those of the same Order with him.
26. For this he hath, 1. Chrysostome's authority in his 17 Homilie on the Acts, where, he saith, that among the seven there was one, πρῶτος & τὰ πρῶτα ἔχων, one above the rest (and the seven there, were the seven Deacons, and the same preeminence that Stephen then had over them, and all the rest of the world, we shall not deny the Bishop of Rome, especially if, as it follows there, he have the πλεονεξία ἔχειν more grace than all the other Bishops, and will acknowledge, as it is there also, the ἑτερονομίαν κοινῶν, the same ordination of him and all other Bishops.)
27. Secondly, the saying of Christ, that, He that heareth you, heareth me, and the common maxime πάντα ἀρχιερεῖα διαδοχῶν Χριστοῦ εἶναι, that every Bishop is the successor of Christ (But then how came the Bishop of Rome to impropriate that title, to be the only one that all are obliged to bear, when, as he confesses there, ἐν ταῦτα ὡς κοινῶς πρὸς πάντας, This was said in common to them all.)
28. Thirdly, the words of Theodorus Studita (one, by the way, that had been imprisoned for opposing the Bishop of Constantinople, and who did not communicate with that Church, see Zonaras tom: 3. p. 9. & 102.) to the Emperor Michael, that if he doubted of, or disbelieved any thing that had been there resolved, he should command a διατάξις declaration or explication to be sent him from old Rome, ὡς ἀπὸ παλαιῆς & ἑξ ἀρχῆς πατερνευμένης ἐκείνου, how from of old, and from the beginning.

beginning it had been delivered by tradition of Fathers, adding that that was κορυφαία τῆς ἐκκλησίας the uppermost of the Churches of God, of which Peter was πρῶτος ἐν αὐτοῖς, the first that sat Bishop there, unto whom Christ said, *Thou art Peter, &c.* (But all this still amounts to no more, but that Rome was the prime Apostolick See, that might very probably explicate a difficulty to the Emperour, by telling what had been from time to time delivered, and believed in that Church.)

29. Fourthly, the words of the same Theodorus Studita again, in his Epistle to Naukraticus, which speaks of some that had broken off themselves from the body of Christ, from the chief See, in which Christ placed the Keyes of that faith, against which the gates of hell, the mouthes of hereticks had not, should not prevail, (But then still, supposing his testimonie were authentick, this is no more, but that, they which divided from the true doctrine, which he supposed to be at Rome, did in his opinion break off themselves from the body of Christ, that Rome again was the prime See, that it had the Keyes of knowledge and faith intrusted to it by Christ, at the Apostles founding a Church there, but this not exclusively to other Churches, which doubtlesse had those Keyes, as well as she, & that the faith of Christ should never be utterly destroyed by hereticks.)

30. Fifthly, the words of Arcadius a Bishop in the third Council, that of Ephesus, proposing that the words of Celestine the Pope, who was to be named with all reverence, Bishop of the Apostolicall See, should be read, that they might see what care he had of all Churches (and why might not the like be said of any other truly Christian Bishop?) And so the like speech again of Cyrill of Alexandria, that the letter of Celestine, the most holy Bishop of the holy Apostolick Church (a title which belonged, and was ordinarily given to other Sees, beside that of Rome) ὡς τῆς πρεσβυτερίας ἀγαπῶντος αὐτοῦ might be read with due honour or respect (but sure that doth not prove his supreme power over all the Churches of God.)

31. Lastly, the words of the Emperor's letter (called θεῖον γράμμα a divine letter) in the Council of Chalcedon, that the most

bleſſed Biſhop of the city of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given *ἰερωσύνην καὶ πᾶντων*, *prieſthood over all*, *χαρὰν καὶ ἐμπόλειαν*, *ἔχου καὶ τιςτος καὶ ἰερεῖον ἀνακρίνειν*, *may have a place and power to judge of faith and of Priests*, from whence he roundly concludes, *Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τιςτω*, &c. Seeing then he hath power to judge of Faith and Priests, he is juſtly defined by the Council of Florence *διδάσκων καὶ ἅπας Χριστιανῶν διδάτω*, *the teacher of all Christians*.

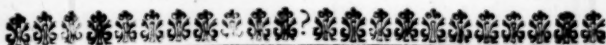
32. This being the laſt and moſt probable, and indeed only Teſtimonie, to juſtifie with any colour of reaſon the definition of that Council, it is not amiſſe to conſider it a little, and with that to conclude alſo the debate with this Gentleman, as Joſeph Methonenſis there did with the Biſhop of Ephesus. And if we turn to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, we ſhall ſoon diſcern the full weight of it.

33. There in the * firſt part, num: 25. we ſhall finde this Letter, * Concil: ſtyled *Ἰνὸν γεῦμα*, ſent by Valentinian the Emperour to Theodoſius, *ὅς τε καλεῖται ἐν τοῖς μέρει τῆς Ἰταλίας ſυνόδον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*, *that he would command a Synod to be called in the parts of Italy*. This then was the ſubject of the Letter, and this the occaſion; A ſecond Synod had lately been held at Ephesus, in which the hereſie of Eutyches had received ſome aſſiſtance. Upon this Pope Leo, and his Synod of Biſhops met at Rome, * writes earneſtly to the Emperour Valentinian, that he will *καλεῖν* *command* *γενεῖν* *ωκοδοῦν* a General Council *to be called in the parts of Italy*, that may remove and mollifie all offences. The ſame he * again propoſes to the Emperour Theodoſius there, deſiring *διὰ τὴν ὁμοῦν* *a ſpecial Council* to be convened in the parts of Italy. Hereupon ſoon follows a letter of Valentinian to Theodoſius to the ſame purpoſe, in condeſcenſion to Leo's requeſt, and in it thoſe very words (recited by Joſeph Methonenſis in defence of the Council of Florence) to no other ſenſe but this, that ſuch a Council might be convened in Italy, to review and reform what had been done amiſſe in that ſecond Council of Ephesus.

34. This therefore is the meaning of the *ἵνα χαρὰν καὶ ἐμπόλειαν ἔχῃ*, *that he may have a place and power*] that ſome place may be aſſigned him and the Biſhops, to meet in Council, that he may

may have power, or faculty, or Commission to sit (not he by himself, but he and the Bishops in Council) and when they sit, *πρεσβυτερος ἢ ἱερεύς κεινόν*, to judge of faith and Priests, as in all Councils it is done, to define what is the true faith, opposed by hereticks, and what persons, Bishops or others are fit to be censured for any thing done or taught by them.

35. This is the plain and onely importance of the place, to which all the rest of the *Epistle* accords, that an *Universal Council* should be called in *Italy*, wherein the *Pope* was doubtlesse to preside, and he *συναχθέντων ἐν πόλει οὐκρινῶν ἡ ἁπλότης ἱερέων*, all other Bishops also being convened from the whole world, should consider and define, what the true faith required. And so this is a faire testimonie to prove that the *Pope* is the *Vicar of Christ*, the *Father* and teacher of all *Christians*.



The Conclusion.

Num. 1. **I** Am now come to the *close* of this Gentleman's Answer in these words,

Thus, Sir, you have my sense of Doctor Hammond's Book in all the particulars, which, I think, to the purpose; my time, nor the brevity fit for a Letter, nor permitting I should be more methodical, and doe rest

Bruxels,
the 30 March,
1654.

Your friend
and humble servant,

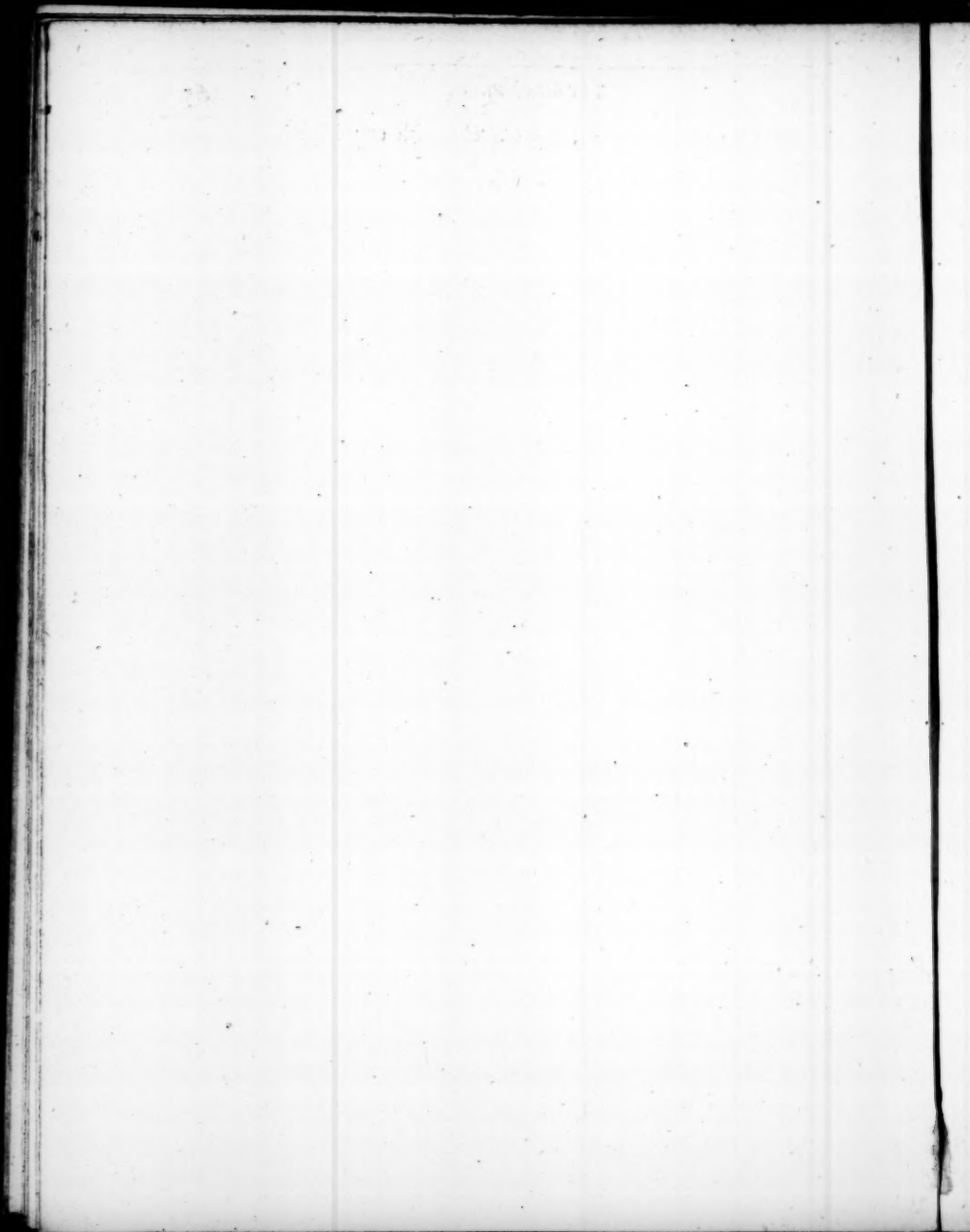
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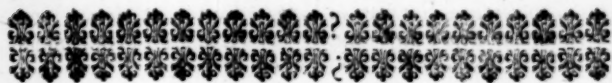
2. Here he is pleased largely enough to assume the office of an *Aristarchus*, and to involve under no light *censure*, of *impertinency* at the least, the farre greatest part of that *Treatise* of *Schisme*, for certainly that which he hath not offered any Answer to, is such, and yet he here undertakes to have given his *sense* in all the particulars, which he thinks to the purpose, which must conclude it his *opinion*, that all other particulars are not to the purpose. This indeed is a *performance* somewhat above the *promise* of the *title page*, which obliged him to an Answer of the most material parts of that *Treatise*; And it were very easie to shew that there is no degree of truth in either of these, that on the contrary, he hath not offered any word of Reply to the most material, which I hope are not the least pertinent parts of that *Treatise*. But instead of this larger *Reflexion* it may suffice, that whatsoever he hath thought

thought fit to take notice of, and thereby hath expressed his judgment of it, that it is *most material* in comparison of the rest hath here been very particularly considered, and his *Answers* manifested to have no force in them. And so I very friendly take my leave of him.


*The God of all grace and peace binde up the wounds of
his bleeding Church.*

An





An Account of H. T. his APPENDIX
TO
His MANUAL of CONTROVERSIES,
CONCERNING
*The Abbot of Bangor's Answer
to Augustine.*

1.  Having concluded the foregoing *Reply* to the *Catholick Gentleman*, I received news of a *Manual of Controversies* in the presse, wherein I was said to be particularly concerned, and having soon gotten a sight of it, I found that the matter was of no greater bulk or weight, than might receive an account in few words, & those most proper to be here annext, by way of *Appendix*.
2. At the folding up of that *Manual*, the *Author* of it is pleased to take notice of (no more than) *one testimonie*, which I had cited out of Sir Henry Spelman's *Anglicane Councils*, containing an *Answer* of the *Abbot of Bangor* to *Augustine the Monk*, when he demanded of the *Britains* an acknowledgment of *submission* to the *Bishop of Rome*.
3. The passage is to be seen at large, in *Welsh, English, and Latine*, in that *volume* of the *Councils*, p. 108. and is recited in the *Treatise of Schisme*, p. 111. and the summe of it is, that he and the rest of the *British Church* were under the government of the *Archbishop of Caerleon upon Uske*, and owed no obedience (or respect, save that of *fraternal charity*) to the *Pope of Rome*.

4. This *Answer* of that *Abbot*, the *Author* hath thought good to *censure* (by way of *Appendix* to the *Article* concerning the *Pope's Supremacy*) 1. As *unapt* to conclude against the *Romanist's* pretensions concerning the *Papal power* over the whole *Church*. 2. As *unworthily* alledged by persons of any ordinary judgment or *erudition*. 3. As that which may easily be convicted to be a *simple imposture*, and the waies of demonstrating it clearly, promised in that ensuing *discon se*.
5. What those waies are, and how farre short of the force or evidence of demonstration, I shall, with the *Reader's* good leave, examine anon, after I have premised this one consideration, That the onely thing, which is by us contested, and concluded against the *Romanist* from this *testimonie*, is a matter of *fact* of known truth, and such as the *Romanists* themselves (yea and this *Author* H. T. who hath thought fit to arraign this *testimonie*) acknowledge to be such, and therefore, as in case this one *testimonie* should be demonstrated to be a *simple imposture*, we can very unconcernedly and easily part with it, standing in no manner of need of this *auxiliarie*, so it is a little strange that this *Author* should think it worth his *solemn pains*, to wrest it out of our hands, and dedicate this whole *Appendix* to that one work, when if he were *successfull* to his wish; his *acquisitions* hereby, and proportionably our *losses*, must be so *unconsiderable*.
6. That which we conclude from hence against the *Romanist* is no more but this, that the *Britains*, particularly those of *Bangor*, denied to yeild obedience to the *Pope* upon *Augustine's* demand of it. And for this we have the *notoriousness* of the *fact*, as it is set down by the *Authors* which are of *credit*, and are vouched in this matter by the *Romanist*, particularly by *Bede*, in the second Book of his *Ecclesiastick Historie*, c.2. where the whole story may be read at large, and out of which I shall collect, and, in passing, clear these few things.
7. First, that *Augustine* and the *British Bishops* met in *Conncel* at *Augustine's Oak* in *Worcestershire*; This passage lyes very corruptly in the *Latine Bede*, in loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum Angistinezat, id est, robur Augustini in consilio

confinio Vectiorum & Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur. Three *corruptions* I suppose there will soon appear to be in these words, which I shall briefly remove for the clearing of our entrance, and disabusing the *Author* of this *Manual* in one of them.

8. The *first*, and chief of them is, that *Augustineazat* is a *σφίλμα γερονδν*, mistaken for *Augustines-ac*, i.e. *Augustines oake*, whether that were the name of a *Tree*, or a *Village*, most probably the former, after the manner of that *Council*, which was held against *S. Chrysostome*, called ordinarily the *Synod ad quercum*, at, or under the *Oake*.
9. Secondly, that [*ubi*] should be read [*qui*] which is an easie mistake, and so the *construction* will be *facile*, which now is *rough*, in *loco qui usque hodie Augustines-ac appellatur*, in the place which even to this day is called *Augustine's-ac*, and accordingly the *Saxon* reads on þære stowe þe mon nemneð *Aguſtīnuf ac*, in the place still named *Augustine's Oake*.
10. Thirdly, that *Vectiorum* (which the *Author* of this *Appendix* renders *Vectians*, and interprets to be the *Isle* of *Wight*, quite against all probable *conjecture*, for how can it be believ'd that the *Britains* should give him a meeting so farre from the place of their own present habitation?) should be *Wiciorum* (so **Huntington* reads it, and the *Saxon Bede Hƿicna*) * l. 3. p. 325. meaning *Worcestershire* by that style, and accordingly this *Synod* is by *Authors* oft called *Wigorniensis Synodus*; the *Worcestershire Synod*; and among the *British Bishops*, who are recorded to be present at the *second Session*, *Wiccensis*, the *Bishop* of *Worcester* is one. In what part of that *County* it was that that *Synod* convened, I see it is uncertain among our later *Writers*, and so there may be place for *conjecture*, *Sir Henry Spelman* from the *Map* proposeth *Austric*, as a probable contraction from *Austinsfric*, *Augustini ditio*, as that which may give some light in a doubtfull matter, but upon inquiry I hear that that *village* is called *Aufric* or *Alfric*, not *Austric*, and therefore I shall take confidence to mention, what seems to me farre more probable, that it was in the *parish* of *Aderton*, which hath the *agnomen* of *Uſſentrete*.

or *Ossentree*, in old rolls, *Merton juxta Ossentree*, *Merton close by Ossentree*, an easie variation from, and contraction of *Austin tree*, and is three miles from *Worcester*, neer the rode to *Droitwich*, where the hill-Church is *Augustine's Church*.

11. Secondly, that the businesse of this convention, designed to draw the *British* to obedience to *Augustine* & the See of *Rome*, began with a proposition onely of conformity in the observation of *Easter*, in the Ceremonies of *Baptisme* &c. But this in vain; for, saith *Bede*, after a long disputation they would give no assent to the intreaties, and exhortations and chidings of *Augustine*, but preferred their own tradition before all the Churches through the world, which accorded with *Rome* in the particular of *Easter*, &c.
12. Thirdly, that for the convincing of them, *Augustine* challenged them to doe miracles, and by prayer to God cured a blinde man, and was much cried up for so doing, the *British* still adhering to their way, and answering him, that absque consensu & licentiâ suorum, without consent and licence of their whether Rulers of Church, or whatsoever other superiors also (their Metropolitan, I suppose, which cannot be thought to have been with them at this, being certainly none of the seven Bishops, which are affirmed to have been present at the later convention) they could not forsake their antient customs.
13. Fourthly, that upon proposall, it was agreed that they should have a second meeting, at which were present seven *British* Bishops (which other Writers expresse to have been the Bishop of *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Bangor*, *S. Asaph*, *Worcester*, *Paternensis*, *Morganensis*) and many other learned men, especially de nobilissimo eorum Monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum *Bancornaburg*, cui tempore isto *Dinoth Abbas* praeuisse narratur, of the famous Monasterie of *Bangor*, of which *Dinoth* was Abbot at that time.
14. Fifthly, that before they went to this Meeting, they were advised by a religious person, whose directions they asked, to observe diligently the behaviour of *Augustine*, when they came, whether he were meek and lowly in heart, a mark by which

which they might know whether he had taken *Christ's yoke* upon him, and consequently whether it were the *yoke of Christ*, which he now desired to impose upon them, and upon *Augustine's* sitting still upon his stool or seat, and never rising up with any *civility or humility*, at their approach, they were so *displeased*, saith *Bede*, that they contradicted all the proposals that he made to them.

15. Sixthly, that upon his making three Propositions to them, concerning *Easter*, *Baptisme*, and preaching to the *English*, and promising to bear with them in all other differences, (of which sort, said he, there were many wherein their practice was contrary *consuetudini nostra*, imò *Universalis Ecclesia*, to the custome of the *Roman*, yea the *Universal Church*) they answered, *nihil horum se facturos, nec illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros*, that they would not comply with him in any of them, nor acknowledge him for their *Archbishop*; Upon which follows that rough *sanguinarie* answer of *Augustine's*, *quod si pacem cum fratribus accipere nolent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi*, that if they would not accept of peace with brethren, they should have warre from enemies, and, as it follows in very plain language, *per Anglorum manu ultionem mortis essent passuri*, the hands of the *English* should at a bloody revenge upon them.
16. Which, it seems, soon after followed, and fell in an eminent manner on the *Monks of Bangor*, of which order there were at that time above two thousand, who lived all by the labour of their own hands. For, saith he, *King Edilfred of Northumberland*, coming with a great Army to *Caerleon*, made his first onset on their *Priests*, who were assembled by themselves to fast and pray for their brethren, (as *Moses* holding up his hands in prayer, whilest *Josua* held up his in fighting) and upon no other provocation (taken notice of by the *Historian*) but this, that they fought against him with their prayers (*contra nos pugnant qui adversus nos in precationibus prosequuntur*) he first set upon them, killed 1200 of them, and then destroyed the whole Army. Sicque completum est *præ-sagium sancti Pontificis Augustini*, and so the presage of the holy *Bishop St. Augustine* was fulfilled upon them.

- p. 413.
17. These particulars of the story I have thus punctually set down in obedience to the rebuke of this Author, who p. 412. chargeth it upon Sir Hen: Spelman, and those others that borrow out of him, as a want of willingness to see the truth, &c of fidelity to communicate it to others, that they have chosen to reflect on that testimonie (which he is pleased to call *upstart*, and) which appeared not till within these 15 years, and not upon that true antiquity, which having indured the shock of almost a 1000 years, Sir Henry had a little before transcribed out of Bede, wherein, saith he, every one may read, first that miracle in giving sight to the blinde man, then that divine vengeance prophetically foretold by Augustine, which (in his opinion) more than sufficiently prove, that S. Augustine, sent by the Pope, came in the name of God, from a lawfull authority, and that his demands of conformity to the Church of Rome in the points specified were good, and to be yeilded to by the Britains.
18. In this matter I might now fitly enlarge, and examine the force of this two-fold argument, that of the miraculous cure, and that of the predicted vengeance, and offer many things to consideration concerning each head.
19. For the former, 1. the no great credit that hath been given to the relations of Bede on this head of miracles (of which his Story is so richly furnished) together with the great deceit that such pretensions have been experimented to subject men to: Secondly, the confession of Bede, that the Britaines were * unwilling to yeild to this tryall of their cause, and accordingly when he saith that the † blinde man being offered to the Priests of the Britaines, he received no cure or benefit by them, he doth not so much as pretend that the Britaines attempted to doe the miracle, and failed in it, but leaves us to resolve that they wholly waved this tryall: Thirdly, that if the miracle were granted to be a true miracle, and a testimony of Gods asserting the doctrines then contested between them, yet this would not be any conclusive testimonie for the Pope's Supremacy, but onely for those things which were then the matter of the question, the time of the observation of Easter, the rites of Baptisme, accustomed in the Roman Church, and at the most some such like traditions,

* Quod cum adversarii, invitati licet, concederent.
† Cum obtutus Britonū sacerdotibus nil curationis horum ministerio cepit.

traditions, wherein the *British* custome varied from that of *Rome*, for this was the forme of the proposed tryall, *qua sequenda traditio quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius prope-
randum, what tradition was to be followed* (in the celebration of *Easter*, that which the *Britains* had received and retained from their first conversion, imputed to an *Apostle* or *Apostolical* person, *Simon Zelotes* or *Joseph of Arimathea*, or that which the *Romans* deduced from *S. Peter*) by what waies they were to hasten to entrance into that Kingdome (referring, I suppose, to the rites of baptisme, the second head of debate between them) And in both these, (as also in refusing to joyn with *Augustine* in the common work of preaching to the *Gentiles*) it may easily be granted by us, that the truth was on the *Romanists* side, and not on the *Britains*, without ye 11-
ing a supremacie of the Church of *Rome* over the *British* Churches. Fourthly, that the *Britains* by *Bede's* confession, acknowledged themselves convinced by that miracle, that the way of righteousness which *Augustine* preached, was the true way, yet added, that they could not renounce their antient customes without the consent and licence of their own (superi-
ors) which evidently confines and determines the miracle and all the supposed virine thereof to the confirming the Traditions which *Augustine* delivered, without farther extending it to the asserting the *Papal* power (to which the *Abbot* of *Bangor's* answer was particularly confronted) for had they once acknowledged themselves convinced of that, there had been no place left for the *licentia suorum*, no need of the consent or licence of any other superiors, which yet they resolutely adhere to. Lastly, that at their second meeting the *Britains* deemed *Augustine's* pride a more valid convincing argument, that the yoke which he designed to impose on them was not the yoke of *Christ*, than the supposed miracle, that it was.

20. And for the latter, that of the slaughter, first *threatened and then fulfilled upon them, 1. If that were indeed a miracle, it was not of the complexion, which is generally observed in *Christ's* miracles, used for the working of faith, but proportionable to the Spirit of the *Boanerges*, which would have the fire from heaven called down upon the *Samaritans*, and bert.

* *Fertur mi-
nitans præ-
dixisse. Bede.
Terruit eos
vaticinio fu-
tura super
eos calami-
tatis. Sige-
bert.*

and were answered by *Christ* that this was not agreeable to the *Spirit* of the *Gospel*; And if the example of *S. Peter* on *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, or of *S. Paul* on *Elymas* be made use of as a precedent for this severity, yet sure the answer of *Pope Gregory* to *Augustine* at that time, supposing different Churches to enjoy different customs, and not imposing the Roman upon all, might have directed him to greater moderation. See *Bede*: l. 1. c. 27. in his answer to the third Interrogation. Secondly, it is no very great miracle, that a grand Army falling first upon unarmed Monks, should obtain the victory against them, and afterward against all other their opposers; nor consequently is it any whit strange that *Augustine*, that was so provoked, and meant to use this bloody revengefull course, should thus threaten what he then designed to see performed, for that is the full meaning of his foretelling it.

21. It is true indeed that either *Bede*, or some Interpolator, that copied out the original Latine of that Historie, hath thought good to insert some words in the end of that story, l. 2. c. 2. in fine, (*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato*) which might delude men into a perswasion, that this bloody act was a long time after *Augustine's* death; But for this, First, it is observable that *King Alfred's* Saxon translation or paraphrase of *Bede*, wholly omits that parenthesis, and reads it onely thus, 7 swa swa gefylled se witeodum dæd halgan B. Augustinus þæt hi sceolan, &c. and so was fulfilled the prediction of *S. Augustine*, that they should feel the revenge of temporal destruction. Secondly, that the series of the story in *Bede* gives just prejudice to that parenthesis, for this of the slaughter of the Britans being set down in the end of that second Chap: the third begins with *Augustine's* ordaining two Bishops, *Mellitus* and *Justus*, which sure was not after his death, and as the Saxon paraphrase of *King Alfred* begins that Chapter with this form of reference to the former passage, Ða swa aften þurum— It was after this— which plainly defines *Augustine* to have survived that bloody fact, so the Latine *Bede*, which sets down the time of *Augustine's* ordaining those two Bishops, Anno Dominica incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto, In the year 604, doth yet more incline

us to suspect that *Parenthesis*, for though *Bede*, who sets down the *month* and *day* of *Augustine's* death, sets not down the *year* of it, but leaves it in a latitude to be between the year 596. in which he came to *England*, and the year 613. (or, as the *Saxon* reads 616.) in which *King Ethelbert* died, yet others commonly affirm that he continued *Bishop* 15 or 16 years, and so died about 612 or 13. whereas *Chronologers* affirm the slaughter of the *Monks* of *Bangor* &c. to have been in the year 603, and so the year immediately precedent to *Augustine's* ordaining those two *Bishops*. Thirdly, when in the relation of this slaughter, the *Latine Bede* begins *Siquidem posthac ipse, de quo diximus, Rex Anglorum*— For after this, i. e. after *Augustine's* threatening destruction to the *British*, the forenamed *King of the Angles* gathered an *Army*— the *Saxon* paraphrase reads, and sona hpaþe æfter ðyrsum, and soon rath, i. e. very soon after this, which again perswades that it was before *Augustine's* death, at least that the *jam multo ante* in the *Parenthesis* (that *Augustine* died long before) could have no truth in it. Lastly, as some Writers of these dark times have made a shift to affirm with the *Latine Bede* that *Augustine* was first dead, so it is known also that others charge it on him, that he was not onely the inciter to it, but that he met the *Kings* when they were ready for the fight, and was present with them; And *Trivet* in his *French Chronicle*, that saith it was done after *Augustine's* death, yet adds that *Ethelbert* *King of Kent*, who stirred up *Ethelfred* *King of Northumberland* and his *Saxons* against the *Britans*, and by name against *Dinoth* *Abbot of Bangor* forementioned, was highly displeased and inflamed, that he had despised *Augustine*. All which being considered, it is certain, that this was no very *Christian* act-on, whether in *Augustine* or in *Ethelbert*, and the threats of the one, and performances of the other, as they bear an exact proportion, so are they equally argumentative, not for, but against that cause, which was willing thus unchristianly to support it self.

22. Thirdly, if the slaughter of these poor *Monks* shall yet be thought a solid probation, as an act of divine vengeance upon them

them (just such as the falling of the towre of Siloe was, from which none but a Jew, or Turke, or the Barbarians, *Act. 28.* or those that make prosperity the special mark of the true Church, will think fit to conclude any thing) there is one part of the story yet behinde, which will refute and retort that argument, for when Edilsfrid had used them so bloodily, and in the heat of his rage and victory proceeded to destroy the remainder of those Monks, and their Monasterie together, the avengers of blood met him, three British Commanders, with their forces, routed his Army, killed ten thousand and sixty of them, wounded the King, and put him and the remainder of his Army to flight, which certainly is an argument of as much validity to inferre that God maintained the cause of those innocent Monks against the Saxons and Augustine, as the former was argumentative on their side against the British.

23. But it is not needfull, that I insist on either of these, the one thing that from this view of the story in Bede. was to be concluded, is onely this, that upon the relations, as in him they lie, and are by this Author H.T. vouched against us, there can be no doubt of our Conclusion, that the Abbot and Monks of Bangor opposed Augustine, yeilded him no obedience, referred themselves onely to their own Governours, without any acknowledgment of obedience to the Pope; And this is generally the result of other Authors narrations of this matter.

24. So * *Bakem*, speaking of that convention, *Dinotus omnium in Dinot. primus graviter & doctè de non approbanda apud eos Romanorum autoritate disputabat*, Dinot in the first place gravely and learnedly disputed against the Authority of the Bishop of Rome among them, adding, *Fortiter præterea tuebatur Menevensis Archiepiscopi in Ecclesiarum suarum rebus ratam jurisdictionem*, that he moreover strongly and contragiously defended the validity of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of S. Davids (the same that in the Abbots answer is called the Bishop of Caerleon) in the affairs of his own Churches.

25. So Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Edelbertus Rex Cantiorum, ut vidit Britones dedignantes subjectionem Augustino facere, Northumbriorum*

thumbrorum & ceteros Saxonum regulos instimulavit, ut collecto grandi exercitu in civitatem Bangor Abbatem Dinoth & ceteros clericos, qui eos spreverunt, perditum irent. King Ethelbert seeing the Britains disdain to yeild their subjection to Augustine, stirred up the King of Northumberland and other Saxon Kings to gather a great army against the city Bangor, to destroy Dinoth the Abbot and the other Clerks of that Monasterie, who had scorned Augustine and the Saxons.

26. So Sigebert in Anno 602. *Augustinus—habita Synodo cum Britonum & Scotorum Episcopis, quâ sacerdotes & Monachos invenit adversarios equitatis—* Augustine had a meeting with the British and Scottish Bishops, and there found an opposition from the Priests and Monks, and terrified them by prediction of a calamity that should fall on them. Other evidences to the same purpose are set down in the Collection of the Anglicane Councils, and Mr. *Whelock's* Notes on his edition of the Saxon Bede, p. 115. if there could now remain any question of it.
27. And that this was discerned by the Author of this Appendix, if it had been for his Interest to have taken notice of it, is evident by his mention of the miracle and divine vengeance, as of proofs that Augustine was in the right against these refusers, who yet continued, saith he, still refractory to his proposals. And this was all I concluded from the Abbot's answer, and this stands firm in this Romanist's own confession, though the words of the Abbot's answer had not been preserved to us.
28. And therefore being now wholly unconcerned in the validity of this testimony, and so secured from all danger of being bribed by interests to judge more favourably of it than the matter requires, I shall now proceed calmly to consider, whether there be that clearness and evidence in this Author's arguments for the invalidating this testimony, which he assures us we shall finde in them.
29. His first argument is negative from the [not least scrap of Antiquity so much as pretended to prove that the Cambrian (i. e. *Welch*) lines cited, were the Abbot of Bangor's answer to Augustine upon the occasion specified, nor that the renowned

Dinotb was that Abbot, nor that the old *Manscr*: whence Sir Henry Spel: extracts the testimony, was copied out of any more antient.

30. What other proof from antiquity should be expected from Sir Henry Spelman to give authority to these lines, than what readily offers it self in this matter, I do not understand; That the *British*, particularly those of *Bangor*, and yet more peculiarly *Dinotb* the famous Abbot of that *Monasterie*, disputed against *Augustine's* pretensions for the authority of the *Bishop of Rome*, and asserted their own subjection to their *Metropolitane*, hath already appeared to be the affirmation of those, who are most competent witnesses of it; and the *Manuscript* passage in *Welch* and *English*, which Sir H. Spel: had transcribed from Mr. *Moston's* Copie (and directs the Reader to Sir Robert Cotton's Library to satisfie himself in that matter) is directly agreeable to this for the matter of it, and so gave that very judicious Knight just reason both to set some value on it himself, and to communicate it to others, as that which might gratifie their curiosity, and approve it self by its own light to any judicious Reader, to be, if not the very words of that Abbot's answer, yet the sense and substance of it, and whether of these it should be judged to be, it matters not.
31. Had the contents of this Testimony been any way contrary to other undoubted records of those times, or indeed any disparate new relation, that had not formerly been taken notice of, and was now to owe the whole credit and support to this Testimonie, some reason there might have been for an *Aristarchus* to proceed with more caution than here was used, and to yeild nothing to bare groundlesse conjectures (and the *Romanist* hath as much reason as any man to lay this to heart, to act with this caution in other Testimonies) but when the matter is agreed on among the *Antients*, and an old record offers it self to our view, in perfect concord with that which we had formerly all reason to believe, and onely affirms that more legibly and distinctly, which was in substance before, but not so punctually delivered to us, I cannot think the severest Critick, supposing him unconcerned and impartial,

rial, without any hypothesis of his own to be defended or tended by him, would have any aversion or dislike to a testimony thus produced, though for some circumstances of it, such as are here mentioned, the producer have nothing of authority to back his own conjectures.

32. This one thing I am sure is most unjust, not to give credit to a Manuscript, that it is what it pretends to be, unless I have some expresse affirmation of Antiquity concerning that particular Manuscript: should such rules of severity be now imposed on the presse, the Vatican must never bring forth more rarities, the wealth of all the Archives in the world must lie dead, like a Miser's treasure, no one volume being able to testify for the veracity of its neighbour, or if it were, it self must also bring its voucher along with it, and so on in infinitum, or else it would not be *ignoscenda* a competent testification in this matter; and when it is remembred, that all, which is now made publick by the help of Printing, lay once in single Manuscripts, and those multipliable onely by transcribing, and neither the originals nor Copies any other way testified to be what they pretended to be, than as these Cambrian lines are delivered to us by Sir Henry, I hope this will be deemed a competent proof, that this first argument is not so clearly demonstrative as was promised.

33. Another branch there is of this first argument, in these words, And certainly if his Manuscript be no elder than the interlined English, he hath grossly wronged himself and his Reader, by honouring it with the style of Antient: For, as every one sees, the English is purely modern, and cannot be so old by many years as Henry the Eighth sacrosancting the Pope's authority, and arrogating the supremacy in Ecclesiasticall matters to himself, for maintenance whereof it is alledged, and was certainly forged.

p. 405.

34. To this I answer briefly, that it is not pretended by Sir Henry, that the English is as antient as the times of Dinorh, nor the Welch neither, but that those two Languages were made use of by some, whose ages he pretends not to know, to convey to us intelligibly the answer of that Abbot, in what language soever it were delivered by him; And if it

shall now be granted to this *Author*, that the *English* idiom evidenceth it to be written within these last 100 years, this can be no prejudice or ground of suspicion, much lesse a proof of forgery against this *Manuscript*, as long as the *Welch* is allowed to be more *antient*, to which the *English* may upon a latter transcribing have been annext, as fitly as old *Greek MSS.* are daily printed with the *Latine* translations of a later date, in the same or several pages.

35.
p. 46, 7, 8. His second argument is deduced from the *Cambrian* lines, in which he pretends to discover many *un-Cambrian* mixtures of *English* words, *helpio* and *gleimio*, for *help* and *claim*, want of *Orthographie*, and the like; To which being utterly unskilfull in the *Welch* language, I acknowledge my self incompetent to give any very particular reply, yet shall give my reason, why I cannot think that this second argument of his is any more demonstrative against the validity of the testimony, than the former; For 1. supposing this *Copie* of Mr. *Meston* to be a transcript, not the original (as it is evident *S. H. Spelman* supposeth) what difficulty is there to imagine, that that *Copie* was transcribed by one unskilful in the *Orthographie* of that language, especially when it is known, how ordinary this is to be found, not only among the *vulgar*, but among learned *Church-men* of that nation, who are fain by study to acquire skill of reading before they can officiate in that language. Secondly, I shall readily grant, or, if he please, yield to the force of his arguments, that the *Welch* lines are not the words, or language wherein *Dinot* delivered his answer, but (as this Gentleman after contends) that *Dinot*, a writer of *Latine* Books, being to speak to *Augustine*, that understood not the *British* language, gave his answer in *Latine*; What hinders now, but that this *Latine* answer being conserved among the *Britans*, might in later times (before *Henry the eight*) in any age to which the idiom of the *Welch* lines shall direct a Critick in that language to affix them, be translated into imperfect (I mean more modern) yet intelligible *Welch*, either by a native of that Countrey, or by any other, who had acquired so much of that language, as was sufficient for no weightier an enterprise? I discern not what disadvantage I can

can receive by this *concession*, and then sure there will be small difficulty in *vindicating* Sir Henry's integrity, if this shall be supposed; For he no where pretends, that the *Cambrian lines*, in the form here presented, were the *language*, or words of the answer of *Dinoh*, but that the matter of his answer, in what *language* soever delivered by him, is communicated to us by that *MS.* And that it was not, here is no word of so much as *probable argument*, much lesse of *clear demonstration* tendered by the *Author* of this *Appendix*.

36. Lastly, for the two words which occasioned his charge of the *English mixtures*, I am, by those which have skill in the language, enabled to return him some answer, that the word *help*, from whence is the infinitive *helpio* or *helpu*, is found used by *Tudor Aled*, who wrote an: 1490. and by *Lluellyn*, who is thought to be more *antient*, and that *gleimio*, or *cleimio* is by the *Latine* and *Welch Dictionary* set down in the word *vendico*, in the first place, (and after that *holi*) as the most proper *Welch word* for it, not borrowed from the *English*; From whence as I shall not conclude, that these *Welch lines*, were the original of *Dinoh's* answer. (that were to retract my former *concession*) so I may safely assume, that these two words (his onely instances of *English mixtures*) doe no way demonstrate this *Welch translation* to be later than *Henry the Eighth's cashiering the Pope's authority* (as of the *English* it was granted) nor consequently leave it under suspicion of being forged by any *Protestant*.

37. His third argument is of more seeming force, taken from the mention of this *Abbot's subjection* to the *Bishop of Caerleon* upon *Uske*, in which he findes two absurdities, 1. faith he, *Bangor* is very neer, if not in the *Diocese* of *Ihan Elwy*, now commonly called *S. Asaph*, 2. all *Histories* testify that the *Archiepiscopal Seat* was removed from *Caerleon* to *S. David's* in *King Arthur's time*, who died about the year 544. i. e. 50 years before *Augustine's* first entrance into Britain. P. 409.
38. To these two branches of probation, certainly the answer is very obvious to the first, that acknowledging and supposing that the *Monasterie* of *Banchor*, situate in *Flintshire*, though within the confines of *Chestshire*, was under the diocesan Bishop either

either of *S. Asaph*, or of *Chester* the *Episcopal See* of *Bangor* lying in the *County* of *Caernarven*) yet this can be of no manner of force against this testimony, for he that was under the *Bishop* of *S. Asaph*, as his immediate superior, or diocesan, may yet be under the *Bishop* of *Caerleon*, as his *Metropolitan*, as he that is under the *Bishop* of *Rochester* in one respect, is under the *Bishop* of *Canterbury* in another. And so that is a full answer to his first difficulty.

39. For the second, it is acknowledged that before this time of *Dinot's* answer to *Augustine* the *Archiepiscopal See* had been by authority of *Synod* removed first from *Caerleon* to *Landaffe* by *Dubritius*, Anno 512. and so it is affirmed by *Sir Hen: Spelman* in his *Apparat*: p. 25. (where by the way lin: 5. the *Printer* hath mistaken *ad Meneviam* for *ad Landaviam*) and in like manner by his successor *S. David*, Anno 516. by licence from *King Arthur*, from *Landaff* to *Menevia*, which from that eminent *Bishop*, under whom that change was made, was after called *S. Davids*. But this removal of the *Metropolitan See* from one city to another was not of such weight or consideration, but that the *Metropolitan dignity*, having been so long fixt at *Caerleon*, might still retain that title after the translation.

40. Besides, the *Abbot* of *Bangor* making answer to *Augustine's* claim, which was founded in some old right, which he pretended the *Pope* to have over all *Churches*, it was most proper to contest this by former practice, not onely how it stood at that present, but especially how it had been ἀρχαίῃ ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, of old, or from the beginning, by custom immemorial, and herein not to consider such immaterial changes, as were the removing of the *Primate's See* from one city to another, but to look on it, as it had alwaies layn, in opposition to all foreign jurisdiction: And it being certain that *Caerleon* was antiently this *Prime See*, nothing was more agreeable to this contest, as it is supposed to be managed by that *Abbot*, than thus to referre to the ἀρχαία ἔθνη (as the *Councils* of *Nice*, and *Antioch*, and *Chalcedon*. and *Ephesus* had done, in the like controversies) to tell *Augustine* that the *British Christians* had alwaies, from their first plantation, been under a
British

British Primate, and to call the *British Primate* by that title, which had most antiently belonged to him, i. e. *Bishop of Caerleon*, and not by the later of *Landaffe*, or the yet later of *S. Davids*.

42. What this *Author* here objects against the former of these answers, saying, 1. That this is not proved. And 2. that it implies a contradiction to say the See was translated, and the former title still retained, Translation importing the taking a new, and desertion of the old title,] is no way applicable to this second answer (wh ch consequently remains in full force) and therefore I need not farther attend to it; And in relation to the former answer, It is farre from the promised clearenesse of demonstration.
43. For as to the first part of it, the thing may be true, though it be not proved, the contrary must be proved by him that promiseth clear or demonstrative confutations: And for the second, it must be founded in some new notion of Contradiction, which my *Logick* hath not acquainted me with, for sure he that saith the See was translated, and the former title retained, doth neither say that the See was translated and not translated (which is the only form of a Logical contradiction) nor that the former title was retained and not retained; Nor consequently can I discern the least inconvenience, much lesse contradiction, either direct, or by way of implication, that the *Metropolitcal See* being translated from *Caerleon* to another city, the *Metropolitan* should still retain his original title, that of *Bishop of Caerleon*.
44. Other exceptions he proceeds to adde, but those so farre again from being, according to promise, demonstrative evidences against this testimonie, that they are no way worthy to be attended to.
45. First, that *Dinot* would probably have answered in *Latine*, and to that I have already replied, that I may well grant he did so, and consequently that both the *Welch* and *English* in *Mr. Mofson's MS.* were translations of that *Latine*.
46. Secondly, that the words in *Welch* rendred [whom you name to be Pope—] are not rightly translated; In this again I cannot contend, having no knowledge in that language, but as

p. 410.

A a

before

ERRATA.

PAge 4. line 28. after *him*
adde ,

p. 15. l. 24. after *side* re: or

p. 33. marg: l. 3. re: *Apolog:*

l. 29. after *must* adde ,

p. 36. l. 32. re: *nomina*

p. 40. l. 12. re: *Διλήσας*

l. 13. re: *ἐυχερῶς*

p. 83. l. 34. re: *πελαβῶσος*

σωνθείας

p. 15. l. 24. after *πεῖξ* dele ,

p. 19. l. 33. after *else* adde)

p. 90. l. 17. for *μῦ* re: *μῦ*

l. 20. for *the* re: *then*

p. 96. l. ult. re: *αὐτοκεφαλία*

p. 108. l. 30. re: *testifie*

p. 111. marg: l. 11. re: *ἐπισκο-*

πᾶς

p. 120. l. 26. re: *it as*

p. 121. l. 11. re: *Campegius*

p. 129. l. 8. re: *ἔργον*

l. 6. re: *yet larger*

p. 135. l. 17. re: *by this*

p. 135. l. 6. re: *schism in him,*

p. 136. l. 35. re: *συγχεῖται*

p. 137. l. 29. re: *and shall*

l. 32. re: *extitit*

p. 138. l. ult. re: *is one*

p. 141. l. 7. re: *are by us be-
lieved to be con-*

l. 24. re: *our innocence*

p. 148. l. 36. re: *is utterly*

p. 150. l. 7. re: *this*

p. 155. l. 11. re: *the fall*

p. 160. l. 36. re: *διασάφους*

p. 161. l. 11. re: *Nancratius*

THE ^{700. f}
³⁰
Disfarmers Dexterities
EXAMINED.

In a Second

with pre.
D E F E N C E

Of the Treatise of Schisme.

By *H. Hammond*, D. D.

Ἡ πλείον γελῶσι, ταύτη μᾶλλον κακῶς ἔχουσι. *Iren.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. Fleisher*, for *Richard Royston* at the
Angel in Ivy lane, 1656.



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The Disarmers

THE
Disarmers Dexterities
EXAMINED.

CHAP. I.

*An Introduction and answer to S. W. his Epistle
to the Reader.*

SECT. I.

*Of the Disarmers style and contumelies. The Scriptures
judgement and sentence on Αισδοπλα. Other parts of the
Character belonging thereto.*



Some months have now past, since I
made my joynt Reply both to the Ca-
tholick Gentleman his Answer to the
tract of Schism and to M^r H.T. his Ap-
pendix to his Mannall of controversies,
and thereon I had grounded some just
hope, that either I should receive a
fair Christian Rejoynder to that Reply,
or else being permitted to retire from
these agones, be allowed some re-
spite for thoughts and offerings of peace; But before some other
importunities had permitted me to enter on the least injoyment
of this calme, this φυσικαστη καταστασις (to me I am sure) most
naturall habitude; * as Epicurus call'd his γαλήνη, I finde my self
A 2

* Νῦν δὲ οὐ-
δὲν ἰσορ. p.
37.

self again ingaged (by one who hath chosen to be so reserved, as to give ne but two Letters, *S. W.* to know him by, and so little to take notice of these lower transactions, as not to own the having heard of that *Reply*) and there under the title of *Disarmed Schisme*, I meet with as copious a collection of *scoffes*, and *contumelies*, as I ever remember to have seen contrived within so narrow a compasse. To these the *Romish Factor* hath, in the name of the *Stationer*, pleased to give the stile of *Drobery*, and *Piquant sauce*, but the *Author* himself, who was fittest to have the naming of his own births, hath in his *Epistle* to the *Reader*, allowed them the plainer titles of *Rude blowes*, and *twischings by the beard*: now because the one businesse of that *Epistle* is not to excuse but to justify this dealing, to avow and defend the *Authors* just title to the *scorners chaire*, and professly to plead to it, producing such evidences, as he is confident may secure his possession, and agreeably the *Publishers* care, and wit hath so particularly conformed, that to the *Syllabus* of the *Chapters*, he hath solemnly annexed a list of the *contumelies*, three and thirty pickt out by *specialty* out of the farre greater number, (as if *Goliath's* cursing of *David* had been the *disarming* and *discomfiting* him; as if the language that the *King of Moab* would have bribed *Balaam* to use, had been a certain *inchantment against Israel*, as if every reproach wherewith *Rabsakeh* adorned his challenge to *Hezekiah* were indeed a severall victory over him) It is therefore reasonable that I should thus far comply with my *disarmers* method, as to begin with an examination of that *spirit* which hath suggested, of those *reasons*, which are thought competent to defend this manner of managing controversies in Religion.

And herein the matter under examination being already as *notorious*, and *confest*, as the *flagrant fact*, and the *Authors* justifying thereof can render it, the sentence is long ago pronounced by the *Apostle*, 1 Cor. 5. 11. and 6. 10. I shall need onely to recite it, In the former place, ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἢ λόγους. If any that is called a brother, by name or profession a *Christian*, be a railer or reviler, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ ἐσθίειν, with such an one no not to eat, the *Christians* of *Corinth* must have no society with him, ὀνομαζόμενος ἀδελφὸς ἔχει, ἢ ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ ἀλλο-

Σεία, saith the *scholiast*. He hath onely the name, not the reality of a Christian, and βλάττωμα ἐστὶν διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν, he is for this fault a detestable person, and as such falls under the censures of the Church, v. 12. and he that is thus *ipso jure* excommunicate, is no very competent Juror or witness in a question of Schisme, such as that which we have now before us. In the latter the λοιδοροί, railers, revilers, contumelious persons again, are reckoned as a special sort of ἀδίκαι unrighteous, which continuing such unreformed, shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven, and do but flatter, and deceive themselves, if they hope they may; and such sure are not qualified to condemn others, and exclude them from heaven, being none of those Saints, who clave non errante shall judge the world.

3. Beside these, which alone might have discouraged any sober Christian from this adventure, many other unhappy characters are ready to fall upon it. 1. That it is by our Saviour noted to be the very *Dialect*, which the obstinate Jews used toward the true Prophets of God, ἐνεδίκατον, and πᾶν ποινὴν ἥμα, reproachings and every evil word, Mar. 5. 11. and such withall as will to the sufferer be matter of triumph (χαρὰ and ἀγαλλίασις v. 12. amounts to that) in case it shall finally prove that causeless or falsely, and for defence of the truth it hath fallen upon him.

4. 2^{dly} That in case it should not in fine prove thus, yet it is that, which an Angel, the most highly dignified and most importunately provoked (so was Michael Jude 9.) would not make use of against the Devill himself, when engaged in the most malicious dispute against the true Church of God (for such I suppose I have elsewhere shewed was meant, in that place, by the body of Moses) And that it should now adays against all laws of Religion be admitted to an office (such I think should be a dispute) of Religion, what is it but the imitation of Hercules's sacrifices at Lyndus, which were celebrated by execrations and maledictions, any ἀσυνία or word of civility, though unwarily let fall, being deemed the violation of the festivall.

3^{dly}. That as nothing hath a more direct and particular opposition, and unreconcilable ness to that spirit of meekness wherein we are commanded by Saint Paul, to * instruct, to * 1 Tim. 2. 15.

- * 1 Cor. 4. 21. * *chastise*, to * *reduce* opposers to that *supernall wisdom* in *St. James*, which being first pure, is next peaceable, then gentle and *ἡμερόδης*, so it cannot proceed from that divine Spirit, whose fruits among others are reckoned to be love, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, in opposition to hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, and such like, *Gal. 5.* and the biting one another, *v. 16.* all characters of the *Gnostick heresie* at that time.

6. Lastly, that as this is a most unskilful diviation from all rules of art, as well as civility, and *St. Hierome* notes it as a great error in *Helvidius* that he took railing for eloquence, so it is not imaginable how so much learning and abilities, as this *Disarmer* is believed to have, should admit so great a mixture of rudeness and scurrility, had it not appeared necessary to assist in the counterpoise, to supply some other defects, and been usefull, as *Hierocles* saith of oaths, *πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου*, to fill up the chasmes or vacancies in the discourse, that same prudent *Philosopher* having given us this *Aphorisme*, that confidence of skill conduces much to the infusing meekness into our debates: Thus * *Pliny* and * *Aetius* tell us of the *Gracian serpents*, that have no killing faculty of their own, born with them, they are fain to feed on noxious herbs; (*θανατηφόρος βίβλος ἐδίστοι*) or else they are able to hurt no body. And thus is *S. W.* put to it, to lighten his confuting powers; he submits to a sad diet, and then * *βιβρωκὼς κακὰ φάρμακα*, having armed himself with these strengthening plants, he becomes, * *δρείσερος ἀνδραμένησι*, very triumphant at least, if not victorious over his adversary.

This therefore is no excellent indication of *S. W.* his persuasions of his own performances in this combat, that he deemed it necessary * --- *geminare venenis vulnera*, thus to anoint his shafts, as the *Ethiopians* do their * little arrows, which having thus imbibed high virtues, *ἰὺ δρασνόντων παραγμένα, ὄζον τινα καὶ ἀπότομον θάνατον ἐπιτρέψαι*, make very quick work, are very killing, or in my *Disarmers* phrase, beyond all possible confute; For (besides this conscience of his own wants) what rational account can be assigned, that such a last reserve should be drawn out so soon, that *τὸ πλεῖζαι* which the *Orator* makes the effect of the disputants being nonplust, and cannot be more commodiously

ren-

* *Nat. Hist.* l.

29. c. 4.

* *Tetrab.* 4. sec.

1. c. 34.

* *Aelian.* l. 6.

c. 4.

* *Hom. Iliad.*

χ. v. 93.

* *Claud. paneg.*

1.

μικρὰ βέλῃ.

Il. lib. 2. lib. p.

rendred then in the *Authors* style, of *rude blowes*, should be the refuge so early, and so constantly, that this *ultimus conatus*, last plunge of a *gasping* cause (as when art is at an end, *Hippocrates* puts off his desperate patient to the *φύσις ἰντεταί*) should so long forestall the *κείσις*, and dishearten his friends and servants (in which number, if but upon that one score of having received *injuries* from him, I am by *Christs Law* obliged to include my self) and shut out all hope of receiving benefit from any future applications, The Divine being allowed to have that *skill* in *symptomes*, which *Irekaus*, as well as *Gallen* hath taught us, that the *profusest* laughter is the worst indication in the *affections* of the *spleen*, ἢ πλέον γελᾶσι, ταύτη μᾶλλον κακῶς ἔχουσι.

Sect. 2.

An Answer to his two Questions concerning contumelies. The Christian method of answering such.

HAVING from that *Obligation* of *Charity*, which is most particularly required of me by *Christ* to the despightfullest enemy, *Mat. 5. 44.* said thus much to my unknown *Disarmer*, It is a second necessary *method* of the same *Charity*, to endeavour his *conviction*, by examining that one account, which he gives of the rudeness of his blowes, by exacting an answer from his *Reader* to this question, *How he would take it if one should spit in his face, and justify the affront because his breath is sweet, or what he would say to him that ruins his estate by perjury, & defends himself, that he held up his eyes to heaven, and swore demurely*] adding, that whatsoever answer he gives, it will perfectly clear *S. W.* his behaviour towards the *Doctor*.]

2. Herein all the Reply that can be expected from me, is to answer his double Question, and to do it according to the certain rules of *Christs* Divine Precepts, and not the uncertain, mutable practices, or humors of the passionate world. To the first, which mentions *spitting in the face*, be the breath that accompanies it either sweet, or otherwise, my answer is, That this I should look on as a contumelie of the nature of that which *Christ* mentions,

Mat.

Mat. 5. 39. ὅστις σε ῥαπίσει, Whosoever shall strike thee on the right cheek, which, supposing no wound, or permanent pain to the body, was a fit instance to express reproaches and contumelies and such like supportable injuries of all sorts, parallel to which are all the scoffings and revilings, which were thought necessary by S.W. for the Disarming of Schisme; And if the Tract to which he replies had any such in it, either toward the Church of Rome, or any particular member of it (as I know there is not one in the whole Book, and the very confession of the sweet breath, the courteous style, the civil adversary makes it needlesse to contest it) the duty in respect of the sufferer is evident in Christs Sermon, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, turn to him the other also, rather adventure more of the like injuries than ever think of acting revenge on that. There is but one farther care beyond this, which can be reasonable, προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων, To pray for them that thus despitfully use you, and that it may not be ἀνεργηστος ἄρχη, a sluggish unactive, and so uneffectual sacrifice, (that πνεῦς ὁφείη καὶ ἐξερουλοῖς χρονομία, in Hierocles) the assistant endeavour, and diligence of fraternall admonition, and reproof is to go along with our Prayer, Mat. 18. 15. and this is all the revenge that is allowed to any private Christian in this case. And so that must serve for answer to his first question; Let him now consider what arts wil avail to make up the parallel betwixt this duty, and his practice, when he that gave the Law, shall come to exact account of the performance of it.

3. The other Question founded in the more unsupportable injury of ruining the estate by perjury, must have another answer, that in that case, it is very lawfull to use all lawfull means to discover the perjury, and to defend the estate: What those lawfull means are I shall not need to enumerate, but onely assure him, that rude blowes which avail nothing to either of these ends, twitchings by the beard, declamation and satire, (before any attempt of proof) are none of these justifiable lawful means, but are on the contrary that most unjust, unskilful, as well as unchristian revenge, the ἐγνομαιστος in the Sroick, the doing the most we can to be like him, whom we most dislike. Mean while, to bring this home to the case before us, 'tis certain and visible, that as the defending the Church of England from Schisme, bears no proportion to the ruining
- S. W.

S. W. his estate (if he hath no other tenure in his earthly, or heavenly possessions, but the worlds believing, that we are *Schismatick*, he hath been very negligent of his deeds, and a little charity were his much better way to mend his assurances) so surely, neither is there any oath incumbent on us, which can be pretended to be violated by casting off the *Romish* yoke, neither hath there been any the least *perjurious* tampering discoverable in any part of my defence, he might as truly have said, that I offered sacrifice to Idols, that I consulted with *Necromancers*, to rob him of his *Christian* patience) and if he mark, his style, which was robust in the mention of perjury, is grown much fainter, when he comes to the *ἀντιρρόσις*, pretends to no more than perverse meaning and abusive treating matters of religion; But I trust it shall appear that this was but the language of interest, or passion also, and that there is not one single falsity in that whole Tract of *Schisme*: If there be, I shall, when it appears, be content to deliver it up to the force of his proofes, but not till then, to the charme of his scoffes. If I must be humbled for my misfortune, as he styleth it, in handling controversies so meanly, 'tis not yet, I suppose, the season for it, till I have lost my own, or felt the keenness of his weapons, in whom it is (in the interim) a transgression of the rules of *Art*, as well as *Justice*, no other than the meanest begging the question, to suppose that guilt, which he was to prove, to assume so early, in the *Epistle* to the Reader, what he must (but hath not yet so much as attempted to) demonstrate.

I have done with *S. W.* his *Epistle* to the Reader, his very uneffectuall defence of a very great, and evidently the principall part of his Book, that which comprehends all the scoffes and revilings in it, and having said so much in this place, shall not adde one word more on that subject, how oft soever it sollicite me, in the future debates.

SECT. 3.

The affinity betwixt Schisme Disarmed and the Catholick Gentlemans letter. The design of this Answer.

And when I shall have subjoynd two considerations more, I shal have rid my self, and the Reader of a great part of the task, which seemes incumbent on both of us, and so shorten our work, by *inlarging* our *procinetus* or entrance to it.

2. First then it is manifest, that *Schisme Disarmed* is in a great part of it nothing else but the *inlarging* on those briefer animadversions, which had been given by the letter from *Bruxels*, or the *Catholick Gentlemans answer* to the most material parts of the *Book of Schisme*; For which purpose I refer the Reader to p. 24. of *Schisme Disarmed*: where after some prælusory lighter skirmishes, he thus begins. *These grounds laid, it were not amisse to insert here what the Author of that Epistle which was written from Bruxells in Answer to D^r Ha. saith upon this* p. 25. *place*] adding his judgement of that letter, that had it not been strangled in the birth, and miscarried in the Printers hand, it might have saved the labour of this larger confute; and being exactly short might justly be styled D^r Ha. his *Iliads* in a *Nutshell*, since the force of it was so united, the reason in it so firmly connected, as might have cost the D^r a full ten years siege, ere he could make a breach into it by his brown Paper bullets.] This passage of kindnesse and reference to that Epistle, with many other characters of affinity betwixt that, and *Schisme disarm'd*, especially the first of the three parts of it, perswade me that the Author of that Epistle was the Penman of at least the first part of *Schisme Disarmed*: And agreeably the answers there drawn in little, have here a larger pourtraiture, but remain in substance, the same, with the advantage onely of some growth of limbs and such like accidentall improvements. Now whereas it is certain, that I have punctually made *replie* to that whole letter, and every period in it, setting it down and attending it *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, and having first, to the utmost of my skill, rescued it from all the

Printers

Printers miscarriages, (which is all the *strangling* in the birth he speaks of) and then improved every *Answer* in it, as far as I could foresee it improveable, never taking the least advantage either of the conciseness of its *natural frame*, or the *misadventures* it had casually met with; It were now not onely *superfluous* for me, but *unjust*, equally *impertinent*, and *unconscionable* to make the *Reader* pay twice for the same *Answers*, and therefore no other then duty thus far to comply with his *ease*, and *thrif*t, as to refer him to that *Reply* for all that is there competently *vindicated*, without any further repetition, which I therefore here minde him of, once for all, and accordingly design this view of *Schisme Disarm'd* to be an *Appendix* onely to that *Reply* to the *Catholick Gentleman*, to glean after the *rake*, to consider onely those *Answers* in it, which had not been insisted on, in the haste of that briefer *letter*, but are now taken in by these *deu'teris q̄seruides*. Had my *Disarmer* taken notice of my *Reply*, (as he had time to have done, and I cannot apprehend his *retirement*, or *employment* so strict that he should not hear of it) he might possibly have given me a sight of some *infirmities* in it; But as it is, I discern no need of giving it any farther *assistance*, as far as respects those answers, which it undertook to consider: And so I have no more *incumbent* on me at this time, but to survey, and *muster* all the *fresh* forces, which now *first* appear in the field, and not to increase the *roll* with the new *names* and *dresses*, that the old *stagers* appear in, the *second* time.

3. Secondly, there are some parts of the *Traët* of *Schisme*, which my *Disarmer* excepts against, as *superfluous* to the debate betwixt us, as that intire branch entred on, Ch. 6. of the *Romanists* plea from the *Bishop of Rome*s having planted *Christianity* among us. Which being disclaim'd to be any plea of theirs, It is perfectly needless that I should vindicate the *arguments*, that are framed to refute that plea, any farther, then as he which grants my *conclusion*, will yet make some specious *objections* against my way of inferring it.
4. Some other things there are of this kind, to all which I shall not need to give any *attention* especially when I have done it once in the *Reply*, And then that which remains, my present *necessary* charge or *province*, being thus refined, and separated from these three

parts of it, the *declamation*, the *repetition*, and what hangs loose, and may by consent be spared from the *controversie* before us; it will not retain so formidable a bulk, as it first appeared to have, and may by *Gods blessing* be dispatcht without much labour, and presented to the *Reader's* use with some degree of that *compendium*, which *Philo* speaks of, τῶν Κολοσιαίων μεγίστων τὰς ἐμμε-
 τας ἢ βραχυτάτην σφραγίδα τοῦ ποιεῖν δέχεται, the largest proportions may be carved in little, and contrived into a *signet*, and so might, if the hand were fine enough, the portraiture of my *Disarmer*.

CHAP II.

A Reply to his Introduction.

Sect. 1.

The writers that have engaged against the mainbody, and authority of the Church of Rome. The reasonableness of insisting on that rather than particular controversies, especially at this time.

IN his *Introduction* these few things seem to expect some Reply. 1. His pretended admiration, *Why the Protestant party, who heretofore seem'd still more willing to skirmish in particular controversies, then bid battell to the main body of the Church, or any thing which concern'd her authority, should now print Books by pairs, in defence of this disunion from her and subducing themselves from her Government* annexing afterward his conjecture of the reason, to allay this admiration. Now of this, as far as concerns one of the pair, I am able to give him the one just account, and need not attend to his conjectures, who was not of my *Council* in the designment.

And 1. *S. W.* must be a very great stranger to his own country, or willingly dissemble his knowledge, if it were any newes to him, that the *Fathers* or *sons* of the *Church of England*,
 write

write Books against the main body and authority of the Church of Rome: 'Tis pity I should be set to prove this: He cannot but have heard of the tract *de vera differentia Regia & Ecclesiastica potestatis*, set out by the Prelates in Henry VIII. his days (and may if he please now view it. under the title of *Opus eximium* in Goldastus's *Monarchia*) as also *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537. and, *The necessary Doctrine and Erudition*, 1543. under the head of the *Sacrament of Orders*, I. These certainly were as early, and as punctuall, as he could wish, to the main body of their Pretensions, and to omit innumerable others, What was Dr Reynolds's conference with Mr Hart in Queen Elizabeths reign: and of later times, Bishop Bilsons discourse of the true difference betwixt Christian subjection, and unchristian Rebellion, Bishop Davenant de iudice & norma Fidei, The Volumes of Antonius de Dominis, when he was a member of our Church, and yet later, Dr White, Mr Chillingworth, and my Lord of Canterbury, and many others, which are fresh in every mans memory; And it is much juster matter of wonder to me, that S. W. would choose to set out so unanspiciously, as to begin with an observation founded in a visible contrariety to a plain matter of fact, that every man that thinks of, must discern to be so.

2. 2^{dy}. If his observation had all truth in it, viz. That formerly we were more willing to skirmish in particular controversies, yet 'twere obvious to every man, what might now suggest the change of that course, and so could be no reall matter of admiration to S. W. For when the particular controversies have been competently debated, why should more pains and time be spent on them? And when the more general fundamental questions of Romes infallibility, and universal pastorship (on which the case of Schisme depends) comprehend all lesser debates, what more compendious way can be invented, to the ending of disputes, which are not such excellent employments, that they should be perpetuated, as this, to set the axe to the root of the tree, which when it is stocke up, the branches by necessity of consequence, without any new execution, will soon wither away, but till this be done effectually, the root will still propagate its life and juyce, and controversies will within few years sprout out, and flourish a-

fresh, and so the circle be endle's betwixt growth and lopping, and new growth again, when the axe and mattock, brought out together, might soon make a gainfull conclusion, transform and improve the barren weald and bosk into a fruitfull Campania. But beside prudent consideration, there was some kind of necessity which in stead of directing, challenged and exacted this method at this time. It was visible to all what industrie was used by the Romish Missaries, by pretence of our being in schisme, to defame (and so fright us out of) a persecuted profession. And if we may believe their own boasts, it hath succeeded with them very prosperously; and how could we, without the greatest uncharitableness, perpit the temptations of our present pressures to be thus inhaunced to any weak seducible Christian, when a little pains would lay it visible before him, that the Bishop of Rome never had from Christ or Saint Peter, or from any other title justly pleadable, any supreme authority, or jurisdiction over this Island. And so unless an act of due and seasonable Charity be the great unheard of neues, or prodigie; I discern not what could suggest to S. W. the least admiration in this matter.

Sect. 2.

No reasonableness of Schisme pleaded. The Censures of the Church not alwayes seasonable against Schismaticke.

1. **T**He second thing that exacts Reply, is his advertisement that it were more seasonable for the Church of England to denounce to those many minute sects gone out from their communion the unreasonableness of their schisme, then plead the reasonableness of their own, and to threaten them with the spiritual rod of excommunication, unless they return, then cry so loud not guilty.]

To this I answer, 1. That S. W. cannot be imagined to have read the first Chapter of the short tract, to which he assumes to give answer, if he can believe himself, when he saith, that we plead the reasonableness of our own schisme: 'Tis there most evident, that I grant all schisme in any that are found guilty of it, to be incapable of all excuse, or plea of reasonableness, and that I main-

I maintain our *innocence* by denying the *fact*. and not by defending the *justice* of it. This then is another *ſcizis* what trust is due to *S. W.* in his affirmations.

3. 2. It must be a *misunderstanding* of the *nature*, and *aime* of the *censures* of the *Church*, if he could in earnest think this a fit *season*; to inflict or *menace* them, on those sons of this *Church*, which have at this time *divided* from us. 'Tis certain that a *prevailing* evil, a *schism* arm'd with *might*, is not either in *prudence* or *charity* to be contended with. They that have cast out the *Governors* of the *Church*, and trod down their *power*, are not, till the *paroxysm* assuage, or some good *crisis* appear, qualified for this kind of *application*. Our *prayers* are the special means, from which we hope *success*, and those we cease not to *pour* out for them. and for all that have *erred*, and are *deceived*. All other *fraternal* means both for *cure* and for *prevention* we take in also in their *seasons*: and I had thought the so large and punctual *representation* of the *danger* and *sin* of *Schism*, ch. 1. the *definition* and *specification* of the sorts of it, in the following *Chapters* of the *Traкт* of *Schism*, had been in some part the *denouncing* against all that are *guilty* of it the more than *unreasonableness* of their *schism*: And I need not mind him of many other *treatises*, very particularly *address*, and largely designed to the same *end*.
4. As for any more solemn judicial process of *νουθεσία* & *ἐπιτίμια*, *admonition*, *exhortation*, *discipline*, they are not at all times, and so not at this, the proper chosen *weapons* of our *warfare*, which being designed to none but *charitative* ends, for *edification*, not for *destruction*, to reduce such as are within reach of that *hope*, not to riot in the *ruine*, to *seale* up, or increase the *damnation* of any, and being, as the *Apostle* saith, *ἡ καρπὸς*, not *carnall*, they must consequently be far removed from that one (as from all other kinds of) *carnality*, the expressing *impotent* passion or *revenge*, or *heaping* any other *coals* of *fire* on the *Opposers* heads, but those that are apt and *probable* to *melt* them. And had the *Romanists* used this method, in stead of their other more *sanguinary*, with *meekness* *instructing*, and not with *rage* *fulminating* against those, that *oppose themselves*. the *Christian world* had not now probably been engaged in such irreparable *ruptures*, as with *rivers* of *tears* of *blood* will not be *proportionably* lamented.

Sect.

Sect. 3.

The Romanists urging false fundamentals. Our acknowledging them a true Church, No proof that we think their Errors tolerable. The gravity of the matter makes not errors fitter to be prest then rituals. Tediumsness in things acknowledged, unjustly charged.

1. **A** Third thing there yet remains set down in these words [*that we prest them to believe false Fundamentals. Dr Ham: and his friends will not say, since they acknowledg ours a true Church which is inconsistent with such a lapse, they were therefore in their opinion things tolerable, which were upon them ; and if not in the same ranke, yet more deserving the Church should command their observance, then copes or surplices, or the Book of Common-prayer, the allowance whereof they prest upon their Quondam brethren.*]
2. In these words there are too many variations from the rules of sober discourse, so many indications of *S. W.* his temper, that it will not be easie to enumerate them, I shall make tender of some few, *προς διέξιν.*
3. And 1. when he undertakes for me and my friends, we will not say, that the Romanists have prest us to believe false Fundamentals, either his words are not intelligible sense, or else they have visibly no degree of truth in them. That any Fundamentals should be false, is a contradiction in adjecto, and is not sense, or intelligible: The meaning therefore, I suppose, is, that some things may be said to be fundamentall, which are not truly such, and that they that prest others to believe such doctrines, and to believe them fundamental, presse them to believe false Fundamentals, and then *S. W.* his affirmation must be, that I and my friends will not say that the Romanists do thus. But herein certainly he knows the contrary, viz. that we affirm them to prest many things on us for fundamentals of belief, which are not Fundamentals (by name that of the infallibility of their Church) and that this is of all others the greatest objection, which we have to their dealing with us, as that which renders our reunion most impossible. That we hold nothing *de fide*, as fundamental, which they do not also hold,

we

we oft *affirme*, and it is most *manifest*, but that they have not made more things *necessary* to be *believed*, and so *de fide*, and *fundamental*, than we do, or can *acknowledg* to be such, is affirmed without the least *ground*, or *shew of truth*, and that was no very fair play in my *Disarmer*.

4. 2^{ly} For his *proof* of this his *affirmation*, *viz. because we acknowledge theirs to be a true Church*; either it is assisted by a *gross*, and discernable *equivocation* in the word [*true*], and then again it hath no *truth* in it, or else it is far from all *probability of concluding*, what he *infers* from it. If by [*true*] he means to exclude *erroneous*, even in this degree, as to *press* for *fundamental*, that which is *not* such, nay nor *truth* neither, then he knows we yield not the present *Church of Rome* a *true Church*, but charge it guilty of many *errors in belief and practice*, and particularly of this, that they *define* many things *de fide*, and *press* them to be so received by us, which we *acknowledg* not to be such, and so he hath gained little by this our *confession*. But if by *true* he means *veritatem entis*, which alone we *acknowledg* of it, that it hath the *true nature* of a *Church*, but that overcharged with many *errors*, 'tis impossible he should ever infer from thence, that we say they *press* us not to believe any thing for *fundamental* which is *not* such. This sure they may do, and be foully *culpable* for doing it, and yet not *unchurch* themselves by so doing. They that hold the *true foundation* laid by *Christ*, but offend by enlarging it beyond the due *limits*, who adde more than *Christ* or his *Apostles* deposited in the *Church*, do not by this *superaddition* either *renounce*, or *forfeit* all that before they had, the *dross* doth corrupt the *gold*, but not *annihilate* it.

5. 3^{dy} His *affirmation*, that they were, in our opinion, things tolerable which were urged upon us, is of the same *quality* with the former. 'Tis certain we have oft exprest our opinion, that they are such as without *hypocrisie*, or *gross sin* against *conscience*, we cannot admit, and no weight is more *unsupportable* than that. Another visible *lapse* you see in relating a matter of *fact* (for such it is to affirm us to *opine*, what we *opine* not) but then that which follows in the fourth place is still more *transcendent*. The things which they *press* upon us (and we cannot *submit* to) are, saith he, more deserving the *Church* should command their observance than

opes. I grant that *articles de Fide* are, or should be of far greater importance, than ornaments, or rituals: But what if *articles* are imposed *de Fide*, wth have no truth in them, wil the gravity of the matter in that case plead for the imposing them; or can it thence follow that all that the Church of Rome hath defined to be *de fide*, do better deserve to be commanded, than *Copes*? *Copes* are by us, and the Romanist joyntly acknowledged to be things indifferent, and so lawfull to be prudently prescribed by a competent authority; and the lighter they are in the nature of them, the greater obstinacy it is to resist such commands, and causelessly to depart from the Church, rather than do what is thus indifferent. But the weightier the importance of the other is, the more intolerable is the pressure, and the greater the tyranny of imposing them. So beyond all measure improbable are all S. W. his present offers of probation. 'Tis pity thus unnecessarily to insist on it.

6. What he addes of my tediousness in things acknowledged by both parties, is with no shew of justice suggested (the whole treatise being very short, and in my opinion every branch of it necessary to vindicate our innocence, or to pre-judge theirs) especially when the lesse he hath to oppose, the sooner he might, if he pleased, be at an end of his journey, were it not that he finds as faire colours of answers to reply, and as faire a field to expatiate, when the matter is most grossly true, and granted by him, as he doth. when it is most his interest to oppugn it. I shall propose to my self, not to transcribe this copie from him, but permit him peaceably to speak as much truth, as he will, be it direct, or never so much out of the way, and never disturb him in his course, unless I shall discern some part of my arguing concerned, which the former Replie to the Catholike Gentleman had not opportunity to vindicate, And so much for his Introduction.

CHAP: III.

A view of the first part of Schisme disarm'd.

SECT. I.

No cause can justify Schisme. The reasons of my setting down the sin of Schisme so largely. The state of the question, which the Schismaticks, the Romanists, or we. The case of the Romish Recusant. Of the Pope excommunicating us, against Canons Ephesine, and Apostolick, &c. A difference between the Court of Rome with their abettors, and the charitable subjects of the Papacy: The fundamental question, the right of the Popes power. My modifying the Fathers words.

1. **I**N the first Section of his first part, two things *S. W.* is much to seek in, and to those it will be act of charity to afford some satisfaction. First, why I took pains to set so ill a character upon schisme (as is done in the 6, 7. and 8. Sect. of Chap. 1.) to gather as he saith, such a bundle of severe rods out of the sacred Scriptures and best Fathers, to whip Schismaticks:) 2. Why I thinke the cause or occasion of any mans schisme not worth the producing or heeding in this Controversie.

2. Of the later of these I have already spoken in the Reply, Chap.

1. Sect. 1. and shall now only adde another very ancient testimony from *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his Epistle to *Novatus*, Ap: Euseb: B. 1. c. 28.
πῶς ὁπὺν μαρτυροῦντες τῷ κυν διακρίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς θείας. *A Christian ought to endure any thing in that (humble Charitative) cause of not dividing the Church of Christ, rather then really to divide upon what ever cause. And because it is now suggested that this is but a fetch, the prettiest that ever S. W. met with, to wave the whole question, or whatsoever is materiall in it, I shall in answering of his first wonderment, give a clear account of this second misunderstanding also.*

3. The evident reason of my premising so largely, and so early that bloody portraiture of the danger, and sin of schisme, as far as it respects

respects the *Romanist* and us (for it had a more *comprehensive* influence than so, as hath been already said) was no other but the *intire desire* to speak the full *truth* of God, and to lay all guilt, where I was fully perswaded the *All-just searcher of hearts*, and *Judge of actions* had laid it, i. e. on those, whosoever they were, that were truly *guilty* of it, who had either divided from the *Catholicke Church of Christ*, truly so called, or in special from any *particular National Church*, such as the *Church of Rome* is on one side, and the *Church of England* on the other. And this was so pertinent in both these respects, to the *Romanists* present case (as many especially, as have forsaken that *Communion* of ours, in which they sometimes *lived* obediently) that if ever I had been really willing to *alleviate* the *Fathers* censures of the crime of *schism*, (as twice, or thrice my *Disarmer* pretends me inclinable to do, he shall see anon with how little *reason*) I might most justly say, that it had been from a *tenderness* to our *enemies* (and not from any *jealousie* of our *selves*) an effect of which it really was, that I chose not to proceed to *fasten* this crime on any, to assume the *office* either of an *accuser*, or a *Judge*, but contain my self within the meekest bounds, that *humility* and *charity* could advise, of *vindicating* our own *integrity*, without *recriminating* or retorting the *charge* on our *adversaries*. Of this I shall now speak a little more *expressly*, upon this occasion.

Tr. of Schism,
p. 11.

4. That it is in this debate, concerning *Schisme*, a matter of *question* betwixt the *Romanists* and us, whether the *Bishop of Rome* had before, and at the time of the *Reformation*, any *supreme legall power*, and *authority* over the *Church of England*, I willingly acknowledg (and by the way, it is strange that *S. W.* can think fit to affirm, that * *none doubts it*) and till that *question* be decided on one side, it cannot with any reason be *defined*, on which side the *schisme* doth truly lye. And therefore I deemed it absolutely necessary to examine all the *Romanists* pleas imaginable, their *weightier*, or *lightest* colours of *pretensions* to that *authority*. And I think no man can, or doth say that I have omitted any head of them; but on the other side, that I was over carefull to *prevent* some which they now choose not to *plead*. From hence it is inevitably consequent, that as on the *rryal* of this *question* of the *papal supremacy*, the *Crisis* of this other of *Schisme* so depends, that when the one is *determined*, the other must follow it, it being e-

* That our Church had authority to do it (to cast you out and deny you Communion) if you be found to deserve it, being then her subjects and children, none doubts, p. 4.

vident

vident that actually there is a *schisme* or *partition* betwixt us, and by both of us granted, that no *cause* can excuse them, who shall be found *guilty* of it: So whilst the former, that of the *papal authority*, is under *contest*; the *question* is not *barely* this, Whether the *Church* of *England* be *schismatical*, or no, (for a *Romanist* may *cheaply* debate that, and keep himself safe whatsoever becomes of the *umpirage*) but indifferently, and equally, whether *we*, or the *Romanist* be thus *guilty*, or which is the *Schismatick*, that lies under all those severe *censures* of the *Scriptures* and *Fathers*, Those of the *English Reformation* on the one side; or the *English Revolters* on the other side, not *excluding* (but *involving* also under the same condemnation, in case they have no due *authority* over us, which now is the *question*, and must not be *begg'd* on either side) the *Governours* in the *Romish See*, that have against all *Christian* methods of *charity*, and *duty* of *Communion*, cast us out of their *societies*, as without *authority* (in case they are not our *lawfull superiors*) so without all *cause*, and continue their *severity* without all *remorse* or *relenting* for the space of many years, and this not only toward us, but toward many other *Churches*, *East* and *West*, *North* and *South*, in all parts of the *habitable* world.

5. For if the *Church* of *England* be really *αὐτοκεφαλαιος*, duly subject to no *foreign jurisdiction*, which I must yet suppose to be made good in that *tract* of *schisme*, then the *laie Papist*, baptized a member, and *sonne* of this *Nationall Church* under the *authority* of our *Ecclesiastical Superiors*, as he was born a subject under the *civill Governours* of this *Realm*, hath *revolted*, and *separated* from his immediate *Superiors*, and for his sake, among others, it was, that the *Discourse* was so *punctual*, and so large c. 3. concerning the *unity* of *subjection* of all *inferiours* to all their *lawfull Superiours*, and the *schisme* that arose from the *breach* of that *unity*, the casting off that *Obedience*; It were to be wished the *English Revolters*, that are so *neerly* concern'd, and the *unsettled doubters*, that are in most danger to be *seduced* by the confidence of a supposed *safety*, which is promised them in their *departure* from us, and affirmed to be *granted* on all hands, would timely be *admonished* to take notice of it.

6. So again if the *Bishop* of *Rome* had really no more power and authority over this *Church*, then the *Bishop* of *Antioch* in the time of the *Ephesine Council* was found to have over *Cyprus*, then his pretending this *supereminent* authority, and proceeding with us, as with his *legall* subjects, sending out his *Bulls* of *Excommunication* against us, what is it but a *schisme* formally on his part, which makes the *rupture* between the *sister Churches*, and a most express *violation* of the *antient Canons*, which so distinctly, and precisely command the *contrary*. I shall best give you their sense in the very words of the great *Council* of *Ephesus*, *Can: ult.* *μὴ δὲ τῶν θεοφιλεσάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν ἐκέσσαν ἀνωθεν καὶ ἑσπαρχῆς ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἢ γὰρ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ πιπίηται βιασάμενος, τῷτον ἀποδιδόναι, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβάνωται. μὴ δὲ ἐν ἱερωσύνης προσήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύπος περιεσδύνηται, μὴ δὲ λαΐωμαν ἢ ἐλδυσίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλδοθεσώτης, ἵνα ὁ Bishop (be he ne never to dignified) shall invade another Province, which hath not been from the beginning under his, i. e. his Predecessors hand or power. But in case any have thus invaded and by violence brought it under him, he shall then make restitution that the *Canons* of the *Fathers* be not transgressed, and under pretence of sacred office, the pride of secular power secretly steal in, and so we by degrees lose indiscernibly the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all men hath given us by his own blood. This is yet more distinctly set down in the genuine *Apostolike Canons*, where as the due observance of the *Primate* in every nation is prescribed *Can: 34.* and his power thus limited in the exercise of it, that he shall do nothing in the *Inferior Bishops Dioceses*, and τῆς πάντων γνώμης, without the good liking of them all (and if he do otherwise, he abuses his dignity, saith the *Scholiast*, and * converts it into *tyrannie* and αυθεντία, which is no better then *tyrannie*) so *Can: 35.* they proceed to define ἐπισκοπον μὴ πολὺν ἔξω τῶν αὐτῶ ὄρων χειροτονίας ποιῆσαι, εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῦ πόλεις καὶ χώρας — that no Bishop shall dare to ordain any without his own bounds, in cities or regions not subject to him; or if he be convinced to have done so, without the good liking of those that have the rule of those cities or regions, he is to be deposed for that default.*

And

• ἐδὲ τῷ πρῶ-
τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
παρὰ χεῖρα
τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τα-
χρῶμενον, εἰς
δυναστείαν
ταύτῃ αὐμει-
βεῖν, καὶ ἐναυ-
θεντῆν, καὶ
χωρὶς κοινῆς
γνώμης τῶν
οἰκείων συλ-
ληττεργῶν
ποιεῖν τὶ τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν, ἢ
τῶν ὁμοίων
αὐτοῖς *Zon. p.*
17. D.

7. And what they thus define about *Ordination*, the *Council* of *Constantinople* extend to all other *Ecclesiastical* affairs, *Can: β. ἀλλήλους ἐπισκοπῆς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐμβαίνειν* (as before τὰς ὑπερ-
 ρίους ἐκκλησιαστικὰς μὴ ἐπέναι) ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις
 ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς, that no *Bishops* must, unless they be called or in-
 treated, meddle beyond their *Dioceses*, or with *Churches* without
 their bounds, either for *ordination*, or any other *Ecclesiastical* *eco-*
nomies; and the *Scholias*t tells us, that the word ἐμβαίνειν signi-
 fies it to be ληστρικῶς καὶ ἀτακτὸν ἔσθον, a robbery, and a tumultu-
 ous disorderly invasion in them that are guilty of it. The same
 doth the 13th *Canon* of *Antioch* define of any *Bishop*, in reference
 both to * *ordination* and to constituting of what ever *Ecclesiastical*
 affairs that belong not to him, decreeing a plain nullity of all that
 he shall thus constitute, and so again *Can: κβ'. of that Council.* Zmi. p. 70. A.
8. And this being the *Bishop* of *Rome* his condition in respect of us,
 in case he have no *legall* authority over us, and be not intreated
 by the *Governours* of our *Church* to exercise any; or in case he
 were our *Primate*, yet still if he act without the *Council*, and a-
 gainst the consent of our *Bishops*, as he must be supposed to do,
 when he *excommunicates* them, and their *Flocks* together, 'tis all
 this while, as was shewed, *usurpation* and *invasion*, and by force
 of these *Canons* ἀτακτὸν and ἀκυρὸν, irregular, invalid, and null,
 and in the consequence of it, most evidently destructive of that
 εὐνομία that concord and unity, as of brethren, which is to be pre-
 served between severall *Churches*, and so a most culpable act of
schisme in the *Bishop* of *Rome*, and in all them that are guilty of it
 in so high a way, as to anathematize and disclaim all *Communion*
 with others: and this is all this while visibly antecedent to, and
 abstracted from the cause of his doing it, which alone *S. W.* will
 allow to be considered, accusing me for waving the question, when
 he swallows it down at one haust, pretending that none doubt of
 their *Churches* authority to do it, which I profess to be the one
fundamental question of all, to which this other, who they are
 that are guilty of the *schisme*, or whether the charge of *schisme* be
 sufficiently proved against us of the *Church* of *England*, is but ap-
 pendent, and consequent, the usurping of an undue power over
 those that are not his *Ecclesiastical* subjects, being no *Judicial*
 act, but a most visible *Tyrannie* in him that exercises it so bloo-
 dily,

6. So again if the *Bishop of Rome* had really no more power and authority over this Church, then the *Bishop of Antioch* in the time of the *Ephesine Council* was found to have over *Cyprus*, then his pretending this *supereminent* authority, and proceeding with us, as with his *legall subjects*, sending out his *Bulls of Excommunication* against us, what is it but a *schisme* formally on his part, which makes the *rupture* between the *sister Churches*, and a most expreis *violation* of the *antient Canons*, which so distinctly, and precisely command the *contrary*. I shall best give you their sense in the very words of the great *Council of Ephesus*, *Can: ult.* *μὴ δὲ τῶν θεοφιλεσάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν ἐκ ἑσταν ἀνῶθεν καὶ ἐξ αρχῆς ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἢ γὰρ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ ποιῶνται βιασάμενος, τῷ πῶν ἀποδιδόναι, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβάνωσιν. καὶ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύπος παρισδύνηται, καὶ ἐν λαῶν ἡ ἐκείνων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐδωρήσαστο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερώτης, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Βῆσσοπ (be he ne never to dignified) shall invade another Province, which hath not been from the beginning under his, i. e. his Predecessors hand or power. But in case any have thus invaded and by violence brought it under him, he shall then make restitution that the Canons of the Fathers be not transgressed, and under pretence of sacred office, the pride of secular power*
- ἐδὲ πρὸ πρῶ. secretly steal in, and so we by degrees lose indiscernibly the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all men hath given us by his own blood. This is yet more distinctly set down in the genuine Apostolike Canons, where as the due observance of the *Primate* in every nation is prescribed *Can: 34.* and his power thus limited in the exercise of it, that he shall do nothing in the *Inferior Bishops Dioceses*, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, without the good liking of them all (and if he do otherwise, he abuses his dignity, saith the *Scholias*t, and * converts it into *domas* and *autonomia*, which is no better then *tyrannie*) so *Can: 35.* they proceed to define ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ποιῶν τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης, ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς *Zon. p. 17. D.* τολμῶν ἐξῶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν χειροτονίας ποιῆσαι, εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῦ πόλεις καὶ χώρας — that no Bishop shall dare to ordain any without his own bounds, in cities or regions not subject to him; or if he be convinced to have done so, without the good liking of those that have the rule of those cities or regions, he is to be deposed for that default.

And

7. And what they thus define about *Ordination*, the *Council* of *Constantinople* extend to all other *Ecclesiastical* affairs, *Can: β.* ἀλλήλους ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐμβαίνειν (as before ταῖς ὑπερ-
 ρίσις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπέναι) ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις
 ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς, that no *Bishops* must, unless they be called or in-
 treated, meddle beyond their *Diocese*, or with *Churches* without
 their bounds, either for *ordination*, or any other *Ecclesiastical* æ-
 conomies; and the *Scholias*t tells us, that the word ἐμβαίνειν signi-
 fies it to be ληστερικῶς καὶ ἀλακτον ἔρροδον, a robbery, and a tumultu-
 ous disorderly invasion in them that are guilty of it. The same
 doth the 13th *Canon* of *Antioch* define of any *Bishop*, in reference
 both to * *ordination* and to constituting of what ever *Ecclesiastical*
 affairs that belong not to him, decreeing a plain nullity of all that
 he shall thus constitute, and so again *Can: κβ'.* of that *Council*.
 8. And this being the *Bishop* of *Rome* his condition in respect of us,
 in case he have no *legall* authority over us, and be not intreated
 by the *Governours* of our *Church* to exercise any; or in case he
 were our *Primate*, yet still if he act without the *Council*, and a-
 gainst the consent of our *Bishops*, as he must be supposed to do,
 when he *excommunicates* them, and their *Flocks* together, 'tis all
 this while, as was shewed, *usurpation* and *invasion*, and by force
 of these *Canons* ἀτακτον and ἀνεγν, *irregular*, *invalid*, and *null*,
 and in the consequence of it, most evidently destructive of that
 εὐμῶνία that concord and unity, as of brethren, which is to be pre-
 served between severall *Churches*, and so a most culpable act of
schisme in the *Bishop* of *Rome*, and in all them that are guilty of it
 in so high a way, as to anathematize and disclaim all *Communion*
 with others: and this is all this while visibly antecedent to, and
 abstracted from the cause of his doing it, which alone *S. W.* will
 allow to be considered, accusing me for waving the question, when
 he swallows it down at one haust, pretending that none doubt of
 their *Churches* authority to do it, which I profess to be the one
 fundamental question of all, to which this other, who they are
 that are guilty of the *schisme*, or whether the charge of *schisme* be
 sufficiently proved against us of the *Church* of *England*, is but ap-
 pendent, and consequent, the usurping of an undue power over
 those that are not his *Ecclesiastical* subjects, being no judicial
 act, but a most visible *Tyrannie* in him that exercises it so blood-
 dily,

dily, on whatsoever pretended *misbehaviours*, and that which alone, without any other *branch* of plea, justifies us from the guilt of *schisme*, in vindicating our just *liberties*, by casting him out of that *power*, who was so unduely *possest* of it, and so divolves (unless he can clear his *title* to the *power*) the whole *guilt* of the *crime* on the *accuser*.

9. How highly the *Court of Rome*, and all that abet her *grandeur* and content of their *brethren*, are to be judged *criminous* herein, this is no place to define: I willingly acknowledg a wide difference between them, and the humble *charitable* members of the *Roman Communion*, who living quietly under their *Superiors*, endeavor and pray for the peace of the *Catholike Church*, and contribute not *actively* or *willingly* to the *ruptures* of it: Of which number because our *charity* bids us hope there are great *multitudes*, we are still free from any *necessity* of prejudging the *Church of Rome* from being a *true Church*, and so still retain that *favourable* opinion of *salvation* being attainable amongst them, which we always allow'd, yet cannot absolve from the guilt of the most culpable *schisme* those that have set up, and maintained that more than γένον or ὀρίστην or μεμετήχον τῷ παρῳῳ, that *impregnable fortress*, rather than *wall of partition* betwixt us, nor yet those that against all rules of *subjection* and *subordination* have renounced their lot in the *Church of England*, wherein they were *planted*, and given themselves up to a *foreign obedience*.

10. My *Disarmer* will, I suppose, by this discern the satisfaction which he is likely to receive to his two *scruples*, I have that confidence of his *capacity*, as to leave him to pick it out of the *premises*, and apply it to his best advantage, as I do also this open *acknowledgment*, that if by the process of this debate it shall appear, that the *Bishop of Rome* is, or was by the *Institution of Christ*, from whom he pretends, our *legal superior*, possessor *bona fidei* of the *supreme power* over us, we are then unquestionably the *Schismatics*; and if not, then are they such, which have *revolted* from us. And this, as it will shorten the *method*, and make it still reasonable to wave the consideration of the *occasion* and *causes* of the *schisme* (of which they that are guilty are not *excusable* by any *motive* or *cause* of their *action*) so it is most distant from *declining* the very point of the *difficulty*, as *S. W.* without all colour of truth,

truth, or argument, pretends, the *right* of the *power* being the one great *requisite* to the *validity* of any *exercise* of it.

11 Wherein as we have no reason to dread the *Romanists*, or to misdoubt our *plea*. so I assure *S. W.* no fear, or jealous apprehension of any possible *danger* inclined me to modify any sharp expression of the *Fathers* against *schisme*, as he twice or thrice without any justice suggests me to do. The clearing whereof is all that I have any obligation to add to this *Section*.

12 His first whisper of *suggestion* is, that in rendering *S. Augustines* words, *Non esse quicquam gravius schismate*, I say there is scarce any crime so great as *schisme*. [There saith he, I mince it with scarce, when the place cited is absolute, that there is not any] But certainly *S. W.* sees amiss, The place in that *Father* is not absolute, that there is not any so great, but only that there is not any *gravius* heavier or greater; now there may possibly be many crimes as great, though no one were supposed greater, and so my rendering it [there is scarce any so great] i. e. scarce any equal to *schisme*, is fully as much, as the *originall* contained: and if it differ at all from it, 'tis that 'tis more *comprehensive*, than that which 'twas set to *interpret*. And yet also the other expressions of the *Fathers*, produced in that place, gave me *authority* to set it in that *amplitude*, not *idolatry*, not *sacrilege*, not *parricide* (say they) is so great, and therefore I conclude, *scarce any crime can come* in competition with it, not knowing any that was qualified for it by being greater than these, and yet not assuming to *affirme* more than my *authorities* did induce, that there was none greater. Herein tis visible my *Disarmers* hast was too great, and that I could not have rendred either the words more fully, or the sense of the *testimonies* more punctually, than I did render them: 'Twere, I doubt, his dearest interest, that some softer expression did truly belong to that *sin*, than that which I was forced to allot to it.

13 The other rendering which he blames is on occasion of these words of *Irenaus*, *Nulla ab eis tanta fieri potest correptio quanta est schismatis perniciēs*, whence, not as translating to a word, but as deducing a conclusion, I infer, that it is in the opinion of the *Fathers* very hard, if not impossible to receive such an injury or provocation from the *Governors* of the Church as may make a separation excusable [here, saith he, the Doctor mitigates the dangerous

D

expression

expression with, very hard if not impossible.] But why did he not say, I did not exactly render *schismatis perniciēs* ? For it is evident, I varied that more, than the *nulla fieri potest correptio*. The short is, I set down the *latine* punctually, and so left it not possible for me to impose on any that understood that : Thence I inferred what I supposed the *testimonies* would be sure to beare, and was carefull not to go beyond those limits, and knowing that both in *Scripture* oft, and not seldome in other *Authors* ἀσύντακτον which is literally impossible, was in sense to be rendred hard or difficult, I took that cautious expression to be best, that in their opinion ^{it was} very hard, if not impossible.

- 14 A third whisper there is still behind in this S. that in stead of the words of S. *Augustine*, separate from the *Catholike Church*, the Dr. full of jealousies and feares, puts the Church truly *Catholike*, as if, saith he, there were much danger lest any perhaps should imagine *Christ's Church* (of which he conceives S. *Austin* meant it) to be untruly *Catholike*] But this will be soon dispatcht. S. *Austines* words are, *Communione separent à communione Orbis terrarum*, I exprest this [and by separating from the universall or truly *Catholike Church of Christ*] the reason is visible, because the Church of *Rome* is by her *Advocates* styled the *Catholike Church*, being certainly not such in the notion, wherein S. *Austin* speaks, that of the *Communion of the whole world*, or as *Catholike*, if truly so, must signifie *Universal*.

- 15 These are the acts of *charynesis*, whereof I am accused as of *dexterities*, that I found necessary, lest I might too directly prejudice my future work ; with what truth suggested, the reader will now judg, yea & S. W. also (if 'twere possible he should believe himself in this part of his accusation) whom I have now made my Confessor of my secretest and deepest reservations, I wish he would not oft put me to such necessities, till he be better qualified for that office.

SECT.

Sect. 2.

The notation of the word *Χίσμα*, from the passive reciprocal. The Hebrew conjugations. Σάζεσθι. Ἀπαρίεσθι. Ἀποχίεσθι. Self-division. Begging the principall questions. The cause considerable in excommunication, though not in Schisme.

1. **I**N the second Section what he premises concerning heresie, and formes into a kind of exception against my proceeding, had been intimated by the Catholike Gentleman, and is in the Reply, c. 2. §. 1. evidenced to be his misunderstanding.
2. What follows at large in a triumphant manner, on occasion of the critical notation of the word *Χίσμα*, from *Χίζομαι*, in the notation of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, is perfectly new, and an excellent taste of S. W. his Grammatical skill, but shall no longer detain me, than whilst I clear the truth, and give reply to his objections.
3. The truth is evidently this, the word *Schisme* comes from the passive *Χίζομαι*, which regularly signifies being cut, or divided, but yet the sin of *Schisme* being an action upon himselfe, not a passion from any other, it was, I conceived, of the nature of those passives, which note reciprocal action, or passion which S. Jude fully expresses by ἀποδιόψιντες ἑαυτούς, the title which he gives the grand Gnostike Schismaticks, that they cut off, or divide themselves from the Church; and Justinian in his Novels, διαμεῖ: ρθ. ἐι ἑαυτούς χωρίζου τῶν τῷ θεῷ δωρεῶν, if they divide themselves from the gifts of God. This being evident, and yet not regularly the notation of Greek passives, I laid it was of the nature of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, which denoting reciprocal action, is by some reckoned the fourth, by others the seventh conjugation, constantly known among all by that name of conjugation, and I was content to speak as other men constantly speak, and therefore said that for want of conjugations (such as the Hebrew Grammars call thus) the passive was designed to supply the place of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, and so noted the reciprocal, where the passion is from, and on himself, and is fully exprest by the latine *Neutral*, a separating, or receding

ding of any member from the *unity* of the *Church*. This is as plain sense, and as strictly according to the rules of *Grammar*, and ordinary use of words, as I could possibly speak, and withall, very usefull, in my conceit, to set down the true notion of *Schisme*, as it differs from all other things that border on it (and though they are not, may yet be *mistaken* for the same) particularly from *excommunication*, which is the cutting off others from the *Church*, whereas *S. Paul* speaking of the *heretical Gnosticks* which were *Schismaticks* too, saith that they were *αὐτοῦ καταπίλοι*, such as condemned and excommunicated themselves, which is as perfect an evidence of the reciprocal action or passion, as could be.

4. This renders him answer to his first scruple [How I know it must necessarily be taken in that notion here, since, saith he, coming from a verb active, it must in the first place have a signification perfectly passive.] The account is given already, because the *Schismaticks* in *S. Jude* are defined by him not such as are divided, in a passive sense, but *αὐτοῖσι χωρὶς ἑαυτῶν*, those that separate or divide themselves, and the same men are by *S. Paul* said to be *αὐτοῦ καταπίλοι*, such as inflict the censure of condemnation or excommunication, *Cod: Afr: can. 22* *αὐτοὶ καὶ ἑαυτῶν* in the *African Council*, themselves upon themselves. This evidences the *Schismaticke* to be a reciprocal agent and patient, and that the *Greek passive* denotes not, but as it supplies the place of the *Hebrew Hithpacl*, therefore thus it must be taken in this word.
5. 2^{dly}. This renders him answer, with what propriety I say this is for want of conjugations, viz. for want of such flexions and variations both of the signification, and of the first syllables as the *Hebricians* call conjugations, whose language it was fit I should use, when I spake of the *Hebrew idiom*, communicated to the *Greek*.
6. That voices and conjugations are, as he saith, jumbled in this language, is neither granted by all *Grammarians*, nor at all tends to *S. W.* his advantage, if it were granted to him. Those *Grammarians* that make but four conjugations, do certainly not mixe, or jumble them, for of those four, each of the three former are divided into their *Actives* and *Passives*, such as the *Latines* and *Greeks* call voices, and the fourth is not capable of that division, but is reciprocal. And though others stile these eight conjugations, as *David Kimchi* in his *מגן משה*, *Moses Kimchi* in his *Grammar*, and

and *Elias Levita*, yet they have taken care to sever them, into the *parents*, as they call the *Actives*, and the off-spring the *passives* that have issued from them, and the *reciprocal*, which is *parent* and *daughter* too; and so still the *distinction* is preserved clear, and not the least *impropriety* imaginable in my speech, that the *Greek* which had neither *voice* nor *conjugation* of the *reciprocal* forme, used the *passive voice* in stead of it, for want of *conjugations*, i. e. for want of something answerable to that, which the *Hebrews*, both they which make but *four*, and they that make *eight*, do uniformly style *conjugation*.

7. In this place it is not conceivable how *S. W.* should come to call them *eight votes*, and to affirm that the *Grammarians* so style them. That any one *Grammarian* hath styled them *eight Votes*, is more then by any enquiry I can discover: and if any have, I am too dull. I acknowledg, to understand him, unless because *Votes* signifies *voices*, when they are used for *suffrages*, he meanes to give law to *language*, and appoint *votes* to signify *Grammatical voices* also. And yet if that were his mistake, or if the *Printer* substituted *votes* in stead of *voices*, there must be in it another mistake also, for no *Grammarian*, I suppose, could ever think there were *eight* such *voices*, and therefore still I am to be informed by some *Diviner*, what *S. W.* his *eight votes* signified.

8. So again, when having disliked my *multiplied conjugations* in *Hebrew*, he yet adds, that there are *more in the Greek* then in the *Hebrew*, twil not be easie to discern upon what account *Grammatical*, or *rational*, he could do so; For it being certain, that the different *conjugations* in *Greek*, are not *varied* in the *flexion*, as the *Latines* are, but only in the *Characteristick*, (and so the best *Grammarians* have resolved, that though such *καίους* are called * *conjugations*, yet they are improperly so called) it is evi-

* ας και συζυ-
γίας καλουμεν,
Theodor:
γραμματι-
ςισουγ. βιβ β.
p. 39.

dent also, that the same *strict lawes*, that are of force against the *multiplying* the *conjugations* in *Hebrew*, are of *equal*, if not *greater* force against the bestowing that title of *conjugation* upon all the *variations* of the *verbs* in *Greek*. The *variations* in all those,

all

all the conjugations in Hebrew, but doth not so in Greek, and accordingly there is no such thing in the Greek language, as the variation of frequentative, transitive, and reciprocal, which are in the Hebrew Piel, Hiphil, and Hithpael, the only ground of my affirming, that the Greek wanted conjugations, which were found among the Hebrews. Such misadventures as these, his descending to such niceties hath cost him, and truly some more, witness his neutropassive taken by him for a passive in the reciprocal or neutral sense, when every school-boy knows, that all neutropassives are of the active voice, so again his instancing in *sto*, as a word partaking of a passive sense, because it may be rendred, *I am standing*, and others the like, through every stage of this his voyage, if it were not too great levity, and somewhat unreconcilable with common compassion to enumerate them.

9. In stead of so doing, I shal only adde an answer to his one principal scruple, when having mentioned the notion of Hithpael, to signifie an express action upon it selfe, he demands, *where the Doctor among all his criticall observations can shew him one word in all the Latine and Greek language to parallel it, or that is (as the Doctor expresseth it) of the nature of Hithpael.* I answer $\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ is such a Greek word of the nature of Hithpael, signifying sometimes saving and delivering himselfe, and in rendring expressed by the neutral, escaping, Gen. 19. 19. and 22. 1 Sam. 19. 12. Joel 2. 32. and so tisued by S. Luke in the same sense, Acts 2. 40. $\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \sigma\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, be ye saved, literally, but in sense, rescue, or as the English renders it, *save your selves*, or escape, or get out of this wicked generation. So yet neerer to the word we have in hand, $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$, literally, to be separated, is sometimes to separate themselves, without any action of, or passion received from any other, as 2 Cor. 6. 17. where by way of exhortation the Apostle bespeaks them, $\epsilon\chi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$, Come out and be ye separate, i. e. separate your selves, not, be ye separated, or cast out by others. The foregoing neutral sense of coming out, expresseth this to be the importance of it. And for the very word which hath occasioned this debate, see Num. 16. 20. where when the Hebrew hath $\הִבְדִּיל$ in Hithpael, separate your selves, the Greek reads $\alpha\pi\omicron\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$, be ye cut off, or divided from them, the very same that is varied, v. 24. into $\eta\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\ \alpha\nu\alpha\chi\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$

get you up from them; and v. 26. *וּפָרַדְתֶּם* depart, again rendred by the Gr: *ἀποχρίστε*, be ye separated. These are sufficient to answer his question: And for variety of other the like examples (I never affirmed it of all, as he is pleased to inferre, p. 9. but only of this and some others) if he have, either skill, or conversation in the original languages of the Scripture, he will be soon able upon this memento, with a little observation, to furnish himself.

- 10 As for his ways of disproving it, p. 10. [*that if it signifie a reciprocal action or passion, it must signifie an act of dividing exercised on himselfe, who therefore is the thing divided: and since division is a progress or motion from unity to plurality, its proper and formall effect is to make that, which it works on, more of one, but that which it works upon, saith the Dr, is himselfe the Schismaticke, therefore it cuts the Schismaticke in two*] this is indeed a deep subtilty, which will soon be avoided by remembering him, what self-division it is, of which he knows we speak, not that of hewing, or mutilating his body, but cutting himself off from the body of the Church, with which he was united (the Church being a body as well as S. W.) and sure such a division is *mors ab unitate ad pluralitatem*, a progress from unity to plurality, when he cuts himself off from the Church, as well as when he cuts himselfe in pieces. If these be the rigorous, by which he saith he means solid, pregnant, convincing discourses, to which S. W. so pretends, I have no reason to be ill pleased, that he likes not my way of arguing, I should be sorry to have approved my self to him.

- 11 But it seems all this debate might have been spared, for after all this *solicitude* (which hath brought in but slender advantages to S. W.) he willingly grants all that this Criticisme demanded, viz. that the sin of schisme, must be the voluntary recession, as that differs from the passive, excommunication, which therefore he acknowledges not to be schisme. Which as plain a truth as it is, I desire to take witnesse of it, that it is granted me by him, and then I shall be the more perfectly secure from the guilt of schisme, till by some other argument than the Popes having excommunicated us (viz. by our voluntary recession from them, or from some members at least of the true Church of God) he shall prove that we are truly Schismaticks.

- 12 What he adds farther in this *Sett*, p. 12. of the no immunity from

Tr. of Schism.
c. 2, 3, 4.

from error in the Governed, fit to counterpoise the liableness to error in the Governors, which I had mentioned; and p. 13 of the voluntary continuance in a just excommunication, which makes the thus excommunicated Schismatics] hath in both parts perfect truth in it, but is no ways applicable to the business there in hand, nor can pretend to be so, without a begging of the principal questions, or matters in controversy betwixt the Romanist and us: First, that the Bishop of Rome was the Governor, and we the governed, at the time when he first excommunicated this nation; whereas at the time of those Censures coming, in Qu: Elizabeths days, he neither *de facto* was then owned as such, nor *de jure* had title to it: And at the time when this Nation first did that, for wth he first excommunicated them, i. e. in King Henries dayes, *de jure* he had no title to it, and by Papists, continuing such in all other points, the Government, which he held *de facto*, was first cast off, and that by those, to whom the supreme power, under Christ, did belong, viz. by the King concurring with the Bishops, and by the Bishops with the King. 2^{dly}. That the excommunication sent out against us, was founded in a just cause; which it could not be, if we did nothing toward the Bishop and Church of Rome (viz. in that one act of casting out his usurped power, and reforming our selves) which was not perfectly lawfull for us to do. For though, as I said, in a voluntary recession, which alone is schisme, it is not worth breeding what the cause or occasion is, because none, how weighty soever, can be sufficient to justify that, yet in excommunication, which is not schisme, it is not so, the justice or injustice of that, whether in respect of the power (the legality thereof) or of the cause, is that which gives it validity, or renders it invalid, and null to all effects: and this being in part granted by S. W. viz. that unjust excommunication hurts no man, and the other part being as evident, that an unjust power is no power, and the acts null, we are perfectly safe from all the suggestions of the 2^d Sect. till he make it appear, what here he attempts not to do, that their excommunicating of us had neither of these injustices and nullities in it.

Sect.

Sect. 3.

The pretence of weak consciences against lawful authority in just commands, mis-represented. Fallibility of all but God, and Saints and Angels. S. W. his arguments for infallibility answered. The infallibility of the Apostles stated. Of the Church to the end of the world. Of the meanes to know the books of Scripture. Of matters of fact of our certain knowledg.

THE third Section is by my Disarmer strangely mispent, Declaration poured out on the aire, like Xerxes his stripes on the Sea, a perfect Romance-combate with a Windmill of his own erecting, toward which I never contributed the least stone or timber, 'Tis upon a fancie, or fiction, that I favour the pretence of such a weak conscience, as makes a man thinke he ought not to communicate with the CHURCH, and this even though the truth be on the Churches side.] How much I favour such a weak conscience, which apprehends that unlawfull, which is duty, and so thinks to be excused from performing it, is visible to any that shall but view the place, to which this Section is confronted, where first I affirm of him, that he is in severall respects criminous, and particularly in this, that he communicates not with those, the condition of whose communion contains nothing really erroneous or sinfull. *Of schisme c. 2. S. 8.*
 2. I adde, that such an one is in the worst and most unhappy kind of straight, remains in error and schisme on the one side (is this in favour of such weak consciences, or an affirming (as S. W. suggests) that he may do it lawfully ? or is it interpretable to have any kindness to a bare pretence of it, which comes short even of that ?) and if to avoid that, he communicate, in this case he advances to lying and hypocrisie ; and in plain termes, that which way soever he turne, till he really convert from his erroneous conscience, and weak mis-perwasion, he is sure to sin. What could be more plain, or free from my Disarmers calumny ? from pleading for seditious offenders ears (of wth the wit of the Romish factor hath made a speciall service in his Bill of fare) or what Apology can S. W. ever make to God or his own conscience, for so manifest a perversion,

version, and slander of the most innocent expressions.

2. Having given the reader a few such *deigns* of this *Disputer*, I shall get, as soon as I may, out of this close converse with him.
3. In the latter part of this *Self*: I am chid for not apprehending *any but Saints and Angels in heaven, and God himselfe to be infallible and impeccable*: and as this last word is styled a disgracefull addition of a forged calummie on the *Romanists*, and noted as a custome of ours, *whensoever we speak of their tenets*, so for the former part, he pretends to shew the great absurdity of it, 1. by mentioning the *Apostles* as those that were infallibly assisted, and so 2. the succeeding Church, and 3. that there is some meanes to be infallibly certain that such and such books were Gods word and genuine Scripture: and lastly, that the *D^r* himself will acknowledge it impossible that all the Protestants in England should be fallible, or mistake in witnessing whether twenty years ago there were Protestant Bishops or no.
4. To these objections I answer briefly, 1. by recounting the occasion of those words of mine, to which his animadversion belongs. It is a saying of *M^r Knots*, that we may forsake the Churches communion, in case she be fallible, or subject to error, which seemed to me very strange, because then 'tis not only lawfull to forsake the Communion of every erroneous Church, but of all that are fallible, though they be not in error, and such I conceived all humane societies to be, and consequently that there would be no possibility for any on earth to be guilty of the sin of schisme: Now as this is plain in it selfe, so it is very far from ingaging me in the question concerning the Infallibility of the Church (on that subject I had spoken at large elsewhere) any farther, than to take notice how strange an argument this was to conclude it by.
5. 2^{dly}, By assuring him, that I was far from calumniating, or affixing any disgraceful word on the *Romanist* in that place. I conceived humane nature to be in it selfe equally liable to sin and error, and so no more infallible than impeccable; and again, that no society of men on earth hath now the priviledge of immunity from either, and if any had the former of impossibility to be deceived, yet unless it also had the latter, and so could not teach contrary to their belief, it were still the same to all effects: He that knows the truth himselfe, and yet may be so wicked as to teach contra-

ry to his *knowledge* (and he that can *act* contrary to his *knowledge*, and so *sin*, may do so) may *lead* others into the most ruinous *errors*, without *erring* himselfe: and therefore I said, that none but *Saints* and *Angels*, and *God* in *heaven* had the priviledg of *impeccable* and *infallible*, never conceiving that any man would hence conclude me to think, that the *Romanists* pretended to both of them, whose actions so openly, and acknowledgely *disclaim* the one, and I think the *other* also. The utmost was, that I thought it as possible that the *Pope* might *erre*, as *sin*, having no more *promise* from *Christ* of his *security* from *one*, than the *other*, and so might any other *single* man in the world, and in proportion any *multitude*, or assembly might (the *major* and so *prevalent* part of them) consent in an *error* as well as in a *vice*; and as this was far from *calumniating* any, so is it to my apprehension, as *evident* a truth, in reference to any *society* of men *now* in the world, as could have been mentioned by me, but this is no place to enlarge on it, farther than the remaining *objections* exact from me.

6. To them therefore I proceed, and to the mention of the *Apostles*, I reply, 1. That sure they are comprehended in the number of *Saints* in *heaven*, for thre undoubtedly they are, 2^{dly}. That supposing *S. W.* to speak of them, when they were here *on earth*, as his following words interpret him; I *answer*, that it is most true, that they were *assisted* by *Christ*, so as they did not, and could not *erre* in the discharge of their *office*, in penning the *sacred writ*, and preaching the *Gospel*. In this work they were, according to *Christs promise*, led by the *Spirit* into all truth; But that this *promise* had an *unlimited* extent, or consequently that they were in all sorts of things made *infallible*, appeareth not; nay the *differences* that were between them, in lesser things, prejudgeth that.

7. I shall lay down this a little more *distinctly*. Of the *Apostles* 'tis evident, that as they were men here on *earth*, they were *fallible*, and oft *deceived*, even after they were employed by *Christ*; Of *ignorances* and *slowness*, and *hardness* of *heart*, and *listlessness* of *faith*, they are by their *Master* frequently affirmed to be guilty. And so all the *infallibility* that ever they had above other men, proceeded from *Christs special promise* of *assistance*, made unto them; some degree of this *assistance* was *promised* them, in order

to some *particulars*, at their going out to *preach*, *Mat. 10. 19.* and after more largely, at his *departure* from them, *Mat. 28. 20.* Now that *promise*, *Mat. 10. 19.* was evidently confined within such *limits*, as left them subject to the many great *errors*, which after they proved guilty of, so far as (to omit many other of an *inferiour* degree) to *doubt* whether he were the *Redeemer*, or no, *Lu. 24. 21.* one to *apostatize* finally and *betray* him, another *not* to *believe* him *risen* for some time, and all as to be *scandalized* and *forsake* him at his apprehension, so to *disbelieve* the relation of his *resurrection*, *Lu. 24. 11.* and to take the *appearance* of him, *ver. 37.* for a *phasm*.

8. From such *grand fallibilities*; and *failings* as these, I suppose them perfectly *secured* by that *second promise*. & the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, & to be from thence-forth *infallibly assisted* to their whole *office*, but yet to be *lyable* still to some *frailties* and *ignorances* in other things, whereunto the *promised assistance* extended not in that *degree*, as should make them thus wholly *infallible*; which appears as I said, by the *lesser differences*, which are recorded between the *Apostles* themselves, in their *Ministry*.

9. Now to bring this home to the *particular* in hand, It is not only a *speaking truth*, a not being *actually* in *error*, which will inferre such an *infallibility*, as there I speak of, and conceive not to be met with on *earth* (for my words are expressely, to *forsake all that are fallible, though they be not actually in error*) but it must be a *security* founded in some *promise* of *God*, that they shall not be *lyable* to any *error*, and though *naturally* they are so, that yet they shall undoubtedly be preserved from *falling* into it, and that not only from *this*, or *that* sort of *errors*, but *indefinitely* from all (for so *M^r Knott* words are [*infallible and not subject to error*].) And neither of these being proved to be comprehended in the *promise* made to the *Apostles*, it is evident, that this *first* instance or example of the *Apostles* could not pertinently be opposed to my affirmation.

10 2^d For the ensuing, or *succeeding Church till the end of the world*] 'tis certain that that degree of *assistance* which was afforded the *Apostles*, was not either *promised*, or afforded to that. By the *succeeding Church*, the *Governors* must necessarily be meant, speaking as he doth of that *promise of remaining with them always*

to the end of the world. For the *ūmīs* you] there, being primarily the *Apostles* themselves, and *secondarily* the *successors* of the *Apostles*, 'tis evident and acknowledged generally by the *Fathers*, that the *Bishops* in every *Church*, were those, the *Apostles* successors: And therefore this *promise* in the *secondary* sense belonging unto them, 1. It belongs no otherwise to the *Church*, then as that signifies the *Governors* of the *Church*. 2. It belongs to the *Governors* of the *Church* of *Ephesus*, *Laodicea*, &c. and to all other *Bishops*, as well as the *Bishop* of *Rome*. And belonging to all theie indifferently, it is yet evident, and *confest* on all hands, that all these *Governors* have not been *infallible*. Many of them have notoriously fallen into *error*, and even in the time of *Scripture*, witness the *Epistle* to the *Churches*, *Rev.* 2. 3. and so sure the same *priviledge*, that the *Apostles* personally had, was not thus communicated to the *succeeding Church*, i.e. to their *Successors*, the *Governors* of that;

- 11 Nor indeed was it *needfull* it should; All things which were deemed *needfull* for the ensuing *plantations*, were agreed on by the *Apostles*, and deposited in each *Church*, as their *Rule of Faith*; and if they would adhere to that, there was no need of any *super-added infallibility* to other things, because these, already provided, were *sufficient*; but if they would not *adhere* to that, this were an evidence of their *fallibility*: As for the *promise* here mentioned, that *Christ* would remain with the *succeeding Church*, that, and the *prediction* that the *gates of hell* should not prevail against it, are assurances, that he will so *support* the *Church* by his *presential* providence, that it shall never totally be *destroyed*, or *demolished*: But not that any particular branch of this *Church*, be it never so *favour'd* by him, shall be thus secured from the utmost either *error*, or *ruine*, in case it shall not walke *worthy* of the *mercies* bestowed on them (the *seven Churches* in the *Revelation* are competent instances of that) nor that even the *universal Church* over all the world, in what capacity soever, *diffused*, or *collective*, shall never fall into the *least error*, *Christ's personal* presence among his *Apostles* on earth having not thus secured them.

- 32 3^{dy}. For the *infallible* meanes of *knowing this or that booke of Scripture*] it is sufficient, that I answer, that if this were yielded,

yet would it not prove any *society* of men on earth to be *infallible*. He that is in *many* things *fallible*, and more than so, actually *erroneous*, may yet *infallibly* know or *believe* some one, or more *other* things, either by his *own senses*, or by the *testimony* of others, founded in their several *sensations*, which being faithfully conveyed to us by *undeniable Tradition*, supply the place of an *αὐτίκα*, are as *unquestionably certain*, as what we have *seen* our selves. I know *infallibly* I now write, and that the book which I now answer, was written before me, and S. W. cannot question the *truth* of these affirmations, yet sure 'tis his interest to be so just, as to thinke me very *fallible*, and actually to *erre* in many other things, else he would have no excuse for having written a *volume* against me. And the same I affirm of all other matters of *fact*, testified by my *own senses*, or by *universal unquestionable Tradition*, for that is founded in the *repeated sensations* of so many other men, which being *communicated* and sufficiently testified to me, I have no more reason to *doubt* of, then of my *own sensations*. And of this sort is the *Tradition* of the *universal Primitive Church* concerning the *Apostles* delivering some *doctrines*, and writing some *books*, the *testifications* of those which *saw* the *miracles*, which the *Apostles* wrought (and whereby God set his *seale* to the truth of their *preachings* and *writings*) that this or that *booke* was written by them, and so by those which were *inspired* by God. In this *testimonie* the *Church* is not considered as a *society* of *believers* indowed with any *inerrable priviledge*, there being nothing in this *question* contested from the *authority* of their *judgement*, be it *errable* or *inerrable*, but as a *number* of *witnesses* (*heathen* and *Jewish* first, and then *converted* by this *doctrine* thus *miraculously* confirmed) joyntly *testifying* of a thing *done* and *seene* by them, and wherein it cannot be imagined, that they should *agree* to *deceive* and *betray*, and so *destroy* their *posterity*, by *confirming* a *falsehood* to them. And so this being the *meanes* whereby I am *assured* that such or such *books* are *genuine Scripture*, it follows not from hence, that either I that thus assuredly *believe* this, on these *testifications*, or even they that have truly *testified* this *one* thing, are in all *other* things, wherein they do not thus *affirme* upon their *own* or *others* *certain* knowledge, of an *infallible authority*.

14 To the last I say, that it is a strange shortness of *discourse*, that puts together an *impossibility* of actual mistaking in *witnessing* a matter of *fact* of mens *certain knowledge*, and an *impossibility* of *being fallible*; for, as 'tis one thing *not* to be *mistaken*, another to be *infallible*; so 'tis not one *act* of *infallible* judging, that makes that person *infallible*, but a *foundation* of *security* for all the *acts* of ones life, and so this is a most impertinent *instance* to prove *general infallibility*. For though I no way doubt of the truth of that which all *Protestants in England* affirme in a matter of *fact* twenty years ago, wherein many of them *lived*, and *saw* what they affirme, yet I have no *assurance* that both in that, and in every other *affirmation* of theirs (of which there is no other evidence) 'tis impossible for them to be *fallible*. That they do, or probably can mistake actually in a thing of that nature *visible* before their eyes, I believe not; Yet is that no *proof* that they are any way *infallible*, either in *observing*, and coming to the knowledge of *all* matters of *fact*, without all possible *mixture* of *error*, (*humane weakness* or *inadvertence* may here interpose sometimes) or in *conveighing* and *testifying* to others exactly, what they did observe; *humane frailties* and *passions* also may at other times intermixe, and even when neither hath *really* interposed, either *might* have interposed, and so still they are not *infallible*, for that contains more than speaking exactly *true*, an *impossibility* to do otherwise, which was the *priviledge* that I still believe to belong to no barely *humane* society.

15 Thus have I, *ex abundanti*, given him answer to all his offers of *reason* for *Infallibility*. And if the rest of those *evidences* tendered by the excellent *Apologie* be of this kind of frame (as me thinks *S. W.* should not be so *unskilful* or *unkind*, as to choose out the *weaker*) I shall not be in danger of that *amazement* that *S. W.* tells me of. Some creatures are pictured on the flag that hangs out, far more *terrible*, than they appear, when you have been at the cost of the *neerer* view of them. And that is all I have to say to his third *Section*.

Sect. 4.

ἰδίῳ τόπῳ, *Act. 1.* Theophylact's, and Occumenius's Scholion, &c. *The division of Provinces betwixt S' Paul and S' Peter. Ambroses, and Jeroms testimonies, and Theophylact's. This by their own agreement, not only by Gods designation. Exclusive of no other of the Apostles. Peters singular supremacy at Jerusalem, why denied. Clements testimonie. The principall place belonged to James in his own See, and so in the Council. Εἰς ἅ κεινῶ, Acts 15. 22. Peters speaking first. S' Pauls no dependence on S' Peter. A place from St. Cyprian, answered. The testimony out of Anacleims's Epistle.*

1. **T**He fourth Section is but the spreading a little thinner the *Catholike Gentlemans* letter, and hath been fully answered in the *Reply*, c. 2. s. 3. So also the 5th Section is answered in *Reply*, c. 3. 1. and the 6th Sect. c. 3. Sect. 2. & 4. So again his 7th Sect. (all but the *calumnies*, and ridiculous colours, that without the least cause or ground in the *Traſt*, he affixes to my way of proceeding, as will appear to any one that reads the *Traſt* it selfe) is prevented, *Ch. 4. Sect. 1.*
2. After this he hath another 7 Sect. p. 42. but that nothing but a *detortion* of my words about κληρῶς ἀποστολῆς, *Act. 1.* making that my *evidence*, which was never by me thought on, as such (nor had I need of such, the thing being evident by its own light, that the *Apostles* went not all to one, but *disposed* themselves over all the world to *severall provinces*) yet borrowed from the short notes of the *Catholike Gentleman*, and answered, *Reply c. 4. Sect. 2.*
3. Of the 8th Sect. three, or four pages are spent on the phrase πορεύσθαι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἰδίον, *going to his own place, Acts 1.* and is of the same nature exactly with the former, and as largely prevented, *Reply c. 4. Sect. 2. n. 20. &c.* and yet upon this he pitches anew, with the greatest career of *declamation*, that he ever let loose to, in the whole book, and spends it all in a passionate *paraneſis* to his dear *countrymen*; the effect of which is, that the
rendering

rendering that phrase of any thing but Judas's going to hell, is to relinquish the sense of the whole Catholike world. My reasons for the other interpretation of *Matthias* his going to that Province which should otherwise have been assigned *Judas*, I have largely rendred in the *Reply*, and shall now annex a testimonie perfectly to my sense from *Theophylact*, on *Acts* 1. ἰδιον τόπον, &c. he calls that his own place, which *Matthias*, so as it was just and fit, should obtain; for as *Judas* was a stranger to it, even before he had fallen from it, ever since he began to be sicke of covetousness and treason, so it properly belonged to *Matthias*, even before he obtained it, ever since he shewed himselfe worthy of so great an office. The like again we have from * *Oecumenius* on the place, * *Edit. Veron.* who setting down, as his use is, the most approved interpretations 1532. hath these words, τόπον δαῖδρον ἦτος τῷ ἀρχόντῳ καὶ ἡ ὁτι τῷ Ἰάδᾳ ἐξαποσμένῳ, ἕως ἰδίου οἴου, τῷ ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνον ἐπισκοπῶν, His own place] he calls his suffocation, &c. or else that *Judas* being gone, he, i. e. *Matthias*, may have the place to himselfe, receiving his *Episcopacy*. So *Didymus*, the word τόπος place signifies many things, among the rest an Order, as when we say the place of a Bishop, or of an Elder. So the Ordinary gloss, ut abiret in locum suum, i. e. Sortem Apostolicam, but he might go to his own place, i. e. the Apostolical lot. Would ever any man have thought that all these should have been thus adventurous to mention such a blasphemous interpretation as this (just the same with the Dⁿ) or that *Lorinus* and *Salmeron* should take notice of them, without any expression of detestation, when *S. W.* had undertaken on his word to his kind readers and deare countrey men, that it was the utmost absurdity, that it inferred the finding of *Judas* a Diocess in hell, and *Matthias* succeeding him?

4. What follows there of the agreement made between *S. Peter*, * *Petrum solum* and *S. Paul*, concerning the division of their Provinces, the one to the *Jewes*, the other to the *Gentiles*, and is matter to *S. W.* of such challenge, and triumph, is cleared in the same Chap. of the *Replie*, Sect. 3. and 4. to be a mistake in him, and all that I pretend, manifested from Scripture. To which I now adde the plain words of *S^t Ambrose* on *Gal.* 2.8. wherein he asserts all that was either my purpose, or my interest to affirme, in these words, * *Paul* saith he, nameth *Peter* alone, and compareth him to himselfe, be-
 cause *Ecclesijs*.

cause he had received the primacy to build the Church, and he likewise is chosen to have the primacie of building the Churches of the Gentiles (and so Chrysost. that St. Paul demonstrates himself to be ὡς αὐτοὺς, equall to them, καὶ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίβει ἑαυτὸν; and compares himself with Peter the chief of them, and Theophylact, δὴ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ἰσότητος τῷ Πέτρῳ, he shewes himselfe equall to Peter) ita tamen ut & Petrus predicaret Gentibus, si causa fuisset, & Paulus Judæis, nam uterq; invenitur utrumq; fecisse, sed tamen plena autoritas Petro in Judæismi predicatione data agnoscitur, & Pauli perfecta autoritas in predicatione gentium invenitur, Yet so that Peter preached to the Gentiles also, if there were cause, and Paul to the Jewes, and so both of them did both: but yet the full authority is acknowledged to be given to Peter in the preaching to the Jewes, and Pauls perfect authority is found in preaching to the Gentiles, from whence also he calls himselfe the Doctōr of the Gentiles, adding that this portion was assigned him, in respect of his abilities, it being harder to attract to the faith, those that were far from God, then those that were neer. And so S. Hierom having affirmed, on Gal. 1. 22. that the Churches which were of the Jewes scorsim habebantur, nec his qui erant à Gentibus miscbantur, were severed, and mixed not with the Gentiles, he addes on this verse of c. 2. That the agreement was made that Paul should preach to the Gentiles, and Peter, and James, and John to the Jewes, which sure was a severing of their Provinces. And so Theophylact on Gal. 1. 21. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἄλλοις μετέβηκεν ταύτης διὰ τὸ ἔδωκεν ἀποσπᾶσαι κήρυξαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλοθεν διελθὼν ἀνέχεσθαι ὁδοποιεῖν, being come to Judea, he departed thence, both because he was sent a preacher to the Gentiles, and because he would not build on anothers foundation.

5. Yet one little deceit there is in S. W. his discourse which the Catholike Gentleman had not attained to, for on occasion of the [for] Gal. 2. 8. his conclusion is, that these two Apostles were more properly particularized to these two parts of the world, by no other designation, than the more especial co-operation of Gods efficacious assistance. Here the mention of Gods special co-operation hath truth in it, and is fully proved from vers. 8. but the [no other designation] (wherein all the force of his answer lyes) is most expressly contrarie to plain Scripture, the Text affirming, that

that besides that, this designation of mutual agreement intervened, *James, Cephas, and John*, saith *Paul*, gave me and *Barnabas* the right hands of fellowship, that we should go to the *Gentiles*, and they to the *circumcision*. What can be more evident for this farther designation, founded in that former?

6. His 9th Section hath somewhat new in it (but perfectly agreeable to the mistakes and detortions gleaned from the *Catholike Gentleman*) as 1. that he will conclude from my words, that I will have all the *Apostles* to have several *Provinces* limiting their jurisdictions, and exclusive of one anothers right, and from thence making the *circumcision*, or *Jewish Christians* peculiarly *Saint Peters* province, and the *Gentile Christians* peculiarly *St. Pauls*, I have gotten all the rest of the *Apostles* leave to play] And then there is another prime dish for *Mr. Stationer* to add to his *Bill of fare*. 'Tis true, I said the *Apostles* by their own act distributed their universal great Province (the whole world, to which they were to go and preach) into several distributions, or lots, or lesser Provinces, one or more to go one way, and the other another, to proclaim the faith of *Christ*, and that the *circumcision* was peculiarly *St. Peters* province, or division assigned to him (and thence I concluded it unimaginable, how he should be the universal or supreme Pastor or Bishop of the whole world:) But what word said I of concluding all the *Jewish Christians* under *S. Peters* assignation, or all the *Gentiles* under *Pauls*? from which alone his conclusion of the play-day for the rest of the *Apostles* is inferred? Nay when he had let it down for my affirmation, that I will have all the *Apostles* have their severall Provinces, is it possible he should, in the same breath, conclude me to deprive eleven of these all of their several Provinces? When I say *Peter* was the *Apostle* of the *circumcision*, exclusively to the *uncircumcision* (as when *Euseb. hist. l. 1. c. 1.* saith, that he preaches in divers nations, *τῷ ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίῳ*, to the *Jewes* that were of the dispersion) the meaning is evident, that he was so the *Apostle* of the one, as he was not of the other, or as *Paul* was, and is in *Scripture* said to be of the other. But can it thence follow, that either no other *Apostle* was assigned to the *Jewes*, but *Peter*, or no other to the *Gentiles*, but *Paul*? Nay is it not expressly shewed §. 6. that the *Jewes* in *Judea* were by *Peter, James, and John* put under *James*

the brother of the Lord and Bishop of Jerusalem? And §. 3. that the other *Apostles* had their several *xxōpes* assigned them, and their travels, labours, and plantations proportionable thereto, and that *S. John* was assigned the *Jewes* for his Province, as well as *S. Peter*, and so had the converting and governing of the *Lydian Asia*, and placing *Bishops* there. This in both parts he takes notice of, p. 57. but never relents at the foregoing calumnie, onely laughs it out, and despises the remainder of the dispersion of the *Jews*, as a few pitiful parishes, unworthy *S. Peter*, but never offers to consider the allegations, by which it was evident, and can never be avoided by him or any man, that the *Jewes* in the *Lydian Asia* were governed by *S. John* (and from thence it was that they had and retained several customs, different from those which were introduced in the *West* by *S. Peter*) And must this be styled the freeing all the rest of that task which their Master had enjoined them? If this be to conclude, or dispute, what contradictions may not this wonder-working faculty reconcile?

- 7 Secondly, he excepts against my use of the word [*singular*] when I say *Peter* had no singular supremacy at *Jerusalem*. To take away his wonderment, I answer, that by *singular*, I mean such an one, as was not common to the other two eminent *Apostles James* and *John*, who together with *Peter* committed the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, the *Metropolis* then of all *Indea* at least, to the *Lords* brother; What he saith in this matter, p. 58. that *Peters* greater authority is not invalidated by his taking the other two with him, any more than is the *Arch-bishops*, when in consecrating a *Bishop*, he takes two other *Bishops* with him] is true, in case it any other way appeared, that *Peter* was an *Arch-bishop* in respect of these two other *Suffragan Bishops*, *James* and *John*: But this neither doth, nor ever will be made to appear by him, and though I did not then undertake to prove their equality by this argument, being about another matter, the extent of *S. Peters* Province, yet the words of *Clemens* *ἱεροπολις* l. 5. might to him, who had this conclusion in his eye, have deserved to be considered, when he saith of *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*. *ὡς αὖ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν προσεληλυθότων*, as being by our Lord preferred or honoured before the rest, yet they did not ἐκδιδομέναι δόξην contend for dignity, but chose *James* the first *Bishop* of

of *Ierusalem*, where the *πρεσβυια* or precedence that *Peter* had from *Christ*, is common to *James* and *Iohn* also, and so no singular supremacy, and as such, they chose and ordain'd the brother of the Lord, which sure is not after the manner of an *Arch-bishop* and his *Suffragan Bishops*. And so also in that place to the *Galatians*, c. 2. 9. *James*, & *Cephas* and *Iohn* are equally dignified by *S. Paul*, and have all three the style of *δοκῦντες σῦλοι εἶναι*, seeming to be pillars, and as the *Fathers* even now concluded that *Paul* was *ὁμοτίμος* to them, and particularly to *Peter*, so they did also, that they were all *ἰσὶμοι*, equally dignified.

8. Thirdly, when I had said of *James* the Lord's brother, not that he was simply superior to *Peter*, but that being fixt *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, all the *Bishops* of *Iudea* were subject to him, and that thereupon in this his *See*, he is named before *Peter* and *Iohn*, *Gal.* 2. 9. and hath the principal place in the *Council* (where *S. Peter* is present) and gives the sentence, *Acts* 15. 19. on which the *Rescript* is founded, *vers.* 22. and from all this conclude no more, but that the jurisdiction in that *Metropolis* belonged to *James* the *Iust*, and not to *S. Peter*; All this he is willing to misunderstand, as a proof of mine, to infer *S. James's* priority of dignity, or greater authority, and to frame some answer to the severall branches of it. But he may know, that as I do not believe *S. Peter* had any greater authority then the rest of the *Apostles*, so I do not pretend that any of the other *Apostles* had greater authority than hee, much lesse this *James* the *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, who, I suppose, was none of the 12. *Apostles*. Only I was to prove that in this his *See* *James* was considered as *Bishop*, and so even in *Peter's* presence had the principal place (and indeed if he was not there in that capacity, how came he there at all, for upon reasons elsewhere given, I suppose it competently establish, that this *James* was none of the twelve) and against this what he pretends, is not of any weight: For

9. 1. When he saith, that the naming him before *Peter*, *Gal.* 2. 9. is, if it were allowed any weight, the losing my cause, because in most other places of Scripture, *Peter* is constantly named first of all the *Apostles*, This I am sure hath no force in it, because this place belonging peculiarly to the *Council* of *Ierusalem*, the giving *James*, which was none of the twelve, the first place here, must in all reason signifie thus much, that he was *Bishop* there, and

that is all, in effect, that I deduce from it, and not from that alone, but from it in conjuncture with *other* circumstances.

- 10 ^{dly} When he saith, *I have not the least pretence of a testimonie that Iames had the principal place,*] it is evident that Saint Pauls naming him first before Peter, is a pretence at least of a testimonie, as far as belongs to Jerusalem. And if there be not the least force in that, this will be somewhat to the prejudice of the Romanists argument, that is wont to be taken from the *Πρώτος Σίμων*, concluding his Primacy from his being first named, which if it would convincingly prove, then must Iames here have it, who yet pretends not to it, any farther than in his own city. But then sure the mention of Iames's giving the sentence, v. 19. was another pretence of a testimonie, and this I still believe the phrase [*ὅτι ἐγὼ κρίνω*, wherefore I judge, or, my sentence is] will be found to signifie, and not onely, as he saith, *his opinion or judgment* in the matter. For 1. tis * S. Chrysostomes observation, that his speaking last was founded in his being Bishop of Jerusalem,

* Tom. 4. p. 795. *ἐπίσκοπος ὡς τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκκλησίας ἄτος, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐκεῖνος λέγει, he was Bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, whereupon he speaks last (according to the customes in Assemblies, he that sits first, speaks last) adding upon 19, 20, 21. of that chapter, εὐνότως πάντα ἐπιδιδόναι — he rightly decrees, ordains these things, making his sentence ἐπίταγμα, a decree, and yet more expressely. setting down* * the *ἁγία* good order observed in their speaking.

* P. 796. l. 28. *After Peter, saith he, Paul speaks, and Ἰάκωβος ἀνέχεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐμπνέει, ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀρχῇ ἐργασθεὶς, James forbears, and interposes not, for he was intrusted with the principality: and * again observing that Peter spake more earnestly, but James more mildly, saith, ὅτι γὰρ αἱ χεῖρὲς τὴν ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει, τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ἔργα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμετέριον διαλέγεσθαι, for thus it becometh him that is in great power, or authority, to leave the sharper things to others, and himselfe to draw his arguments from the gentler, and milder Topicke, making James here in this Councel clearly superior to Peter.*

* lin. 33.

- 11 As for the argument which I had drawn from *κρίνω* I judge] I see not yet any infirmity in it. For thus sure the word signifies in the matter of censures, 1 Cor. 5. 12. *τί γὰρ μοι καὶ τὸς ἕξω κρίνειν; τὸς δὲ ὅτι κρίνεις, judging or sentencing to excommunication, ver. 13. and so v. 3. ἤδη κρίνω, I have judged already, i. e. given sentence*

ſentence : and ſo ſaith * S. Chryſoſtome here of James, *κρίνω ἐγὼ*, * P. 797. lin. 15. *ἀντὶ τοῦ, μὲν' ἐξουσίᾳ λέγω*, I judge, in ſtead of, I ſay with power or, as other copies read, *ἐνσὶ καλῶς μὲν' ἐξουσίας, τὸ κρίνω ἐγὼ*, hee ſaith with power, I judge. But this I never meant any otherwiſe, than as a ſentence pronounced by him, and agreed to by the reſt, and founded, as any conciliary ſentence ought to be, in the *ἔδοξε τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ὑμῖν*, which ſuppoſes the good liking of thoſe others, that ſate with him together in Council, not as depending only on his vote. And this is enough to confirm to him the principal place in that Council.

- 12 What he adds to prejudge the *Reſcripts* being founded, v. 22. upon S. James's ſentence in particular, that *is but only*, Then (i. e. after S. Peter, S. Paul, Barnabas, and S. James had ſpoken) it ſeemed good to the *Apoſtles and Elders*—] is 1. founded in a miſunderſtanding of my aſſertion, and 2. is it ſelfe a farther miſtake. For when I ſaid James gave the ſentence, I never imagined that the ſentence was ſo his, as not to be the Councils alio, but that all their opinions uniformly inclining the ſame way, James pronounced the decree, or *δόγμα*. But then 2. the thing which there follows in thoſe words, *Then ſeemed it good to the Apoſtles and Elders, and the whole Church*] was a ſubſequent determination of ſending choſen men to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, and to write by them, as follows expreſſly in that 22. verſe. And ſo on which ſide the want either of wiſdome or honeſty hath appeared to lyè, S. W. may now be better qualified to conſider:
- 13 What he would now conclude in favour of S. Peters authority, from his ſpeaking firſt, or breaking the ice in ſuch a ſolemnly pronounced oration] will ſoon be answered by remembering, that St. Peter had been accuſed of preaching to Cornelius a Gentile, c. 11. 2. as Paul and Barnabas had of more than ſo, and for that reaſon they begin, and give account of their actions, the one juſtifying himſelfe by the holy Ghoſts deſcent on thoſe Gentiles, before he baptized them, and the other by the miracles which God had enabled them to do among the Gentiles.
- 14 In this *Seſſ*. treating the buſineſs of S. Paul ſet down in Gal. 1. 12. 17. he diſtinguiſhes of dependence on S. Peter, and allowing Paul to have had no dependence on him as to the manner of conſerring on him the power of Apoſtle, he will yet have this power (given him) to depend on S. Peter, or to be ſubject to him as the
- Chiefe

chiefe of the Apostles.] But to this I answer, 1. That he ought in any reason to have offered some proof for this, which he knows is most denyed by us, and 2. That unless the same Christ that gave him this power immediately, subjected it to S. Peter, and appears to do that, as clearly as he gave him the power (which tis certain appears not) this cannot be said with any sobriety. 3. That the place, Gal. 1. 17. belongs expressly to the power, after it was given, and yet then he depended not on him

15. For this I appeal to S. Chrysostome, affirming of Paul distinctly
 * Tom. 3. p. 723. ly, * μηδὲν Πέτρου δόξατος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότητος; ὡς
 l. 23. αὐτοῦ, he had no want of Peter, nor of his voice (as I suppose he must have, if in respect of his power he depended on, and were subject to him) but was of equal dignity with him, adding in a parenthesis πλέον γὰρ ἔδειξεν τῶν τῶν, for I will say no more, which what it is an insinuation of, I leave S. W. to conjecture.

16. The last thing that expects answer in this Self, is the place out of Cyprian, Ep. 71. where concerning S. Pauls withstanding S. Peter, Gal. 2. 11. he saith of Peter, that though the Lord chose him first, and built his Church on him, yet he did not insolently challenge any thing to himselfe, or assume arrogantly so as to say he had the primacy, and so that he should rather be obeyed by newer and later Apostles, nor despised he Paul, because he had been a persecuter, but admitted the counsel of truth.] To which as being the only testimonie from antiquity, I have yet observed to be produced by S. W. it is needfull to give answer, that I never doubted of S. Peters primacy, in this sense, as this holy Father speaks of it (any more than of Christs building his Church on him) I gave him even now a testimonie from S. Ambrose, which expressly avouched it, I only deny, that this Primacy gave him any power either over S. Paul, or any other Apostle (or that his being a foundation on which the Church was built, gave him jurisdiction over the rest of the Apostles, who were foundations also) And that I have reason to deny this, he will remember both by the ἐμοῦ-τητα, and ἰσότητα, so lately produced from Chrysostome and Theophylact, the equality betwixt Paul and him, and so of all other the Apostles, and also by the words of S. Ambrose, that S. Paul had a primacy among the Gentiles, as Peter among the Jewes. And then if he will review these very words of Cyprian, he will find them accord very well, which though they affirm him chosen

primum

primum first by Christ, yet adde, that non vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumfit ut diceret se primatum tenere, & obtemperari sibi à posteris oportere-- leaving us to resolve, that if he had claimed any obedience from Paul by this primacy, he could not have justified it from arrogance of assuming that which did not belong to him. And to this agree those words set down in the * Canon law as from Anacleus's 2^d Epist: ad Episc: Ital: * Decret: par: 1, where as on one side we find post Christum à Petro sacerdotalis Dist: 21, c. 2, cœpit ordo, quia ipsi primo Pontificatus in Ecclesiâ Christi datus est, & potestatem ligandi primus accepit, primusq; ad fidem populum adduxit; after Christ the sacerdotal order began from Peter, because the Pontificate in the Church was first given to him, and he first received the power of binding and loosing, and he first brought the people to the faith by vertue of his preaching, adding after, that the Apostles ipsum principem eorum esse voluerunt, would have him to be their Prince (where he read this I know not) so on the other side the words are as clear, Ceteri verò Apostoli cum eodem pari consortio honorem & potestatem acceperunt; but the rest of the Apostles received honour and power in equall fellowship with him: Which being entred into their body of law, will, I hope, be of some force with S. W. what ever opinion others conceive of it.

Sect. 5.

S. VV. his ill memory. The distinction of the Gentile and Jewish cætus. Acts 15. 23. The Bishops at Rome a proof of it.

THE 10th Section begins with the view of two testimonies out of Ignatius. The very mention whereof accuses the close of his former Section of a fault, which even before all others is predominant in this Author, and railing it selfe is but his blind, to keep this from being descryed. For he had there said, that there

was no testimonie at all to confirme my own [we know] and now being gotten into another Section his memory is fraile, and he hopes others will be so too, and then he blushes not to set downe two testimonies of that, of which he had so lately denied any. But then next he hath objection to these; *The testimonies do affirm no more but the founding of the Church of Antioch by Peter and Paul, and that might be by their promiscuous endeavours without distinction, much less exclusion of authority & jurisdiction.* I answer, tis true, this was possible; and if it had been true, had manifestly prejudged *Peters singular jurisdiction*, and clearly joyn'd *Paul socially* with him.

But there was another *testimonia* behind (and that, if taken notice of, had removed this, *might be*) from *Acts 15. 23.* where the distinction of the *Gentile Cæus* at *Antioch* from the *Jewish*, is discernible, by the inscription of the *Rescript of the Councel*, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς, τοῖς ἐκ ἑθνῶν, to the brethren (i. e. the Christian Church) which are at *Antioch* and *Syria* and *Cilicia* (of which *Antioch* was the *Metropolis*) those of the *Gentiles*, and that separately, and in contradistinction to the *Jews*, as appears, v. 28, 29. where the things required of the Church in that decree, are all proper to the *Gentiles*: And beside more evidence, which there follows to the same

* In *Gal. 1. 22.* matter, the words of * *S. Hierome* even now produced are most clear, *Seorsim qui ex Iudeis erant Ecclesia habebantur, nec his qui erant à Gentibus miscebantur; the Churches which were of the Jewes were held apart or in severall, nor were they mixed with those which were of the Gentiles.*

The next Paragraph concerning *Peters* with-drawing from all communion with the *Gentiles*, and not only the *Gentile diet*, is prevented in the *Reply*, c. 4. §. 6. and the whole matter of *Evodius* and *Ignatius* being *Bishops of Antioch* at once farther cleared, and his elaborate mis-understandings forestald, *Self. 7.* And so likewise the other part, wherein *Rome* was concerned, is reviewed, c. 9. (and to omit others, tis not possible all his *scoffes* can divert the force of the testimonie of *Epiphanius*, who makes both those *Apostles Bishops*, as well as *Apostles of Rome*, which they could not be at once withut this distinction of the *cæus*, the *Jewish* to be under one, and the *Gentile* under tother) and the testimonie of

Prosper

Prosper concerning the Ecclesia Gentium, the Church of the nations, as that is cleared to comprehend the Jewes and Gentiles both n. 10. And that concludes the calumnies and scoffes of the tenth Section.

SECT. 6.

The Popes scales for what produced. S. W. his misunderstandings. S. Peters jurisdiction in Rome proved to belong to the Jewes only. The Jewes solemn departure from Paul, Acts 28. yet some of them possibly of his cœtus. The differences in story about the first Bishops of Rome. Christs favour to Iohn. Dignity of his place. Leaning on Christs breast. Abrahams bosome. No birth-right. Ὀλοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς. No pretence for S. Peters power in Asia, 1 Tim. 3. 14, 15. Timothy and Titus were not under S. Peter.

1. **HIS** 11th Section contains new matter, but all in the former address, I need not say of what kind that is. And first the scales of the Popes, which I brought for a testimonie of the Church of Romes being founded by S. Paul as well as S. Peter, and is so far an irrefragable testimonie, he must cry out on, as a most irrational proof of S. Peters being Apostle of the Jewes only, not of the Gentiles.

2. The short is this; I have proved out of Scripture that Peter was by agreement to betake himselfe to the Jewes (where S. Paul and he met) and S. Paul to the Gentiles, and it was sufficiently manifested, that these were distinct assemblies, and in agreement with this (not as proofs of it) I found expresse mention of both of these in the planting the Church of Rome, and I affirmed the Popes scales to be an irrefragable instance of this last. And then all this must be first shuffled together, and some appearance of incoherence gained; and then the victory is gotten, and pursued most triumphantly. I again therefore aske, Is not the Popes scale an evidence that Paul as well as Peter had the planting the

Church of Rome ? and is not that agreeable to *Peters* preaching to the *Jewes*, and *Pauls* to the *Gentiles*, when they met in a city, where there were *multitudes* of both ? and was not that the importance of the agreement, *Gal. 2. 9* ? And is not that an argument that *Peter* was not the *Universal Pastor*, but that the *Gentiles* were *S. Pauls* province, as the *Jewes S. Peters* ? If it were, then is all my arguing regular, and concluding, for 'tis cleare as the day, that this was it. And tis not the dazling of his eyes from the distance of the object, but the resolvedness not to see ought to the prejudice of his cause, which made *S. W.* so short-sighted.

- 3 Agreeable is his next attempt against the word [*only*] when I said that the storie of Scripture, according to the brevity of the relations there made, *only* sets down *S. Peter* to be the *Apostle of the circumcision*. Where the [*only*] is set clearly in opposition to the Scriptures making more particular relations of *S. Peters* preaching to the *Jewish cætus*, at *Rome*, &c. as is evident by the consequences; that it saith of *Paul*, that he preached at *Rome*, &c. And *S. W.* can by no means see that true importance of the word [*only*] but 1. it must note that *Peter* is only set down as *Apostle of the circumcision* exclusively to *James* and *Iohn*, which he knows I could not mean, without contradicting one branch of my former discourse, and that most impertinently, to my own disadvantage: And 2. that he was *Apostle of the circumcision only*, and great wagers are offered against the truth of my words in this sense, which though they belong quite to another matter, as hath been said, yet because his offers are so liberall, in case I shall shew the least syllable either in Scripture or any other testimonies expressly restraining *S. Peters* jurisdiction (at *Rome* he had said, and must mean) to the *Jewes only*, and exclusively to the *Gentiles*, he will yield the laurel, and quit the controversy; I shall, not for the laurels sake (that may belong to him upon other scores) but upon so tempting an hope, that I may be at an end of controversy, offer to his review the testimonie from *S. Paul*, and from *Epiphanius*, the one affirming the agreement made between those *Apostles*, that one should execute their *Apostleship* (for after that or the like manner must the *Ellipsis* be made up, *iva ημῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη--*) among the *Gentiles*, the other among the *Jewes*; and the other expressly affirming that in *Rome Peter and Paul* were the same persons,

sons, both *Apostles* and *Bishops*. From hence, and by force of *S. Hieroms* affirmation, that the *Churches* which consisted of the *Jewes* *seorsim habebantur*, were held by themselves apart, and were not mingled with those which were of the *Gentiles*, I shall adventure to infer the conclusion, that in *Rome S. Peters jurisdiction* was restrained to the *Jewes* only, and exclusively to the *Gentiles*. For how could there be two *Bishops* in one city (a thing quite contrary to all rule, and practice, as soon as the division betwixt the *Jewes* and the *Gentiles* was taken away) unless there were two such distinct *cœtus*? If there were two such *cœtus*, then they that were of one *cœtus* under one *Bishop*, were not of the other *cœtus* under the other *Bishop*, 1. Because the *cœtus* were kept apart, and *impermixti*. And 2. because no *Bishop* was to meddle in another mans *Province*, and withal this was part of the foreſaid agreement, *ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἑδρῆν, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς μελλοπλίαν*. And if it be pretended that is true in co-ordinate *Episcopacies*, but holds not betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Primate*, and *S. Peter* be pretended as such, then the former arguments return again, that shewed from *Scripture* and antiquity, that *S. Paul* was independent from *St. Peter*, and that *S. Paul* had the *Primatum*, *primacy* among the *Gentiles*, as *S. Peter* among the *Jewes*. And if against all this it be again urged that *Peter* preached to *Cornelius* a *Gentile*, I answer, that that was not at *Rome*, but long before this agreement between the *Apostles*: and though it may be he did convert some other such, yet this is not argumentative for *S. W.* being nothing to the matter of *jurisdiction*, and withal but a whimpering [may be] in his language, and till I can foresee some farther *Replie* from *S. W.* this is all I shall offer to him at this season.

4. So when I said the *Jewes* solemnly departed from *Paul*, *Act.* 28. 29. Whence I conceived it fit to apply his two years preaching there, to the *Gentiles* of that City, he is much offended at the word [*solemnly*] as not finding it in the *Text*, nor any expressions of absolutely relinquishing him; nor pertinacy nor contempt, but rather the contrary, much discourse or debate, a sign of hoveringness, &c. and finding a more solemn departure of his from them, *Acts* 13. 51. Shaking off the dust of his feet against them, after which yet he oft preached to the *Jewes*, demanding farther

what became of the Jewes which v. 28. were now converted by him?

5. But I answer, that as I cited not the word [*solemnly*] from that *verse*, as any part of the *sacred Text*, so I had authority enough to make use of the word, in that narration; For sure there were words, that signified a *solemn departure*, when before the dissolution of the meeting, Paul said this one word, *Well said the Holy Ghost to our Fathers by the Prophet Isaiah, saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall heare, and shall not understand*—v. 26. *For the heart of this people is waxen gross, and their eares are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, lest they should heare, and see, and understand, and be converted.* Vers. 27. *Be it known therefore unto you that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and that they will heare it,* v. 28. Upon which words it is, that the mention of their departure follows, v. 29. This I thought was a competent ground, on which to found the solemnity of their departure, for this signified *persecution, contempt and obduration of heart*, and withall the *Apostles resolution* to deal with them as such, to betake himselfe to the *Gentiles*, so saith S. Chrysostome, Ἀντιπαρὸν ὅτις διελύοντο, τὰς ἐν μὴ πιστεύοντες ἀνελθόν, when they agreed not among themselves they departed, v. 25. that is, they not believing, forsook him, that is his notion of their dispute, and the conclusion thereof, and οὗτοι ἐκείνους τὰ ὅτι ἐκείνους ἀπιστοῦντας, those words of Scripture he applyed to them upon their unbelief: and again, that you may not wonder that they remained unbelievers, he cites that prophecy. All clear to mine, and contrary to S. W. his sense. And on Pauls part, πρῶτος Ἰουδαίους καλεῖ, ἔπειτα δειξας αὐτοῖς τὰ τεκμήρια, τότε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἔρχεται, he calls the chief Jewes, then having declared the matter to them, he goes to the Gentiles. What could be more expresse?
6. And what if he did not shake off the dust of his shoes against them? That was the ceremonie of his departing from them, and that when he meant to leave their city, c. 13. 51. but I there speake of the solemnity of their departing from him; and beside, he was brought prisoner to Rome, and could not depart at pleasure, and withall meant to stay there and preach to the Gentiles, and therefore this ceremonie was not now seasonable, and the others were sufficient to render it on both sides a solemn departure.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the *Jews* that believed, v. 28. I answer, that if they continued in that Faith, which now they received, and were not scandalized and averted, if they did not fall off, upon the mention of his resolution to turn to the *Gentiles* (for many *Jews* which received the faith, would no longer associate with *S. Paul*, when he did so) yet I say upon any evidence produced for this, I shall make no doubt to acknowledge, that they, though *Jews*, became a part of *S. Pauls* cœtus, and so also can I as willingly yeeld to the force of any authentick testimonie, that there were some *Gentiles* in *S. Peters* cœtus, such I suppose was *Clemens* a Roman: and if we believe* *Eucherius Lugdun: vetustâ prosapiâ senatorum atque etiam ex stirpe Caesarum*, and yet *S. Peters* Disciple, & Deacon, and Successor in the See. But this is no prejudice still to the distinct cœtus of *Jews* & *Gentiles*, in this, as in other cities, the one under one Apostle and Governor, the other under another, any more then the admission of some *Gentile* proselytes among the *Jews* can be an argument against the impaling of the Church of the *Jews*, or their not associating with the *Gentiles* before *Christs* time.

De contemptu mundi.

7. Next he makes a pompous mention of a testimonie from *Ignatius ad Tral:* (which I used only to prove that *Linus* was Deacon to *S. Paul*, and *Clemens* to *Peter*) and because it doth say nothing to the proof of *S. Peters* being onely over the *Jewes*, and *Paul* over the *Gentiles*, he hath great rejoycings over it: But I say again, that conclusion was proved by *Scripture*, which affirms him by agreement to go to the *Jewes*, as the other to the *Gentiles*, and this from *Ignatius* is only a branch of accordance with it, that *Linus*, who (saith *Ignatius*) was Deacon to one, and *Clemens* to the other, succeeded them in the Government of their several cœtus, that, as *Epiphanius* had said, *Peter* and *Paul* were both Bishops of *Rome*, so their two Deacons were Bishops after them. Whether this was any unseasonable advertisement, I desire others to pass their judgement, and shall not much consider, what *S.W.* thinks of it. Only he that likes not the phansie, should have directed his reader to some other solid way to reconcile those repugnancies of story, some making *Linus*, others *Clemens* first Bishop of *Rome*, after the Apostles, and others making *Clemens* but the third, which must in truth have some way of reconciliation, and for which the course is pointed out in the *Traict* of Schisme, and need-

needed not have been so fastidiously rejected.

9. And this being the only *crime* committed against *S. W.* at this time, he is so reserved as not to offer any other means, but what himselfe justly calls *evasions*, to *salve the difficulty*. There was little *kindness* in this to his (even now) *deare Countrey men*.

- 10 The remainder of the *Section* concerns *S. John*, of whom I had said, 1. That in *Christs* life he had the *favour of Christ*, and *dignity of place* before *S. Peter* himselfe. 2. That being by *agreement* assigned the *Jewes* for his *Province*, as well as *Peter* had been, he had the *converting and governing* of all the converted *Jewes* of the *Lydian Asia*, and the placing *Bishops* over them; and this proved from *Clemens Alex: Eusebius, Prosper*, and the author of the *martyrdome of Timothy*. 3. That *S. Paul* had planted the *Faith* in the *Gentile* part of this *Asia*, and placed *Timothy Bishop* there: Now to all this he hath sundry *exceptions*. 1. That *I bring nothing to prove this*] But that is manifestly evinced by the *testimonies* there annexed, §. 14. Onely because they are not put in the *same Section*, in which the *observation* was proposed, he thinks that a very competent *advantage*, upon which to reply to §. 13. that *I say 'tis manifest, and yet bring nothing to prove it*. But this is the manner of this *artificer*, and therefore being now grown into some *acquaintance* with him, it must not be taken *amiss* from him.

- 11 2^{dly} He dislikes my proof for the *dignity* of *S. Johns* place from the *style* of beloved *Disciple*, and *leaning on his breast*, as if, saith he, because *Jacob* loved *Joseph* more then all his other brethren, & therefore out of *favour* he might lean on his breast at supper, it must needs mean plainly, that young *Joseph* was the highest of his brethren in *dignity*, had due to him the *birth-right & inherisance*, &c.] I answer 1. That having mentioned two things of *John*, 1. *Christs* favour to him, 2. The *dignity of place* he had above others, it was only the former of these, which I assumed from his title of the *beloved Disciple*, and that *infallibly* infer'd it. 2. That for the *dignity of place*, as the *ἀνωτάτη*, or *first room* imports that, so that was as *irrefragably* concluded from his *lying in his bosome*, or *leaning on his breast at supper*, in the *discubitus*, for supposing *Christ* first, he that was in his *bosome*, must needs have, next *Christ*, the *uppermost* place, and accordingly it unavoidably follows,

follows, that *Lazarus* being represented *parabolically* in *Abraham's bosom*, is there described to be in the *next place* to the *father* of the *faithfull*, and it being certain, that upon *supposition* of *degrees of glory* in *heaven*, some *one or more Saints* are *next* to *Abraham*, I presume we may believe *Christ*, that such an one as is in that *parable* decyphered by *Lazarus*, is capable of that *place*, and all *S. W.* his *scruples*, which he adds further on this score, have not the least *validity* in them. But as for the *birth-right* and *inheritance*, &c. which I suppose must import some real *privilege*, such as *Reubens birth-right* was, *Gen. 49. 3.* the *excellency of dignity*, and the *excellency of power*, that is an *addition* of *S. W.* his own *fertile fancy*, and was never dreamt of, or pretended by me (or I think any man living) to belong to that *beloved Disciple*. I affirmed, in passing, that *John* had *Christs favour*, and the *dignity of place before all others*, and so visibly he had, and that was all I thought of, till by *S. W.* his *jealousies* this was converted into *birth-right* and *inheritance*.

- 12 3^{dy} He will persuade himselfe, that the words of *Chrysostome* (which I had produced) ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ὡς ἐμπικισδύμενος, a whole intire nation that of *Asia* was intrusted to him, destroys all that I had said of *S. Johns* *Jewish province* in the *Lydian Asia*, and then great rejoycing there is for this *δύνη*, and no lesse then *unpardonable blindness* is become my portion, But what pity it was, that the *blindness* should be on *S. W.* his side, after all this? For to omit that he that is there spoken of, is *S. Timothy* (with a seeing persō might have discerned from *S. Paul*, when in the line before he had read, by him *S. Timothie* constituted *Bishop* there) the answer is obvious, that ὁλόκληρον ἔθνος, a whole intire nation in that place of *S. Chrysostome*, is not set to denote all the several sorts of *cœtus* in *Asia*, but only in opposition to the word ἐκκλησία precedent, some one particular Church of one city and territory, viz. that of *Ephesus*. There *Paul* saith he had left him *Bishop*, 1 *Tim. 1. 3.* and so the author of the *martyrdome* of *Timothie*, ὁ Ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ Παύλῳ καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, he was by *S. Paul* ordained *Bishop* of the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*: And this being the *chiefe Metropolis* of all *Asia*, *S. Chrysostome* styles him *Bishop* of the whole nation. In *Asia* we know there were many Churches of which E-

phesus was the *prime*, and therefore having said, *δηλον ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐμπιστευόμενος ὁ Τιμόθεος*, *'Tis manifest Timothie was intrusted with a Church*, he addes (by way of ἐπαρρηθως) *ἢ καὶ ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον*, or rather a whole nation, τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, *that of Asia*, which depended (all of it) on this chiefe Metropolitcal See. By this interpretation 'tis evident, that what the other Church writers say of John (and hath in it as cleare truth) is soon reconciled with this, viz. that he being returned to Asia, τὰς αὐτοῦ δι-εῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, *administred the Churches there*, viz. those of the Jewish converts, the portion to which by agreement with Sanl, he was to betake himself, and τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται με-τε-πλεως, *undertook the care of the Metropolis of the Ephesians*, which in this other respect had before this, been intrusted to Timothie, from whom therefore, as from their first Bishop, the succeeding reckon themselves, as appears in the Council of Chalcedon, *Αἴ. 2. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου Τιμοθέου μέχριν καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο*, *from S. Timothie till now there have been 27. Bishops ordained in Ephesus.*

- 13 This being thus clear, was yet to be writhed by *S. W.* to another sense, that he might by that meanes have some opportunity to divert and wave the force of the instance, which consisted in this, that those Churches of Asia being wholly planted, and administred by other Apostles, *S. Peter* could not with any colour be pretended to be *supreme Pastor* of them. And this is equally true, whether it were *S. Paul* or Saint John, that had the managing of them. So little care hath *S. W.* to consider that, wherein the difficulty consists.

- 14 What follows *Señ. 12.* as if the mention of the early fame of the seven Churches of Asia, and of Christs letter to them, *Rev. 2.* were designed by me to contain a double proof of Peters not having the Pastorship over them, 1. Because Christ wrote an Epistle to those Churches, 2. Because they were early famous] is a signe that *S. W.* hath an excellent faculty in answering reasons of his own imagining, for 'tis certain I never used them as reasons, or proofs of any, much less of that conclusion. All that I designed was to mention these, as considerable parts of the Universal Church, desiring any Romanist to tell me, what can be said in any degree probably for *S. Peters* pastorship over them, for whom there is not the least pre-

pretence, that he should be said *ποιμαίνειν*, to feed, or govern, or so much as to have meddled with the administration of these Churches of Asia.

- 15 That the Gentile part was by *S. Pauls* owne single power intrusted to *Timothie*, is there manifested, and here is confest by *S. W.* And for the administering it, that *S. Paul* personally gave him full instructions, leaving no other appeal or place of application for other directions, save only to himself, when he shall come unto him, I thought it was concludible from his words, *1 Tim. 3. 14, 15.* the words are these: *These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I make any stay, that thou mayst know how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the Church of God.* Upon this citation, very tragicall tempests are raised, and to this hour I cannot discern what it was that conjured them up. That I infer'd this whole conclusion from the word [*come*] is one of his arts, to divert and amuse the Reader, I thought my grounds had been visible enough, being thus laid. The [*ταῦτα, these things*] which *S. Paul* now wrote to him, were a whole Epistle of instructions, that it was no longer, was because he hoped to come to him shortly, when he might give him farther instructions, if there were need. In the mean, these told him, how he should behave himselfe in the Church, discharge his Episcopal office, and the end of writing it was, that he might know this: Thus much is explicitly contained in those verses. I now demand (and that is all that I then did, as will be seen in the place §. 16.) whether *S. Paul* left any other appeal, or place for farther directions, save only to himselfe, when he should come to him? Or whether any other Apostle could, by any power given him by *Christ*, countermand, or interpose in them? If any could, let him be named, and the power specified, and proved, by vertue whereof he should thus act: But *S. W.* after all his acts of diversion, dares not, I am sure doth not, affirm this. And if it cannot be said (as no doubt it cannot) then where was *St. Peters* supreme pastورشip over *St. Paul* or *S. John*, or (under the former) over *S. Timothie* in the Churches of Asia?

- 16 As for the mis-understanding of the question, which next he is willing to charge on me, certainly I shall not be found guilty of it, but he visibly of mis-understanding my processe. I speak not of any Apostolical commission over the whole world (of which he pre-

p. 82.

tends me to speak, and will yeeld it to every Apostle) but of the peculiar power that *Timothie* had by *S. Pauls* commission in *Asia*, and *Titus* in *Crete*, under no other superior jurisdiction, but of *Christ* and *S. Paul*; and if that be granted, as *S. W.* disputes it not, I am sure it will prejudice *S. Peters* primacy over (and therefore for once *S. W.* was concerned to be civil, and to set it only amongst) the rest of the Apostles.

17. The two remaining suggestions of this 12th Sect. 1. concerning *S. Peters* preaching to *Jewes* in *England*; 2. concerning *Ecclesia Gentium* in *S. Prosper*, were gleaned from the *Catholique Gentleman*, and satisfied in the *Reply*, c. 4. §. 7. n. 9, 10. And so much for that Section.

SECT. 7.

Evidences against an Affirmation, by solving of testimonies. The reason of omitting to insist on *Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17.* Mr. *Harts* confession. The Romanists enclosing the keys to *S. Peter*. *S. W.* his confession. The contrary charges laid on me. *S. W.* his inference from *John 21. 15.* groundless. The infallible interpretation of the *CHURCH*. The particularizing *Saint Peter*. A *Steward* in every Church. The badge of no vertue without the power. The keys were no visible badge to *Peter*. The power as distinctly promised the rest as *Peter*. Sitting on 12. Thrones. The fire sitting on each, *Acts 2.* *S. Peters* having the holy Ghost in a peculiar manner, in an higher degree. The power of Bishops an argument that the keys not peculiar to *S. Peter*. A specimen of *S. W.* his reasoning. Foundation stones. Θυμάλις δόδεκα. The measuring of the wall, *Apoc. 21.* The *Jasper* stone.

18. **T**His 13; §. reflects on my view of the donation of the keys, & that be ng touched on by the *Cath. Gent.* received its due answer in the *Reply*, c. 4. §. 8, 9, 10, 11. yet some few passages may expect here to be taken notice of, which were not there tendred, and so came not under consideration. As when first he spends a page on the importance of the word *evidence*, I answer, I take it in

in the familiar *vulgar* notion, for a *testimonie* to prove any *question of fact*, either in the *affirmation*, or the *negative*, and such was this, whether *S. Peter* were by *Christ* constituted *Universal pastor*: And the one possible way to *testifie* this (as any other) *negative*, is to take a view of the *places*, wherein he is by the *affirmers* pretended to be thus *constituted*, and to shew that those *places* have no such *force* in them. That they *have* such *force*, is incumbent on the *Defendant* to shew, at least to point at the particular *word*, or *passage*, which hath the supposed *energie* in it: And till that be done, he that undertakes the *Negative*, can only pitch upon those *places* and *specialties*, which he sees the learnedst *affirmers* most insist on, supposing it reasonable to conclude, that those are their most *important evidences*.

2. By this it appears how far I was from *prevaricating against my promise of evidences*, when I went about to *prove my negative*, by *solving the Romanists testimonies for the affirmative*, which I acknowledg with him to have been my method, and I suppose no man can by any laws of discourse *oblige*, or *direct* me to any other. 'Tis true (what he suggests) that he that undertakes to *evidence*, *sustains the part of the Opponent*. But that he may do, while he opposeth the *affirmations* (as well as *negations*) of other men, and that he *must* do by *invalidating their testimonies*, on which they found or defend their *affirmations*; and if hee can do so, why may not these be *styled evidences* on his side, *i. e.* *testimonies*, to evince the *reasonableness* of his *negation*? as when by any examination of a *witness* produced against me, I demonstrate the *invalidity* of his *testimonies*.

3. Secondly, when upon my *omitting to insist on the words of Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17. I am charged with a palpable injuriousness*, that in *answering their testimonies out of Scripture, I omit the chiefest, the strongest, and most important place of all*] This is just as Dr. Stapleton deals with Mr. Calvin, *Princip: Doctrin: l. 6. c. 8.* when among the *Romanists* arguments from *Scripture*, he had made no mention of *Lm. 22. 31.* the *D^r* saith it was *because he well knew, nullo cavillationis furo tam manifesta verba eludi potuisse*, that this was the *unavoidable convincing Text*, just on the same score, on which this must now go for the *most important place*, because it was not mention'd.

But

4. But for this my reason was by me with perfect truth rendred, p. 93. from my full persuasion, that it had so very little appearance of strength in it, and had been so often answer'd, that it would not be deemed usefull to any that I should descend to it. That herein I have done the Romanist no injury, I have already given some account in the Reply, §. 8. n. 10, &c. and cannot farther seasonably attempt it, till I am told, what yet I am perfectly ignorant of, wherein the pretended strength lies of this most important place, and whether there be any farther reserve of force in it, which Mr. Hart in the conference with Dr Reynolds, fortified with all Dr. Stapletons armorie, did not take notice of. If there be not any such, yet invisible reserve, I must then remember the issue that it was brought to in that conference, as we have it under both the Disputers hands, Mr. Harts last Reply on this Text being in these words, p. 102. *This which you have said might seem to be somewhat toward the loosing of them (the knots of Dr. Stapletons finding out) if the Scripture gave not clear evidence for the proof of his supremacy as wel elsewhere as here, namely Lu. 22. 31. Out of which hold also being soon beaten, by evidence, that no more was there said to Peter, than Christ performs to every child of God, he concludes, p. 109. I cannot deny but that in some respect it may be truly said to all the children of God, if they fall as Peter did. Yet (I know not how) me thinks I cannot be persuaded but that it maketh somewhat for Peters supremacy.*
5. Thirdly, when he accuseth me of manifest calumniating, in saying that the Romanist pretends the donation of the keyes as a peculiarity and inclosure of S. Peter] To this I have answered already, Reply, Cap. 4. §. 9. And yet a little farther I shall now desire the Readers judgement of it, whether I have calumniated the Romanist, supposing S. W. to be that Romanist, whose pretensions in that manner are * set down gradatim, thus, 1. *That something was said to Peter in particular, and by name, which was not said to any other Apostle particularly, and by name; That is his first step.* 2. *That since this saying was a promise, a promise of something was made to S. Peter in particular; That is his second step.* 3. And by way of conclusion from hence, with a [wherefore] that seeing this thing promised was the giving of the keyes of heaven, it follows that the promise of giving the keyes of heaven was made

* P. 90, 91.

made to *S. Peter* in particular. In this process it is clear, 1. That the promise of the *keyes* is by *S. W.* affirmed to be made in particular and by name to *S. Peter*, and 2. that saying or making a promise in particular and by name, is in his sense so to make it to one particular, viz. to *Peter*, as not to any other *Apostle*, and what is that but to affirm it a peculiarity, and inclosure of *S. Peters*? If here he fly back to his refuge of [particularity and by name] and say that he affirms no more, but that this promise was not made to the other *Apostles* in particular and by name, then 1. he gain'd nothing at all to *S. Peter* by that process; for as long as that which was given to *S. Peter* by name, were without naming every of them particularly, given to them all, so that each of them had it, then this will never be able to found *S. Peters* supremacy over them.

6. But then 2^{ly} before he can thus escape, he will find himselfe intangled again; for in the words presently following, he thinks it most consonant to reason, and worthy our Saviour to perform his promise according to the tenor and manner in which he promised, and that by a performance in particular (which therefore he calls his best and surest testimonie, *Joh. 21.*) and I who produce a performance to them all in generall, am rebuked for omitting that performance in particular, and in stead of it, producing onely a performance to them all in generall. Here I demand, am I rebuked for omitting something, or not? if for omitting something, then that performance in particular to *Peter* was something, which was not comprehended in that performance to them all in generall (for if it were there comprehended, then I that am acknowledged to have produced that, cannot be said to have omitted this) and if it were so, then it was peculiar to him, and so his inclosure: and if the performance were so, then the promise was so too, by the foregoing confession of *S. W.* which will have the performance made according to the tenor of the promise. And so here is as much affirmed by *S. W.* (and by and by we shall have it more expressly repeated again) as that amounts to, which I suppose to be asserted by the *Romanist*, and that I hope will secure me from being like *S. W.* in calumniating him, with whom I came to dispute.

7. To conclude, was there, or was there not any thing here promised

missed *Peter*, which was not *promised* the rest? If there was, then 1. that was *S^t Peters inclosure*, and 2. that is contained in the *promise* of the *keyes*, for that and the *consequents* thereof, *power of binding and loosing* is all that is there *promised* him. And then 'tis vaine to say you are *calumniated*, because you allow the *power of binding to all the Apostles*, for if you do, as indeed you do, and must, you must either shew somewhat else to be *promised* in those words, which *mention* nothing else, or else you must be forced to *confesse* that either there was *nothing promised* the rest of the *Apostles*, or that you will still *affirme* something to have been *promised* him, which was not *promised* him.

8. In this place it is not amiss to note, that at the beginning of this his 13th Sect. I am said to *affirm* that *no power of the keys* was *given especially to St. Peter*, and yet the *Cath: Gent.* (*S. W.* his very good friend, who might have saved him the labour of this, as he calls it, his *larger confute*) saith, that I *confesse* the *keyes* were *especially promised to Peter*. The truth is, I never said one or other, and if I had said *one*, I must needs not have said the *other*, and yet by these *two Romanists*, or (as seems to me most probable) *two* appearances of the *same Romanist*, I am said to say *both*. What trust shall be given to such *disputers*? I say the *power* was *given in common and equally to all the Apostles*, and once mention the *making the promise to him peculiarly*, but that onely as a *color*, that the *Romanist* makes some use of, and *reply* to it, that in the *repetition* it is given to *all*, without any *peculiarity of restriction*, and that the *applying*, or *addressing* the words *particularly to Peter*, had a *speciall energie* in them, noting that the *economie* in *Christs household* belongs to *single persons*, the *Bishop* in *each city*, and not onely to the *Colledge* or *Consistory*. But still nothing of all this is to the *giving* the *keyes* either *specially* or not *specially to S. Peter*.

9. What follows from *Joh. 21. 15, 16.* where, saith he, 'tis expressly recommended and *incharged on S. Peter* particularly and by name, *once, twice, and thrice*, with as many repetitions of his name *particularizing him over and over*, *Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep*, and asking him, *Amas me plus his?*] is a strange way of *arguing*, and yet gives us a view of the utmost that *S. W.* can attempt in this cause of *S. Peters universal Pastorship*:

For

For when indeed that is the great foundation, on which the whole dispute of our schisme depends, and when as *S. W.* assures us, the place of *Job. 21. 15, 16.* is their *chiefest, & strongest, and most important place of all*, and as it is evident by his arguing, the other place of [*I will give thee the keyes, Mat. 16. 19.*] must receive all its force from the comparing it with this and the consonancy betwixt the promise, and this (as hee will phantasie it) performance. Yet after all this, all that he can pretend to from hence, is but a recommending and incharging of him, *Feed my sheep--* together with a question, whether he love him more than the rest of the Apostles? which what is it but an exhortation to perform that duty, to which he was before commissioned, *Joh. 20. 21.* and with him all the rest of the Apostles equally. For as to the other circumstances of expressness, particularizing him by name, frequent repeating of it, asking him whether he love him more then these] one or all of them, they can never work a change in the matter. Christ praying the same prayer thrice, did not make it cease to be a prayer, and commence a precept; No more will an inculcated, express, particularized (be it never so vehement an) exhortation, introduced with a question, to quicken, and impress it, be converted by these accumulations into a commission for supremacy, especially when the causes, which visibly suggested to our Saviour this manner of questioning, and pressing his exhortation, were more justly matter of humiliation, than of exaltation to *S. Peter* (and so were received, and interpreted by him, *Peter* was grieved because Christ said to him the third time, *Lovest thou me?* ver. 17. and no doubt deemed it a reproach of his thrice denying his Master) a reminding him of the foulness of his fall, but not the instating any principality or dignity upon him. But of this I have also spoken distinctly, *Reply, c. 4. §. 8.*

- 10 Besides this force of the words, *S. W.* is willing to call in the interpretation of the *Catholicke Church according to her never erring rule of faith*, and that gives him and his friends an infallible certainty that these and (he only saith it) some other testimonies from Scripture expresse a primacy in *S. Peter*] But here he neither produces any one interpretation of either *Fathers*, or *Councils*, or any single writer, thereby to signifie what he means by the *Catholicke Church*, or what is the way of interpretation, that

must induce this. It is therefore left to his Reader to conjecture his meaning, viz. that the present Roman Church is the Catholike, that the interpretations of this are the never erring rule of Faith, that this hath interpreted this, and some other Texts to signifie a Primacy not onely of order but of power, an universality of jurisdiction, to belong to Saint Peter, over all the Apostles, and that this gives him, and all that are of his perswasion in all things (particularly in the beliefe of the Infallibility of the Roman Church) an infallible certainty of the truth of it. And this sure would aequally have done it, if our Saviour had never asked St. Peter three times, *Lovest thou me more then these*—And so all that I can conclude from hence is but this, that S. Peters universall pastورشip is as perfect a truth, as the Infallibility of the Roman Church, but withall that it is to as little purpose to dispute of that, or any subject, till the other be either resolved, or set aside, as it is to inquire, whether he say true that cannot lye. And therefore I shall thus take my leave of my enchanted adversarie.

11 What follows p.93. by way of new attempt, & deduction from my words, when I mention the applying the words particularly to S. Peter] is a very subtile reasoning. By the applying the promise of the keyes particularly to Peter, he will have it follow, 1. That our Saviour told Peter in the singular, and in a singular manner that he should be Steward of his house; and then seeing all particularizing is a kind of exception from an universality, and that universality is the other Apostles, it must follow (saith he) that St. Peter was particularized out of that community for the office of Steward in Christs house. And if he were so, say I, then here the particularity and inclosure of the keyes to St. Peter, is affirmed by S. W. (which was a while ago such a slander of my pen against their Church) for sure so 'twas, if Peter by this Donation was particularized out of the Community, for the office of the Steward (of which he after tells us there was none but he) in Christs house.

12 But letting that passe, I shall attend to his reasoning, and though very fine, without much ado, this Fabricke will soon be demolished. The speech (I yeeld) is addrest to Peter in the singular, but that is a token onely, that Peter, as a single person, should

should have *power*, but not either that no *others* should have it too (or that when they had it, not *single persons*, but only *Communities* should be invested with it) or that the manner, in which *Peter* should have it, should be *singular* to him, and so, as it was not to each of them. The *particularity* gives him *particularly* the *power*, but *excludes* not others from the same *power*, and the same *degree of power*, to whom it was at any other time *promised*, or *given*, and so it was to all and every of the *Apostles*, *Mat. 18. John 20.* And though the office of *Steward* be a *particular office*, yet in every *particular house* there may be one such *Steward*, and every whether *Nationall*, or *Provinciall*, or *Diocesan Church*, is such an *house*, and not onely the one *Catholike Church* that comprehends them. If it were otherwise, that *power* which *Christ* had in one person by *Commission* from his *Father*, he could never have delegated to the *plurall Disciples*, as 'tis visible he did, *John 20.* or else that must not be the *Stewards office*, as it is visible also that it is, by comparing *Mat. 18.* with *Mat. 16.* where the *binding* and *loosing* is an effect of the *keyes*, and thole the *Stewards* ensign of office : And by *1 Cor. 4. 1, 2.* where the *Apostolicall office* is so described, which consequently institutes every one in this *Stewards office*, as wel as the *Text, Mat. 16.* doth *S. Peter*.

13 What is next said of the *keyes*, the *badge of the function*, that they are not read of to be given to any but *S. Peter*] is of the same complexion with the former *Combatants*. 'Tis sure the *badge* and the *power* go together, and if they did not, 'tis the *power* and the *Commission* for that, which alone is considerable in this matter, and that is apparently and expressly given to all the *Apostles*, *Mat. 18.* and *John 20.* and for any more it matters little.

14 The *Commission* being cleared, either supposes the implicite donation of the *badge*, or else stands in no need of it. But then a. it is yet farther evident that there were no *material keyes* given to *S. Peter* himselfe, and those onely can be called a

badge (*spiritual, invisible keyes* are not capable of being such) and *Christs commission* and the *power* accompanying it, are the *spiritual keyes*, which he that hath, may open and shut the *kingdome of heaven*, and those every *Apostle* had as well as *S. Peter*.

- 15 His third argument from the *Apostles*, being part of *Christs house*, whence he infers *S. Peter Steward* over them, is answered most briefly by *retortion*, that if there be any force in it, then it will equally hold thus. *St. Peter* was a part of *Christs house*, and therefore *Paul* that was a *Steward* in *Christs house*, and is expressly so called, *1 Cor. 4. 1, 2.* was *Steward* over *St. Peter*.
- 16 What follows in this matter introduced by *Fourthly and lastly*, is only his expression of dislike to an argument of mine concerning *Presbyterie*, and so is not pertinent to the question before us, and besides it hath not, I suppose, any shew of the least difficulty in it.
- 17 As for the next passage on the same foundation, *pag. 96.* wherein I am said to affirm most shamelessly, and most expressly against Scripture alledged by my selfe, that this power was as distinctly promised, *Mat. 18. 18.* to each single *Apostle* as to *S. Peter*.] I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether it be *calumnious* or no, by this *syllogisme*, That which was promised to all the *Apostles*, as to twelve single persons, each singly to have and exercise it, and not all together in commune, was as distinctly promised to each single *Apostle*, as it was promised to *S. Peter* (I speak not now of its being promised particularly by name, nor were any such words found in this part of my former treatise, that is willingly allowed to *S. Peter*, and the full importance of it before considered) but the power of binding and loosing was *Mat. 18.* promised to all the *Apostles*, as to twelve single persons, each singly to have, and exercise it, and not altogether in common, Ergo. The major is cleared by this, because the distinctness and particularity of the promise

mise to *S. Peter* divolved no more on him, but this, that he should singly have and exercise that power, and not onely in common, or in consistory with other *Apostles*. If it be said that it divolved any more, I desire it may be said what it was, and how it appears to be by these words *divolved* on him, and whatsoever it be feigned to be, if it be lesse than a *supremacy* over all the *Apostles*, it will be nothing to the purpose; and that 'tis sure it was not, because the *supremacy* is not competible to two, whether persons, or communities, and yet this power promised *S. Peter*, is acknowledged by *S. W.* to be also made to all the *Apostles* in common and in generall, *Mat. 18. 18.* though not distinctly to each of them. The minor is in part confessed by *S. W.* so farre as that this power was promised to all the *Apostles*, and for the other parts, 'tis evidently proved in that treatise out of *St. Cyprian*, *Theophylact*, and others, and is the interest of *S. W.* as well as of us, to maintain against the *Presbyterians*, who alone can gain by the questioning of it.

18 That about the meaning of the *twelve thrones* was considered in the *Reply*, *Cap. 4. Sect. 10.* and there the sense which *S. W.* never heard of, vouched from *Saint Augustine*, to whom I may also adde *Hilarius Pictaviensis*, and the *Author imperfecti Operis*. As for the words, that either judging should signifie ruling, or presiding, as *Governors* preside, or that *ἔσθως* should signifie the *Episcopall chaire*, 'twill be no newes to any man, that hath observed the use of words, either the most critically, or the most slightly, whatsoever *S. W.* would make shew of believing to the contrary.

19 In the next place the *dumb negative* (as he calls it) is by him mutilated, or else it would speak articulately enough, to all that I cal'd it out to *testifie*. It is in the descent of the *Spirit*, *Acts 2.* the fire's being divided, and sitting on every one of them. This fire represented the *holy Ghost*, that *holy Ghost* sealed that *Commission* to those on whom it fell, which *Christ* had promised to *S. Peter*, *Mat. 16.* and to all the *A-*

postles, *Mat. 18.* Now this fire was divided, and ἐκδόσα ἑκάστην ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν, on each, and every one of them, *Acts 2.* 3. And this I suppose an argument of some validity, that the promise being thus sealed distinctly to every one of them, was meant (in the making of it) distinctly to every one of them. And when I adde that there was no peculiar marke allowed *St. Peter*, though that be a negative argument, and therefore I meant not from that alone to conclude any thing, yet I hope by being annex to the affirmative probation precedent, it will not be a gagge to make that dumbe and negative also.

- 20 But in this paragraph here is offered a very doubty prooffe to evidence on *St. Peters* behalfe (what I know not, for that is not exprest, but left doubtfully betwixt his being head of the Apostles, and his having some peculiar marke allowed him in the descent of the holy Ghost, yet one I suppose designed to inferre and conclude the other.) 1. Saith he, the Doctor was not there to see, and there is no historie that expressees the contrary. It seemes a Negative in *S. W.* his mouth is perfectly vocall, though it be but dumb in another mans. 2. Saith he, If we may judge by exterior actions, and may believe that out of the abundance of the heart the tongue speakes, then perhaps the Doctor may receive some satisfaction in this point also that *St. Peter* had in a more peculiar manner the holy Ghost, for it was hee that first burst out into that heavenly Sermon which converted three thousand. Here was one honest word the [perhaps] But even this will faile, for granting the two postulata, that wee may judge (probably at least) by exterior actions, and that our Saviour said perfect truth, when he said, Out of the abundance of the heart— Yet the Doctor may not be satisfied from thence, or from *St. Peters* first bursting out, making the first, though so powerfull Sermon, that he had received the holy Ghost in a more peculiar manner, or was designed head of the Apostles. I shall answer it no farther than by repeating it, hoping that my silence will not again have such efficacy

efficacy in it (if it have, *dumbe Negatives* may hereafter deserve some consideration) as to render this also a *strongest* and *most important* place for the *Romanists pretensions*.

- 21 What is next represented (according to *S. W.* his meaning) as my *fourth argument*, viz. *That they were all filled with the holy Ghost*, is sure no *distinct* argument of mine, but only a part of that *Text* before cited, where the *fire sate on every of them*, and this is a consequent of that, *they were all filled with the holy Ghost*. And that this thus set, was an *argument* of some *validity*, hath already appeared. As for the *possibility*, that they which were *all full* of the *holy Ghost*, might yet have it *unequally*, I am not concerned to doubt, if by [*unequally*] be meant the *inequality* of *divine indowments*. But though of these there is no certain ground of affirming, which of all the *Apostles* had the *highest degree*, *Saint John* excelling in *some graces*, *Saint Peter* in others, and *Saint Paul* that came after, having as rich a proportion as either, for ought we can discern, and *labouring more abundantly than they all*, yet *not he*, but *this grace of Gods spirit in him*: Yet our question being onely of *power* or *Commission* to *authority*, and *dignity* in the *Church*, and every one having that *sealed* to him by the *Holy Ghosts descent* upon every one, there is no remaining *difficulty* in this matter.

- 22 The *testimonies* which I * brought out of the antients to prove that there was *no more promised* to *S. Peter*, *Mat. 16.* than was *promised*, *Mat. 18.* and *actually given*, *John 20.* to all and every of the *Apostles*, are lookt on by *S. W.* as *pretendings*, that the *Romanists build* not the *Church* upon *Bishops* in the *plurall*, nor allow any *authority* to them, but to the *Pope onely*, and this made a piece either of *pitifull ignorance*, or *malicious calumnie*. But tis apparent they did not inject the least *suspicion* of that. What they were designed to *inferre*, was cleare by the matter of the *testimonies*, that though the words, *Mat. 16.* were spoken particularly to *Peter*, yet the *intire power* there spoken of was

* *T. of Schisme*
p. 89.

p. 93.

was promised and given to all the Apostles, that from that donation it is, that all Episcopall power, which is in the Church, flowes, that in S. Peters receiving the Keyes, all Bishops received them, which is an evidence that either he received more than was comprehended in the keyes (which he cannot do by those words) or else he received no more than all other Bishops receive from the rest of the Apostles. And then how can his *supremacy* be founded in these words?

- 23 In this paragraph hee hath given us a very rare specimen of his reasoning, for not contenting himselfe to have sayd, that the testimonies of Bishops in the plurall, touch not the Romanists, there being no word in them excluding the Pope, Hee addes, *Nay rather they make for them*: How fair they bid to excluding the Pope, supposing that title to signifie not a Bishop onely, but a supreme universal Pastor, hath been shewed already. Let us now observe how hee proves this [*Nay rather they make for us*] for that will bee a matter of some moment, if performed successfully. His way of inferring this his advantage is, *For the Churches being founded in Apostles, and Bishops, prejudices not S. Peter to be the chiefest; and if so, then the Church is built most chiefly and especially upon Saint Peter, which is all we Catholikes say.*] Where not to dispute what is meant by S. Peter being the chiefest, whether no more than appears to be meant by the *πρῶτος* *ἐπίσκοπος*, which hee knows we willingly grant him, without imagining any supremacy of Authority over the rest of the Apostles, instated in him; All that I desire to observe, is the manner of his arguing, thus, If it prejudices not S. Peter to bee the chiefest, then the Church is built most chiefly upon him: from those testimonies not prejudicing, presently assuming that it is true, as if saying nothing to hurt it (by not saying any thing to it) were a clear evidence on its side, and then the first verse of S^t Matthew inferres it also, for I acknowledg that prejudices it not, and

and then *S. W.* may set up for *immortall disputer*, having as many *reserves* of such *arguments* still behind, as there are *periods* in the *Scriptures*, or *Fathers* which speak of *other* matters, for of each of them 'tis acknowledged, that they *prejudice* not *St. Peters* being the *chiefest*. Sure *S. W.* when he was so *displeased* with the *dumb negative*, foresaw not hee should need to call in such *Auxiliaries* as these.

- 24 My answer to the Text of *Tu es Petrus*, is after his constant manner *deformed* by him, yet cannot misse to have this discernible *efficacy* in it, that there being no more meant by it, then that *Peter* was a *foundation stone*, and all the *Apostles* being such as well as hee, this cannot *constitute* him in any *superiority* over them, *CHRIST* onely being the *ἀνεγγραμμένος*, *chiefe corner stone*, and no other place in the *Foundation* giving any *ὑπεροχή* of power to one *Foundation-stone* above another. This might bee soone manifested, if it were needfull, by the known *possession* of *Foundation-stones*, one by, not on the top of another: And if *St. Peter* were supposed to bee the *first*, (as page 103. hee saith the *Doctor* will not deny) and so next the *chiefe corner stone*, and by that *Superior* to all the rest, then it must likewise follow, that that stone which was placed *next* to the stone that represented *Saint Peter*, or in the next place of *honour*, next *CHRIST* on the other hand, must be also *Superior* to all the rest, and the same rules of *subordination* hold on, through all the rest, which I suppose will not bee *S. W.* his *interest* to affirm, and then I can foresee nothing that will incline him to that way.

- 25 Somewhat hath been added on this head in the *Reply*, *Sett. II.* It remains onely that I gather up some special objections of his against what I have said in the *Treat* of *Schisme* of this matter, which were not tendred by the *Cath: Gen:*

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26 And first, saith hee, the argument is onely negative, that no distinction is put (betwixt the Foundation-stones in Scripture) therefore there was none. I answer, the argument is this, Simon is by Christ called Πέτρος, a foundation-stone in the building of the Church, and the same title is, in another word, given every of the Apostles, when they are called θεμέλιοι δίδωμι twelve foundations, from whence my conclusion (and not my prooffe) is negative: Therefore the words Tu es Petrus, neither give, nor affirme more of him, than is given and affirmed of every of the other Apostles.

27 Next, saith he, it is a most pitifull piece of reason to perswade the Reader from onely a plurality, and naming twelve Apostles, that all were equall. But this was not my reasoning, but that the rest of the Apostles were foundation stones as well as Simon, and therefore that that title of Tu es Petrus was no proof of inequality.

28 Thirdly, The Doctor, saith he, hath quite overthrowne his owne cause, since granting a foundation-stone and Πέτρος being the same, and onely St. Peter having the name of Πέτρος, it followes on the Doctors grounds that hee onely, and hee more particularly should be a foundation-stone. This would be a strange syllogisme, if it were put into forme; but I shall not trouble my selfe with that, onely when it is as certaine that Πέτρος and θεμέλιος is the same, sure they that are every one of them θεμέλιοι, shall be, as far as this argument can conclude, as much and as particularly foundation-stones, as he that was called Πέτρος; so far from being inferr'd is his [onely St. Peter] or St. Peter more particularly.] 'Tis as if I should say, man and Ensh being the same, and onely the sonne of Serh having the name of Ensh, it followes on these grounds, that hee onely, and in good reason that he more particularly should be a man. I suppose to this proposall of objection against S. W. his being a man, he would find out some answer or other to defend himselfe,

himselfe, perhaps this, that *Isch* and *Enosh* are the same, and *S. W.* is an *Isch*, and therefore as well and as particularly a man, as the sonne of *Seth* can be deemed to be; and then hee hath no further need to be shewed the way to make answer to this argument.

29 But then fourthly, he must have it noted, that the *Doctor will have all the Apostles called Peter.*] And now I have helpt him to another quarrell with the *Doctor* as just as that, viz. that the *Doctor will have every man call'd Enosh*: But I answer, I shall not importune him that all the *Apostles* may be called *Peter* (and therefore the *eleventh dish* in the bill of fare, was but a *brick-bat* put in paste, and meant onely to fill up room at the table) *Ἀπόστολος* & *Πέτρος* are all one, and that will serve my turne as well, and therefore I content my selfe with the *Scripture* style, that the *Apostles* were twelve *Ἀπόστολοι*, and not twelve *Peters*.

30 The confirmation of the observations concerning *Tues Petrus*, from the measuring of the wall in the *Apocalypse*, is made matter of much game to *S. W.* But a little seriousness (in such matters very decent) would have taught him, that the analogie of some obscure things in vision with some most plaine, may render some parts of visions intelligible, and then what more obvious than this, that the wall being built upon the foundation, and so commensurate with it, and the foundation being distinctly made up of twelve stones, and the names of the twelve *Apostles* expressly interpreting each of them to be the so many *Apostles*, and the wall also being divided into twelve equall parts, the severall portions whether of Province, of which the Church is made up, or else of power, with which the *Apostles* were invested, should be thought to be meant by them, and so this representativus mensuration be exactly significative of that, which other plain *Scriptures* had given grounds of believing, and *Tues Petrus* had offered nothing to the contrary, viz. the equality of the power given by *Christ* to all the *Apostles*. As for *S. W.* his
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subtle fetch from the quality and lustre of the first of the twelve stones in that vision, the Jasper, I can allow him to make his advantage of it, to that which it is most proper to signify the lustre of zeale and other gifts, and if he can find any meanes to assure himselfe, 1. That St. Peter was signified by that Jasper stone, 2. That the lustre of that exceeded the lustre of every of the other stones, I shall very willingly grant him his conclusion, knowing that as the greatest Potentates are not alwayes the most zealous persons in their Kingdomes, so Dominion is not founded in such graces, but only in the Constitutions and Commissions of Christ, which mediately or immediately bestowes all supremacies on all that are duely possessed of them.

- 31 And so much for this large 13th Section (which I have attended on *precisely*, and *exactly*, as being most important to our *businessse* in hand, the case of our *Schisme* fundamentally depending on the *supremacy* of *S. Peter*) and consequently of his first part.

CHAP. IV.

A Survey of the Second Part of Schism Disarm'd.

SECT. I.

S. W. his one Evidence, Possession in the belief of Infallibility, Examined, in the general result, and the Special branches of it.

1. **B**Eing now to enter on this *second* part of my *Disarmers dexterities*, I meet with one in the front, which if thought on *timely*, and well *husbanded*, might have superseded, and saved him the *expense* of all the rest both foregoing and subsequent, the one *Evidence* that he pretends to for his whole tenure, *their Churches long and quietly enjoyed possession of the belief of Infallibility*. *Possideo* saith he, *quia possideo, olim possideo, prior possideo, is all the evidence and all the reason she is bound to give to her Rebel Sons or outlawed Subjects.*] p. 106.
2. This indeed might make *short work*, decide and conclude *Controversies*. sixty an hour for an age together, if there were but this one thing granted, that the *guilty* were not only *innocent* but *infallibly* and *unavoidably* such, or that *S. W.* might be *credited*, when he affirms it.
3. By this we see to what purpose it had been for me to have *reformed* upon his admonitions (concerning my *omitting* his *strongest and most important* place of *Pasce Oves*——) when if I had let loose upon his *direction*, and refused all *D. Stapletons*, and other *Romanists* pretensions from those words, I had been still as far as ever, from moving this *rock*: for when all other pleas fail he is still as safe as the clearest *Deeds* could make him; he hath an enchanted castle to retire to, *their Churches Infallibility*; and if any man will question that, it matters not; the

belief of Infallibility will serve turn; and if still you will be importunate, and demand some *reason* to found such *belief*, and that for the satisfaction of the *weak* (who would really give all the goods in the world, that they might be *assured* of the truth of it, but cannot arrive to such *heights* of believing without, and *against* all grounds of believing) why then in stead of *satisfying* those demands of frail fallible reason. here is the great *BALEMOIS*, the engine of *batterie*, that will subdue in a moment all the *intellectual fortresses*, the long and quietly enjoyd possession of this *belief*, and so by these degrees *S. W.* his grand indenture is perfected, and all his evidence and reason summed up in this *Breviate. Posideo quia posideo* : Our Church is *schismatical* ; why ? because the Pope is *universal Pastor*, and we are divided from him. How doth he appear to be so ? Why, the Church (that must be the *Romane Church*) affirms it, which is *Infallible* : But how is she evidenced to be *Infallible* ? why, she believes she is so. I beseech him, upon what grounds doth she believe so ? why, she hath possession of this belief. But a thief may possess that which he should not possess, and one may ask (with a desire to learn) how came she by this possession ? Why she hath long and quietly enjoyed it : And if you further insist, and be so *ill-natured*, as to ask one question more, you are to know, *You are Rebel Sons and outlawed Subjects*, and this is all the reason *S. W.* in her name, is bound to give you, and (as he goes on) *'Tis your part to evidence ; hers to hold and possess her own* (Poor Protestants are bound to dispute and demonstrate, to grind in the mill, or digg in the quarry, 'tis enough for them to possess the belief of *Infallibility*) till you sufficiently i. e. demonstrably evidence her title to be unjust.] One would think the very reciting of this arguing were sufficient reply to it.

4. And yet if after all this, it be remembred, either what title it is, that we are to prove to be unjust, or what kind of possession it is that is maintained by this title, the arguing will yet appear more admirable. 1. 'Tis evident there is no title (properly so called) so much as pretended ; Possession, long quietly enjoyed is all that is tendred ; and I hope possession, be it never so long and quiet, is no more then possession ; a title is *precedaneous*, and somewhat else, in which the Possession is, or ought to

to be founded; and if it were not, tis not *bonæ fidei Possessio*. For though *prescription* by humane Laws may be allowed to create a right; Yet it hath no such power by the Laws of Christ either in *virtue* and *vice*, or in matters of *true* or *false*. If it had, both *Heathenism* of old and *Turcism* now would hold by the same tenure. But of this I have spoken in the Reply, p. 21.

5. So that this indeed proves *S. W.* to be ἀθάνατος πολεμίστης, an immortal invincible combatant. He need never dispute, or offer one word of reason for his Church till we have demonstrably evidenced her title to be *unjust*; and yet he saith, he is not bound to produce any title at all; and then how shall it be possible for us to demonstrate it *unjust*? And yet this is but one less considerable part of his arguing. The possession which is wont to supply the place of a title, and to be ingredient in a plea, is we know the possession of some outward thing, of Land, of Goods, moveable or immovable, of Power, and the like: but the possession, which *S. W.* speaks of, is the Possession of one of our own operations, an internal act; for such is *Belief*; But of that also, as such, we have spoken already. Reply Chap. 7. Sect. 1. n. 11. and I need add no more now, but this, that possession of belief, and the length of that possession, can signify no more then that they have long believed it; and if that were sufficient ground to be rendered to any (whether *Subject* or *Slave*) who should demand a reason of the Faith that is in them, [they believe it, because they do, and have long believed it] I would gladly know, what the Apostle meant by that precept, 1 Pet. 3. 15. that we be ready πρὸς ἀπολογία πᾶντι ἀντὶ τῆς, to give an account, such sure as hath λογόν, reason in it, i. e. an account of the cause and reason, as of our hope, so of our belief, to every man that demands such a reason from us, or whether the bare having so long believed it, without any offer of reason for it, be yet a reasonable account of that belief.

6. Nay when to the plea of a possession it is necessary that some competent testimonies to prove the prescription be produced, and so *S. W.* might be supposed to have some reserve of expedient, to extricate him out of this Labyrinth; the present specification of the object of this belief makes this issue yet more impossible; For tis The belief of their *Infallibility*, and not only of their

veracity which he speaks of, (and of that I hope I have said enough in the view of the Romanists exceptions to my Lord of Falklands discourse of Infallibility.) 2. of their Infallibility, indefinitely (and that is in effect universally) the impossibility that their Church should err in any thing she affirms, or defines; or shall ever affirm, or define; A thing, which as they cannot pretend to prove so much as by that way, that possessions are evidenced to be Possessions, by Testimonies of ancient men, for sure never any Apostle or ancient Dr. of the Church did by way of prophesie foretel this, that the Church of Rome never should err. or render her self capable of erring, so after all this tis as necessarily refuted by every particular dispute of ours, wherein we have or shall prove her actually to have erred, and wherein we shall demonstrate her to have varied from her self (as it is certain we can demonstrate) as any title in the world can be evidenced to be unjust.

7. That I descend not here to this way of perfecting this demonstration, I have many reasons to perswade me. I shall mention but one, that this digression of his to the discourse of his one evidence, the belief of Infallibility, pretends to be founded in no more then an intimation of mine, that it belongs to them to evidence. And what had I said to intimate this? Forsooth the Title of my fifth Chapter was, *The evidences from the Bishop of Rome succeeding S. Peter examined* A foul injury indeed to S. W. to imagine that they use any such evidence, or that they are bound to use any at all. Well if I have made such a dangerous intimation, I have now more then intimated my reasons for it, and when my intimations are more express (my whispers become vocal) I will endeavour my demonstrations shall be so also. In the mean this may serve to secure my intimation, and so the title of my fifth Chapt. For sure the last crime that is laid to it, in relation to the subsequent matter of the Chapter, viz. that the Dr. is contrary to himself, inscribing the chapter, an answer to their evidences, yet spending almost the whole chapter in producing evidences of his own,] will soon be pardoned him. When it is considered, that those evidences of his own were produced to refute and invalidate their evidences, and so as proper a method as could have been used in the examining of them.

8.

S E C T.

SECT. 2.

Bishops properly Successors of the Apostles, and styled Apostles.

S. W. his disadvantage from pretending the contrary. The frail grounds of the Bishop of Romes supremacy. The place of St. Peters death no means to affix the pretended universal Pastorship to the See of Rome; Peters third coming to Rome. The Bishop of Rome succeeded him living.

1. **H**is answer to my first Paragraph, is most of it triumph over the victories of his former part (which I suppose have proved no better then those in *Thucydides's* storie, the victories vanished, before he hath taken full possession of them) yet he cannot take leave of it without giving us one taste of his faculty; I had said that after the first evidence, which concerned *S. Peter*, was manifested to be incompetent to infer the conclusion, was unnecessary to proceed to the other; and he recites this into another form, that I brag I have supererrogated, and said more then needs, applying it to what I had done in the former chapter, when my words evidently look forward, and relate to that which was next to be handled.
2. What follows next concerning the Succession to *S. Peter* at *Antioch*, compared with that at *Rome*, hath been spoken to and vindicated against the *Cath. Gentl.* in the *Reply. Chap. 5. Sect. 2.* and here is little Addition made by *S. W.* save only 1. His denying, that *Peter* planted a Church at *Antioch* of Jewish believers only (whereas 1. the contrary is manifested in the former chapter by the distinctness of the two cœtus there; and 2. This is not at all to the matter of our present argument, which is founded onely in *Peters* planting a Church, and leaving a Successor Bishop at *Antioch*, which he equally did, were it of Jews or Gentiles) 2. The recounting the two divers qualities of dignity in *S. Peter* resident at *Antioch*; the first of particular care of that Church, as private Bishop of that See, wherein, saith he, he left an improperly so called successor, viz. a Bishop: the second of publike office of head of the Church, in which consists his Primacy, and in which he only could claim the inheritance,

who succeeded him dying.) Herein there be three things to be briefly adverted to. 1. That his whole answer is founded in a visible begging the question, viz. that S. Peter was head of the Church, and so had the Primacy, i. e. the supreme Pastorskip of the Church; for as to any other notion of Primacy, that title will not be proper. 2. That in his opinion a Bishop was but improperly a successor of St. Peter. whereas tis notorious in all antiquity, that the Bishops were the only (properly so called) successors of the Apostles, and themselves frequently upon that account stiled Apostles, and the Successors of St. Paul and other Apostles in other cities equally so stiled, * Αποστόλος Τιμόθεος, † Αποστόλος Τίτος, † Αποστόλος Επαφροδίτης, * Απίστολος; Τίμαριος, the Apostle Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, Ignatius, and many the like, as the successor of S. Peter at Rome, † Apostolus Clemens. And if it be said, that Bishops succeeded not in the whole Apostolical Power, that of preaching to all Nations, and so were but improperly their Successors; I answer, that is true; but little for S. W. his advantage. For then the Bishop of Rome not succeeding S. Peter in the plenitude of his power, can the less be proved to succeed in the Universal Pastorskip of S. Peter (which if ever S. Peter had been possess of, must needs be founded in, and superstruted on his commission Apostolike) his succession in the Episcopal chair may be sufficient.

3. 3^{dly}, That all the Bishop of Romes supremacy depends upon these frail grounds, and besides upon another perfect uncertainty; (even according to S. W. his unproved assumptions) viz. that none could succeed him dying, but only the Bishop of Rome; whereas 1. Tis evident, that whatsoever power S. Peter was invested in, he might at death, have delegated to any other Bishop constituted by him, as well as to the Bishop of Rome, to Eudodius as to Clemens; If it be said, he could not: I ask what should hinder him a sure no command of Christ, for he had not said a word to this matter; Nor was Peters will subject to any other authority, and therefore certainly he might, if he would, thus have delegated it; and that he would not, is not pretended, or attempted to be proved, and so it remains a meer groundless, uncertain assertion, or conjecture, of which sort many millions might be produced, which yet have really no truth in them.

And

* Anom. a.
Phot. Num.
254. &
Theodor. in
1 Tim. 3. 1.
& Theophan.
Theod. in
T. 1.
|| Phil. 2. 25.
Theod. in
Phil. 1. 1. &
in c. 2.
Chrys. lib. l.
* Chrys. 12.
Pet. 2. 26.
† Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 4.

And whereas here is pretended a necessity in the matter, that where he dyed and was divested, there was necessary a succession into the dignity, which he left, and was wanting by his death to the whole Church. This is perfectly vain. For 1. that want, if any such there had been to the whole Church, might by any declared act of his will, by his delegation and institution have been as well supplied in any other city, if he had so pleased, as in that wherein he dyed: and without such expression of his will, the place of his death would have been utterly ineffectual; There is not the least necessity consequent to the Archbishop of Canterbury his dying at London, yea though he were also Bishop of London, when he dyed, to affix the Archiepiscopal power to that See; nor doth any kind of inheritance depend on such uncertain emergents as is the place of a mans dying.

4. Suppose the Emperour of the whole world were by particular title of Conquest; or Εμψύτως plantation, King of France first, and afterward of England, and before, or at the time of his death had assigned one successor in France to his crown and kingdom of France, and another in England to that crown, and without any provision appearing to be made for the succession in the Empire, he should dye intestate in England, would there be any necessity now from his dying there, that the King of England should succeed to the Empire of the world? His answer to this question, and his solid grounds of reason, on which to found his answer, whatsoever it shall be, will be useful to the clearing of this matter.

5. Meanwhile, as tis obvious to any, that he that hath long lived in one city, may upon some sudden occasion remove, and dye in another; so it seems most probable that this last coming of S. Peter to Rome was after this manner, not long before his death. For though in Eusebius Chronicon there is mention of his sitting 7. years at Antioch, and then five and twenty years at Rome, immediately before his death, (which is no way reconcileable with evidence of History in many particulars) yet in the third of the Ecclesiastical History καὶ α. the words are express. Πέρτος ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ — κακηνεύσαντα τοῖς ἐκ διασπορῆς Ἰουδαίοις ἵστατον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἐν Ρώμῃ γὰρ ὄντων τῶν ἀνεσκολοπίστων. Peter having preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia — to the Jews, which were of the dispersions.

* Annot. in
Plotin. de vit.
Pontif. in
Pct. Apoll.

dispersion at the end being at Rome, he was put to Death, &c. And accordingly * Onuphrius, to reconcile the contrary appearances, is forced to place this his third coming, and last return to Rome, in the last year of the reign of Nero, under whom he was put to death.

6. * Her. 25.
κατ. κ. 2. πορ.

Add hereunto the affirmation of * Epiphanius, *Θημι δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίζησαι, διὰ τοῦ Αποστόλου πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλὰς πόλεις αὐτὴν πορεῖαν εἰς ἡμεῖς, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ δύνανται δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀνεῖν ἐπισκόπου ἕν* —

that of those that belonged to Peter and Paul, there were ordained other Bishops, because they went to other Countreys to preach the faith; and Rome might not be without a Bishop; which is farther prejudice to S. W. his argument for the Bishop of Romes succession to the plenitude of S. Peters power, upon that only score of his dying there; For thus his argument lies. The dignity of Primacy annex to S. Peters person went along with him whithersoever he went, and remained with him living, so that he only who succeedeth him dying (the Bishop of Rome) could claim the inheritance of this sacred dignity. To this I reply; but if the Bishop of Rome succeeded him not dying but living, i. e. was constituted Bishop there in S. Peters life time, as Epiphanius expressly affirms he was, then all force of this argument is vanished. But of this whole matter I have formerly spoken in the reply, ch. 5. Sect. 2. and therefore I add no more of that.

SECT. 3.

The Canon of Chalcedon. *What the Bishop of Romes Primacy. ἵσα πρεσβεία. Constantinople equal to Rome in all but place. ὡς ἐκείνη, noting an equality. Constantinoples Civil greatness, Ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς πράγμασι. in all Ecclesiastical affairs.*

1. IN the next place my testimony from the Council of Chalcedon is to be examined by S. W. But that also was largely vindicated in the Reply, c. 5. sect. 3. But S. W. will ask some posing questions, which the Catholike Gentlemans curiosity did not suggest to him, as 1. How I know that ἵσα πρεσβεία signifies the Primacy

macy, asking whether there be no other privileges besides the Primacy] The Pertinence of this question, is first observable. The thing which I had in hand, was to shew the original of the precedence of the Bishop of Rome: For this I cited the Canon of Chalcedon, that Constantinople should have ἴσα πρεσβεία equal privileges: with Rome, (and be in place second, or next after Rome) upon this account particularly, διὰ τὸ βασιλευν τὴν πόλιν, because it was (at that time) the seat of the Empire, affirming that to be the reason (and not any donation of Christs to S. Peter, or succession of the Bishop of Rome from him) that Rome enjoyed such privileges. And upon view of this, S. W. very demurely asks, how I know that ἴσα πρεσβεία signifies the Primacy] What propriety or seasonableness to the matter in hand, the original of Romes dignity, is yet discoverable in this question?

- But then 2. I shall answer this question by this other. Whether the Bishop of Rome his Primacy were any thing else above what the Bishops of other Prime Metropoles enjoyed, save only Primacy of order or place? If it were in his opinion no more, then as I willingly yield it to the Bishop of Rome, so it is the disclaiming all his pretended supremacy of jurisdiction over all others, in which alone the charge of our Schism is founded. If it were more, then the Council of Chalcedon, that confirms to Constantinople the ἴσα πρεσβεία with Rome, excepting none but the precedence of place or order (ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ὡς ἐκεῖνην μετὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πρεσβείαν, to be advanced like her or to have the like greatness in Ecclesiastical affairs, that Rome had, being δὲ δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνην, second, or next after it) must needs give Constantinople that Primacy also. Or in plainer terms, was the Primacy that belonged to old Rome any real privilege above other Primates? If it were, then Constantinople, that must have ἴσα πρεσβεία, equal privileges, with old Rome, and not onely some few equal privileges without others, must have the Primacy also. For when that Canon confirms the ἴσα πρεσβεία, it doth it 1. Indefinitely, i. e. universally, equal privileges; and 2. That equality is founded in having the same original of those privileges, which therefore equally divides them all that flow from that original; and Rome had no other claim by which to hold them, in the opinion of that

Council, and she is judged to have them, with one exception, and that only of place or order, *ἰσοτέραν*, &c. (and we know an exception confirms the rule to all things which are not excepted) And so sure that gives grounds of inferring the conclusion in that full latitude of all but place, and so of Primacy in the widest notion (place only excepted) in which Rome had it.

3. To his second question, why [*ὡς ἴσχυον*] which can exact no other interpretation but [as she] must be rendred [as much as she] deducing an equality or identity from *ὡς*, which onely notes a similitude or likeness] the answer is obvious. 1. Because the parity, or agreement betwixt them in that place, is specified to be in respect of greatness, : *μεγαλυνέσθαι ὡς ἐκείνην*, Constantinople shall be great in Ecclesiastical affairs as she; that must conclude it as great as she to any reality of power or greatness. 2. By the only exception mentioned, that of place, as was before said. 3. By the *ἴσα πρεσβεία*, which were expressly mentioned before, equal privileges, and those, I hope, signifie equality, and not similitude or likeness only. 4. By the ground of these equal privileges, the dignity of the city, of which we have the sense of Gregory Nazianzen in his *Orat.* 27. where he thus addresses himself unto them. *Τυμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, εἰ ὡς τοιούτῃ τὴν πρῶτην ὁδεύει, ἢ μὴ δὲ τὰ το παραχωρῶν τε*, Constantinople is the great city (*S. Chrysostom* calls it the metropolis ὅλην τὴν κόσμον of the whole world) the first after the first, or not yielding so much as this to it. And then if the Church were to keep the like proportion, we know what to conclude of it.

4. Thus when || *Sozomen* sets down the passages of the first Council of Constantinople where these privileges were conferred, he hath these words. *Μετὰ τὸν Ρώμης τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκοπον τὰ πρεσβεία ἔχει, ὡς ἔχει Ρώμης τὸν θρόνον ὀνομαζομένην. ἥδη γὰρ ἡ μόνον ἐκ τούτης προσήγοιαν ἡ πόλις, καὶ γερυσία καὶ τὸ γερμαθήμερον καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐξουσίας ἐξέπτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σύμβολα χρίται καὶ ὀνομα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ρωμαίων ἐκρίνετο καὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ γέγρατα περὶ πάντα ἐκείνη ἐσθλίζετο.* The Bishop of Constantinople shall have privileges of dignity next after Rome, as having the throne or chair of New Rome. For already (at that time) the city had not only that appellation, and a senate, and orders of the people and magistracies, the like to those at Rome, but also the ensigns of dignity, according

to what was customary to the Romans in Italy, were adjudged to them, and the rights and dignities in all particulars were equal to them both.

5. In the third place his questions are turned into chiding the Dr. for *Englishting* *ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πράξεως* in all Ecclesiastical businesses, whereas (saith he) there is no such word as [*All*] there;] I answer, that if by *Englishting* he means translating, I did not intend to *Englisht* it, and the varying the letter is an evidence of that. Put that I so concluded by way of inference from those, and the precedent words of the Canon, I willingly acknowledge; but am not, I conceive, to be chid for it. For if Constantinople be in Ecclesiastical affairs advanced to the same height of power as Rome, if it have indefinitely without any exception, but only of precedence of place, equal privileges with Rome; and if this it have, upon this demonstrative account, because Constantinople now is what Rome was, and agrees with it in that for which Rome had her privileges, *συμμεμενέμενα*, saith Themistius, reigning together with Rome, then must this belong to all Ecclesiastical businesses (precedence of place beeing either excepted, or not deemed such a *πράγμα*) for otherwise if there were any matter of the Church, to which Constantinople's power was not exalted, so as to be magnified *ὡς Ῥώμη*, like Rome, in that, whatsoever it were, there would be a real inequality, and so that Canon fail of its design of confirming the *ἵσα πρεσβεία*, not this or that privilege in some particular matters, but indefinitely, privileges equal to those which Rome had. And therefore sure my pen was not herein, as he saith, too liberall of its ink; I made no addition to the real necessary importance of that testimony.

SECT. 4

Πρωτοβία Honorary, Pompous, Ceremonious privileges. Some such belonged to Rome as the first Patriarchate, but no supreme universal jurisdiction from St. Peter. Constantinople equal to Rome in real privileges. The notion of *πρωτοβία* in the Glossaries, and in the Councils, further proved by Leo's Epistles. Primacy an ambiguous word.

1. **F**ourthly, From questioning and chiding, he at length comes to some matter, and will give account why the Popes Legates might omit to oppose the reason there given for the collation of the *πρωτοβία*. And for his groundwork he first lays this supposition, that the word *πρωτοβία* signifies nothing but certain honorary, pompous or ceremonious privileges: which he will allow might accrue to some Church by the residence of the supreme secular power there.

2. Before I give answer to this, I must first ask, what he means by honorary pompous or ceremonious privileges? If only those that have no reality of jurisdiction joyned to them more then belonged to that city before, or abstracted from the collation of those honorary privileges, then his words may bear this sense, that the privileges of a Patriarch, as that differs from a Primate of a Diocese in the East or West (there being fourteen such into which the Empire was most anciently divided) were but honorary privileges, precedence in Councils, and the like, without any accession of power or jurisdiction above that which belonged to them as Primates, and that these may accrue to some Church by the residence of the supreme secular power there. And in this sense, his words are most true, and applicable to the notion which I have of the Church of Rome from the Canon of Chalcedon, viz. that the Church of Rome, being *ἀν' ἀρχῆς* originally a Primacy (proportionable to the Prefecture of the City of Rome in the division of the Empire) by being the seat and first city of the Empire, became a Patriarchate, and the most honourable or first of the Patriarchates, and thereby had the first place in any œcumenical Council, and the like. But this was nothing but an honorary,

honorary privilege without any thing of *injurisdiction* (any further then the *Province* which belonged to her as *Primate*, extended) accruing to her by these means. And when the *Canon of Chalcedon* speaking of this, saith, she hath it assigned her by the *Fathers*, *ὡς τὸ βασιλεῖον τὴν πόλιν*, because she was the imperial city, the *Legates* did not, because they could not with any justice, oppose this reason: But *S. W.* I suppose, will have more to belong to Rome then this, and means more by *Romes Primacy*, even a *supremacy* of *injurisdiction* above all other *Primates* and *Patriarchs*, and that as coming down to her from *St. Peter*. And against both these I argued from that *Canon of Chalcedon*; And by *Constantinople* having equal privileges with *Rome*, i. e. first the power of a *Primate*, then the dignity or honour of a *Patriarch*, and the next place to *Rome* it self, and this upon this account of being the seat of the *Empire*, as *Rome* was, I conceiv'd, I had demonstrated 1. That *Rome*, in the judgement of that Council, had no such supremacy of *injurisdiction*; for that was not conferred on *Constantinople*; nor indeed could it be competible to any second if *Rome* had been thought to have had it, and so was prejudged by the decree for *Constantinople* having equal privileges with *Rome*, And 2. That what *Rome* had above other cities, *Antioch*, &c. it was not deemed to have by any right from *Peter*, but from being the *Imperial See*, and this by way of interpretation acknowledged by the *Legates* of *Rome*, by their not opposing this, when for other reasons, and not for that, they refused to approve that *Canon*.

3. And this might serve for answer to his supposition of the bare pomposness of these Privileges. But because he may more probably have another meaning in his words, that the Privileges here made equal and common to *Constantinople* with *Rome*, were but some pompons, honorary privileges, which notwithstanding, *Constantinople* fell much short of *Rome* in real power and jurisdiction, and so still *Rome* might have the universal Pastorship, though *Constantinople* communicated with it in the ceremonious privileges: I shall therefore now farther examine the truth of this unproved suggestion, which indeed being thus taken out of the ambiguous words, and put into intelligible sense, hath not any the least appearance of truth in it. And having none, we may thence pass judgement, what *S. W.* will

adventure on to maintain his *cause*, and what supports that *cause* stands in need of, and cannot *subsist* without them. What *πρεσβεία* signifie (which *Constantinople* is adjudged to have *equal* to *Rome*) seeing it is his interest to *question*, it must be decided by *competent testimonies*. And such (for an ordinary *Greek* word) are the *Greek Glossaries*. Of these *Hesychius* may be allowed our first consideration. *πρεσβεία* saith he, *κράτος ὡς πρεσβεία, καὶ ἀρχή, καὶ ἐκκλησία*, it denotes *Government*, *chief Priesthoods*, *Principalities*, and *holy offices*, or (as I may guess the reading should be, without the last *καὶ*) *sacred Principalities*, proportionably to *ἀρχιερεῖς*, which denotes *γέροντες, βασιλεῖς, ἀρχόντες, ἀρχιμωνοί*, *Senators, Kings, Princes, those that are dignified above other men*. *Phavorinus* to the same purpose, *πρεσβείων ἢ διὰ γέροντος ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τοῦ δ' αὖτις διδιδυμῶν γέροντος διὰ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τοῦ ἐκτε ἀρχιερέως γέροντος, καὶ αὖτις, καὶ αὖτις γέροντος*, and *πρωτὰ τὰ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως γέροντος*. It signifies that *preeminence of dignity that belongs to any in respect of honour*, or the *honour is self thus given in respect of this preeminence*, *Honour for eminence*, *Primacy*, the *honours that belong to the first order*. And *Suidas*, *πρεσβεία, τιμὰ, γέροντος*, dignities, All manifestly shewing them to be *real dignities*, and *power*, and not only *pompous* and *meerly ceremonious*, which are comprehended under that word.

4. 2^{dly} Being a *style* of the *Canons*, the more *antient Canons* will best evidence the importance of it. In the sixth *Nicene Canon* we find the word, where having defined, according to the *antient or original customs*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* shall ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνῳ have power of all that are under that Patriarchate, in proportion to what was customary to the Bishop of *Rome*, it follows, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοδαφαῖς ἐπαρχίαις, καὶ τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, that in like manner at *Antioch*, and in other *Provinces* the *ecclesiastical* shall be preserved to the Churches; There it signifies evidently the power that any the greatest Bishops even of *Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch* had in their Churches, and (which may prevail somewhat with *S. W.*) *Antonius Salmatius* a Doctor of the *Ambrosian College*, who set out *Zonaras's Comments* on that Canon, and is approved by *Anton. Oléarius*, the President of that College, and by *Camillus Olevianus*, Commissary for the Inquisitor, and others, hath given

given it us rendred by no less then *privilegia, dignitates, & auctoritates*, as if he had (prophetically) meant malice to S. W. his affirmation in this place. Yet more particularly in this matter of Constantinople, the third Canon of the Constantinopolitan Council hath the word, and there it is *μετεβεία τῆς ῥίμης καὶ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐκτισμένην*, the *privileges of dignity after Rome*: and the Scholiast gives us the notion of the word, *ἡ τὴν τὴν τῆς ῥίμης καὶ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐκτισμένην*, the *Primacy* (or principal powers) and *privilegia singularia, singular privileges*, saith Salmasia. And not to be infinite in so plain a matter, the Canon of Chalcedon it self makes it clear enough, where all the Patriarchal power (containing the *Primatus* in it) which was certainly conferred before, and there confirmed to the Bishop of Constantinople, and this equal to that which Rome formerly had enjoyed (which I hope was more then bare || *honorary, pompous, ceremonious privileges*) and by name the Ordaining of Metropolitans, which was sure a real material privilege, are comprehended under that title.

5. This therefore of lessening or rather annihilating these *μετεβεία* [subduing them into nothing but honorary, pompous, ceremonious privileges] is clearly an invention of S. W. contrary to the express nature of the word, the Canonical use of it, and the evidence of the fact in that Canon; and yet farther it is abundantly refuted by Pope Leo's three long Epistles, the 54th to Anacletus the then Bishop of Constantinople, the 55th to the Emperor Marcian, the 56th to the Empress Pulcheria. and a 4th also, the 62^d to Maximus Bishop of Antioch, all sadly complaining of the invasion of the Primacies and rights of the Metropolitans || (*alienum jus praeipere, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare Primatus*) disturbing the Provinces which had been settled by the Decrees of Nice; * *desiring other mens rights, robbing the Churches of their privileges instituted by Canons of Councils, and a great deal more*: which I hope Pope Leo would not so declamatorily have poured out, if all that was confirmed to the Bishop of Constantinople in that Council, had been nothing but honorary privileges; for those sure might have been enjoyed by him, without invading the rights of any others: nor indeed can it be imagined, that those were the privileges of the Churches, which the Council of Nice had settled, Can. 6.

|| ὡς τῆς τῆς
ἐκτικῆς ἡ
ἀσπίδος
τῆς ὀργάνης
καὶ τῆς
πολιτικῆς
καὶ τῆς
ἐκτικῆς

|| fol. 110.
* Iudebita
concupiscit,
illicito crescit
re optat aug-
mento, Priv-
legia Ecclesi-
arum, sancti-
orum Patrum
Canonibus
instituta con-
telli—
fol. 119.

6. In the next place upon this ground, that *πρωτεύειν* signifies no more but these honorary privileges, he thinks he can give account why the Popes Legates did not oppose the reason there given for the collation of these *πρωτεύειν*, whereas, saith he, had the word *πρωτεύειν* signified Primacy, which was then as strongly and expressly pretended to come from Christs donation to S. Peter (as is evident in Pope Leo's Epistles, whose Legates presided in this Council) as it is now by the present Pope, then we should have heard another story] i. e. then the Legates would have opposed the reason there given for the collation of these *πρωτεύειν*.

- By Primacy I suppose he here means the Popes supreme power over all, & then the whole virtue of this argument lies in this, that Pope Leo, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon pretended this primacy of the Bishop of Rome to come from Christs donation to S. Peter. But to this semblance of proof, I answer, that S. W. having not produced any testimony of Leo's whereby we may discern his notion of Primacy, which is an ambiguous word, I must first demand the opinion of S. W. what Leo meant by Primacy? whether no more then that which belonged to the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch, and some other Prime Metropolitans in their Provinces? Thus, 'tis certain he useth the Phrase in his Epistle to the Empress, tot Metropolitanoꝝ Primatus — the Primacies of so many Metropolitans: and if this were all that he pretended to from S. Peter, such his pretensions were easily reconcileable with the Canon of Chalcedon, which neither robbd him of his Primacy, nor prejudged his having it from S. Peter, but (yet farther) supposed and yielded him the dignity of a Patriarch, and of the Prime or first Patriarch, and affirmed him to have ascended to this height by Romes being the seat of the Empire. But then, not to build on this possible notion of the word Primacy (which I must not deem S. W. his notion of it) nor yet on a second thing observable from those Epistles of Leo, which concerned this matter, viz. that he seems to interpret all the injury that was done in that Council of Chalcedon, to have been only a breach against the Canons of Nice, and the dispositions of Ecclesiastical affairs made there (never making the least mention, that I discern of any other) I answer 2. That 'tis most plain through those Epistles of Leo, that in them he neither

neither ever deduces his *Primacy* from S. Peter, for the bare mentioning the || authority of the blessed Apostle *Peter*, by which he himself acted (and so it is certain that by the same Authority the Bishop of *Antioch* acted also) or S. *Peters* founding *Christian Doctrine speciali magisterio* in *Antioch* and *Rome*, cannot be deemed the thus deducing it) nor takes notice of any the least *injurie* done to himself by that *Council*, but only to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and (especially) of *Antioch*, and other *Metropolitans*; which is a further testimonie of the truth of what I had said, that the deducing the original of the dignity of the *Roman See* from the greatness of that *Imperial Citty*, was never so much as quarrell'd at by the *Legates* in the *Council*, nor, as now I add, by the *Pope* afterwards, in this whole contest. And then still all that I said hath perfect truth, and it matters little what at any other time either *Leo* or any other *Pope* pretended, whether concerning the universality of their jurisdiction, or the tenure by which they assume to hold it from S. *Peter*. For thus they might pretend, without such reality of solid grounds, which would be sufficient to justify them in a *Council*.

|| Per authoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli. Ep. 55. Ep. 62.

SECT. 5.

*How Constantinople struck not at the Primacy. The Canon of Chalcedon doth more then strike at Romes supremacy. No advantage to Rome that the Canon is equally derogatory to Antioch. *ἡ οὐκ ἐπὶ βίαι* not noting Supremacy, is no advantage to S. W. His injustice. Constantinoples greatness only confirmed by the Canon of Chalcedon. So the second place. The regularity of this Act, and the great force of it to conclude this debate. The Romanists collection of Canons.*

1. **H**Is first attempt is contained in these words, *The Dr. grants that this decree was as derogatorie to the authority of Antioch as of Rome; but it is evident that Antioch pretended to no Primacy over the whole Church; therefore evident it is, that *ἡ οὐκ ἐπὶ βίαι* could not signifie Primacy of jurisdiction, nor consequently was that struck at by the tumultuous Constantinopolitans.*
2. Here now it is plain what he means by *Primacy*, that of jurisdiction, and over the whole Church. And this, saith he, is plain the Constantinopolitans struck not at. This is true in some sense. 1. That the Constantinopolitan See at that time pretended not to any such universal jurisdiction for it self. 2. That it struck no blow at it in Rome, nor indeed could it, not apprehending (that is discernable by that whole transaction) any such to be pretended to by Rome, any more than what properly belonged to it as a Primacy (of which there were many other in the East and West) only with the honorarie addition of the Patriarchate of the West, and the first or prime Patriarchate, and that upon the score of being the seat of the Empire. But then in another sense, which alone is to the purpose in hand, it is manifest, that this Canon of Chalcedon, that confirmed the *ἡ οὐκ ἐπὶ βίαι* to Constantinople doth more then strike at the universal Pastorship of Rome, viz. by necessary consequence of their decree; for if Constantinople have equal priviledges, and so all the greatness that Rome hath, except only the dignity of the first place; and if all that

Rome

Rome hath above other *Prime Metropoles*, belonged to her only upon the account of being the *Imperial City*, then sure this not only strikes at, but destroys all her pretensions to the universal Pastorship from *S. Peter*.

3. What he here adds from me, as my concession, that the decree was as derogatorie to the dignity of *Antioch* as of *Rome*] will little avail him in this matter. Not only because it is no affirmation of mine, but a conclusion, inferred *ad homines*, from a suggestion of the *Romanists* (as is apparent in the || place) but also, and especially because it is confessed by me and inferred in this arguing, that it was only a *Patriarchal power*, and not a *Primacy over the whole Church*, that was in that Canon adjudged to *Constantinople*. The truth is, *Antioch* only suffered real diminution by the exalting *Constantinople*, some part of the Province thereof being assigned *Constantinople*, and both that and *Alexandria* sunk a little lower in dignity of place; *Constantinople* being now placed next *Rome*, and consequently above each of them. But what doth this avail *S. W.* or how can he with the left color conclude thence for *Rome* either having, or retaining the *Primacy*, as that signifies the *Supremacy over the whole Church*? Certainly nothing at all.
4. With what truth it is here suggested, that the *Constantinopolitans* were *sumultuous*, hath been shewed at large in the *Reply*, ch. 5. sect. 3.
5. To his 6. I answer, that I grant most willingly. 1. That the *ἰσὺς πρὸς ὅλους* meant not the *Primacy* in his sense, for *Supremacy*: and 2. For the other *Primacy* which really belonged to *Rome*, to be the chief or first *Patriarchate*, I grant also that this was not concern'd or taken from her by the decree, but remained untouched. But then what hath *S. W.* gained by both these? and yet these are the nimost that all his endeavour can bring in to him; for these notwithstanding the Council that gives *Constantinople* *ἰσὺς πρὸς ὅλους* equal priviledges with *Rome*, prejudices *Rome* having any such *Supremacy*; for that cannot equally be had by any other and besides, that *Primacy* that *Rome* is there said to have from being the *Imperial City*, cannot be the universal Pastorship which it (had not, but) pretends to have from *S. Peter*.
6. His 7. exception to me is very unju^st, in making that my gross mistake,

mistake, and an evidence of my not fetching this testimonie from the fountains (the Canons I had thought, and Acts of the Council were the fountains, and from thence I fetcht it immediately, see Reply p. 83, &c.) which was only my inference from the Romanists concession. The Romanists rejecting this Canon, add, though most untruly, that the Church of Antioch rejected it also, (when it is visible in the Acts of the Council, that Maximus Bishop of Antioch subscribed it.) However this is most true, that Leo then pretended it for his chief reason not to subscribe it, because it was to the Bishop of Antiochs prejudice, and so against the disposition of the Council of Nice, which he would not see infringed, never mentioning any injurie done to himself by it, or to the See of Rome. Hence (i. e. from this their concession) I assumed it was granted by them that Constantinople acquisitions by this decree of Chalcedon, were as derogatorie to Antioch as to Rome ; and from thence again I further inferred, 1. That it must be confessed of Antioch that it had equal priviledges with Rome (for else how could it be as derogatorie to Antioch, as to Rome, that Constantinople had those *ἰσα πρεσβεία* to Rome) and so 2. That Rome was no more but a Patriarchate, because it was certain, that Antioch was no more then a Patriarchate. 3 That all that Constantinople had wanted of Rome (I mean ever since it became a Primates seat, for of old it is acknowledged that Byzantium was much lower) was only the dignity of a Patriarchate without any *ordinarie jurisdiction* over other Churches. All this being thus evident, S. W. would fain pick some holes, and first suggests that the Dr. tells him *ἰσα πρεσβεία* signifies a Patriarchate, and the pomps attending it : I said *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal priviledges with Rome signified the dignity of a Patriarchate. And so much evidently it must, and no more ; So much sure it must ; for Rome was a Patriarchate, and none that was less, or under a Patriarch could have equal priviledges with Rome. And no more it could signifie: for supposing Rome to have had more than Patriarchal power (that of universal Pastorship) none other could have that equal to it. If Rome were the universal Ecclesiastick Monarch, Constantinople could not be adjudged to be so also.

7. Secondly, Saith he, Constantinople was a Patriarchate before,
hwa.

but the fourth, and now pretended to be the second.] Some truth there is in this for the first part of it, but that such as is nothing to the prejudice of my pretensions, or to the advantage of my Disarmer. 'Tis true Constantinople was a Patriarchate before this Council of Chalcedon, first by a long continued custom, and then by force of the Canon of Constantinople, and accordingly I || took not this at Chalcedon to be the first conferring of these *πρεσβεία* on Constantinople, but only a confirming of what formerly was deemd to belong to that Church, and so the Fathers of Chalcedon expressly tell Leo the Pope, in their Epistle sent to him, and that what they now did, was but *βεβαίωσις τῆς τιμῆς*, the confirmation of that dignity by this Oecumenical Council, which before it enjoyed. And thus far S. W. said truth; let him make his best advantage of it. But what he adds [*but the fourth*] as if till the time of this Canon of Chalcedon, Constantinople had been but the fourth Patriarchate, but now became the second, there sure my Disarmer struck at adventure, and that none of the *καλὰς πληγὰς*, lucky blows, which Aristotle saies, they that wink or are blind, strike sometimes. For it is evident, that for this second place, the foregoing Canon of Constantinople was equally of force, as for the Patriarchal power. So the words of that third Canon are exprest, *ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς πῆνς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ ἵδ' αὐτὴν τὴν νέαν Ρώμην*. It shall have the privileges of dignity after the Bishop of Rome, because the City is new Rome; and so in the Epistle of the Fathers at Chalcedon to Pope Leo, it is voucht *ἑβεβαίωσαν τὸν κατὰ τὸν διασφωρόντα μετὰ τὸν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἢ Ἀποτλ. ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβείων τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔχειν*, We have confirmed the Canon of the 150. Fathers, that assembled at Constantinople in Theodosius's reign, which decrees, or declares that after your most holy Apostolick See, the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the privileges (of honor or first place.) So when || Evagrius speaks of this Act; he doth it exactly after the same manner. Judgement, saith he, was given that the See of Constantinople, *διδοὺς μετὰ τὸν Ρώμης τετάρτην*, was rightly placed, or ordered already after the See of Rome, that surely must be next after, & so not now first advanced from the fourth to this second place. And what hath S. W. gained by such adventures as these, undertaking to discover the gross mistakes of another ?

|| See Repl. p. 83.

|| Concil. Tom. 3. p. 475. D. F.

|| lib. 2. in fine.

8. What follows of the *tumultuousness* and *irregularity* and *want of freedom* in this *Aët*, had been suggested by the *Cath. Gentl.* (and proved to have no degree of truth in it. *Reply.* p. 82, 83. —) save only that tis here added, that it was *disavowed and rejected by the Patriarch of Antioch and those under him.* Which is most absolutely false, the *Bishop of Antioch* subscribing, and defining in that *Council*, in the next place after the *Bishop of Constantinople*. (Μετὰ τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν Ἀντιοχείας τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπερέτα) and the *Bishop of the Metropoles of Asia, Pontus and Thracia*, being called out in the *Council*, and examined before the *Emperors Proxies or Judges*, whether they consented *ὑποκρίνεται ἑαυτοῦ* by their own will, and subscribing with profession *ἑνώπιον Θεοῦ*, before God, that they did it willingly, and yet these we know of all others were the most concerned in this matter. So that we may believe there was some truth in the *Fathers* words, that what they had decreed was, *ὅτι τὸ ἀναίρετον ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς, ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐνταξίας*, for the removing of all confusion, and the settling of Ecclesiastical good order.

*Concil. tom. 3.
p. 475. E.*

9. And so now I hope by what hath here been added, to what is at large set down in the reply, I may assume that I have obeyed *S. W.* his charge, laid so heavily upon me, to vindicate the *validity of this Canon of Chalcedon*. And truly when that is done, there is little need of adding more *testimonies* in that matter, it being evident by that *Canon*, that all the *Greatness* that *Rome* had above other *Primates*, was, in the opinion of those *Fathers*, by being the *seat of the Empire*, not by any title of *succession* from *S. Peter*, and that beside only the *precedence of place*, other *Churches* had equal *privileges* and *dignities* with it, and so that *Rome* had not the *Universal Pastorsip or jurisdiction* over all *Churches*.

10. What he adds concerning the *Power* the *Pope* had to reject this *Canon*, as being head of the *Church*, is on his side a begging the *Question*, that the *Pope* is such, and withal is answered at large. *Repl. cap. 5. sect. 4.* and the truth of, *Almaines* resolution cleared, both to the *issue*, and to the *justice* of it *merito Concilium Chalcedonense Leoni resistenti prevaluisse*: the *Council of Chalcedon* prevailed against *Leo's* resistance, and that justly.

*De Auth. n.
Lict. 7.*

11. || In this place he tells us, this *Act* is self was not numbred among the *Acts* of the *Council*, till — And truly this was well remembred of him; for this is an indication, that it hath by *S. W.* his ancestors, been thought to be really preindicial to the *Pope*. (Howsoever he would by many attempts now sooth over the matter) 2. It admonisheth us what care we ought to have in relying on the *Romanists* collections. For it is certain this *Canon* is in all the *Greek* copies both *Printed* and *Manuscript*, and from thence the *copie* of that *council* must originally be fetcht: And many of the *Romanists* confesse there was such a *Canon* made, and the *storie* of the *fact* is by all the *Antients* agreed on; and *Leos* *Epistles*, and many other evidences put it beyond all dispute; and indeed *Leos* *Legates* resisting and not consenting to it, and complaining to the *Judges*, that it was done without them (when yet it was proved, that they voluntarily absented themselves) is an evidence still of the *fact*, that there was such a *Canon* made, and made by the *Council* (though without the consent of the *Legates*) and yet it is left out in *Charanza's summa Conciliorum*, in the *Codex vetus Ecclesie Romanae*, in *Dionysius Exiguus* his *Codex*, and in *Peter Crabs* large Edition of the *Councils*. I shall pass no further censure on these collectors, knowing in whose interest it was, that they thus did it.

SECT.

SECT. 6.

The Ephesine Canon, what 'twas voucht to prove. Cyprus independent for jurisdiction as well as ordination. Cedrenus's mistakes. Justinianopolis. The Canon of Ephesus extended to all other Primates, as well as Cyprus. What influence this hath on Romes pretensions, The Abbassins. Britains. Romes Patriarchy limited. The Nicen Canon.

1. **T**He second Section begins with a view of the *Testimony*, which I brought from the *Ephesine Canon*, and thus it sets out; *The Doctors next evidince, that the Pope is not head of the Church, is from a Canon in the Council of Ephesus.*
2. But before I read on, I must take notice of *S. W.* his constant art of *deforming of arguments*, before he adventures to *Answer* them, like the *persecutors of old*, that disguised *Christians in beasts skins*, and then brought them out to the *Theatre*, to be torn in pieces in those *shapes*. And none more ordinary with him then this, *viz.* having recited the *premisses* right, to affix some remote *conclusion* to it, as if it were produced by me for the *inferring* of that, and then to shew that it is *unconcludent*. Thus is it in this place. That which I voucht from that *Canon*, he duely recited, *viz.* that the *Independency of Cyprus* not onely from the *Patriarch of Antioch*, but from all others, was contested then, as from the *Apostles times* — But for the *conclusion*, which he pretends me to deduce from thence, he hath wholly changed it; for he that will review the *Tr. of Schisme*, Sect. 6. p. 100. will find that the *conclusion*, for the proving of which the *Ephesine Canon* is produced, is not the *Popes not being head of the Church* (that had been shewed, Sect. 5. by *Antioch* and *Constantinople* having *ἰσὺν ἀριστοῦ*, equal dignity with *Rome*, which manifested *Rome* to be no more then a *Patriarchal See*) but the *reconcilableness* of this kind of eminence (*Patriarchal*) in *Rome*, with the *αὐτορ. φελαία* and independence, the no subordination, or subjection of other *Primates*. For tis manifest that this was the last thing mentioned in the close of Sect. 5. and then Sect. 6. begins

gins thus: *This hath formerly been manifested. What this?* Why sure the immediate Antecedent; that that eminence is reconcilable. And this appears beyond all dispute, by the place to which I refer, where I say it had been manifested, the discourse of the Original, and power, and dignity of Primates and Patriarchs, viz. chap. 3. Sect. 21. where I had manifested this very thing (but did not so early attempt to manifest that which I had not then till chap. 4. so much as proposed, that the Pope was not head of the Church) And this, and this onely, is it, which I there say is put beyond all controule by that Canon of Ephesus. And so certainly it is; for 'tis there determined that the Bishops of Cyprus shall *ἑαυτῶν μετροπολίτας ποιεῖν*, be ordained by themselves (i. e. by their own Metropolitane, the Bishop of Salamis, or which is all one, Constantia (*Κωνσταντία ἢ Κύπρου Σαλαμίς*, saith Stephanus) and his Council of Bishops) and so in that respect be independent from Antioch, though Antioch were the Patriarchate of the Orient of which Cyprus was a Province.

3. And whatsoever S. W. suggests of a dependency of subjection to the Jurisdiction of another, though they never received from that other their ordination 'tis perfectly *gratui dictum*; & if it had any truth in it, 'were yet a pitiful refuge; For though all other jurisdiction be not particularly named in the Canon, yet in all reason it must be concluded from the story, that Cyprus was exempt from Antioch in that respect, as well as of ordination. For this, saith Severinus Binus, was the occasion of the Canon, *Iohannes Antiochenus sibi Cyprias Ecclesias subiere moliebatur*, * Concil. Tom. 2. p. 670. A. the Bishop of Antioch endeavour'd to bring the Cyprian Churches under him; and, *Decretum fuit ne Iohannes Cyprii Ecclesias neve alii Episcopi alias Ecclesias invaderent*, It was decreed that John should not invade the Churches of Cyprus, and farther intended, that other Bishops should not invade other Churches. and this say both the Scholasts on the Canon, by force of the * Canon of Antioch and the Apostolike Canon, which forbids Bishops to usurpe ordination *eis τὰς αὐτοκρατορίας ἐκείναις*, on provinces which are not subject to them, supposing Cyprus not to be thus subject to Antioch, and therefore that this was an invasion to require to ordain the Bishops there, and accordingly Baltamon calls the Archbishop of Cyprus *ἀντικύπριος* (ἀντί κυπρίου)

* Can. 8.
Can. 35.

Resp. de Pa-
triarch.

των τῶν ἀντιοχείων Ἀρχιεπισκόπων, τὸ Βασιλεῖον οὐκ, ἢ τὸ Κόπρον) one that was head to himself, no more under *Antioch* for jurisdiction then for ordination. And it visibly appears by some confests of this kind, which soon after followed: as when *Discorius Deacon* of *Antioch*, to gratifie *Peter* then *Bishop* there, prest vehemently at *Constantinople*, that the *Bishops* of *Cyprus* should be subjected to *Antioch* (See *Sirius* die 11. Junii; and *Baronius* c. 6. an. 485. n. 63.) By which it is as evident that all other *ἐξουσία* and independency from *Antioch* remained intire to *Cyprus* as well as that of ordination, viz that that *Island* having not been converted from *Antioch*, but by *Barnabas* his preaching immediately, should remain ἀνεξάρτητος under its own *Primate*: And then what was thus defined in respect of *Antioch*, did certainly exclude all imaginable pretensions to the like of any other *Patriarch*, no cause being conceivable, why that which was free within it self, and so not dependent on *Antioch*, the *Patriarchate* of the *Orient*, should fall under the power of any other *Patriarch*, which had no more power then *Antioch*.

4. 'Tis true indeed *Cedrenus* saith, that in *Zeno's* time being taken from *Antioch* 'twas put under *Constantinople*, ἐκότερ, saith he, ἔχοντες μὲν ἑπὶ τῆς ἡ Κόπρον, ἢ τὸ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ Ἀντιόχειου, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, From that time *Cyprus* became a *Metropolis*, and was not under *Antioch*, but *Constantinople*. But there are more errors then one in those few words; one mistake there is, in making the *Island* the *Metropolis*; he should have said *Salamis*, or *Constantia* the chief *City* of that *Island*: a second, that in *Zeno's* time it commenced a *Metropolis*; which was so long before at the *Council* of *Ephesus*: nay even ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the first conversion; a third, that it now ceased to be under *Antioch*, which as appears both by ancient custom and *Canons*, mentioned in the *Council* of *Ephesus* long before *Zeno*, was never under *Antioch*; and a fourth beyond the size of all the former, that being taken from *Antioch*, it now was put under *Constantinople* (which could not have been done without great injury both to *Cyprus* and *Antioch* too) whereas it is clear, that it was at that time vindicated to its ἀνεξαρτήτως, and so after confirmed by *Iustinian* (both which are taken notice of by

by Nicephorus, *Hist.* 16. c. 37. though mixt with some other manifest mistakes) and when the Archbishop of Cyprus was driven thence by the Barbarians, and betook himself to *Iustinianopolis*. he there retained the same liberty, that he held by the *Ephesine Canon*, as may appear by the *sixt Council in Trullo*, *Can. 39* which decrees το παλαιον εν Επισκοπῃ - τῆς δευτερας το παλαιου γκαμινε ανδρες πατριστας περιουσιας αγωγιστοντα κατὰ παλαιαν εθνηναι, that the privileges confirmed to that See by the *Ephesine Fathers*, should be preserved to him intire : αὐτὸ τὸν εἶναι Ἰουστιανούπολιν τὸ δικαίον εἶναι τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, so that new *Iustinianopolis* to which *Iohn* Archbishop of *Constance* was now removed, shall have the right of *Constantinople*, i.e. be as free and independent in his own Province, as the Bishop of *Constantinople* is in his; unless, as *Phil. Berterius* conjectures, it should be rather read τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, that the Bishop being thus removed shall retain the privileges that belonged to that former city the *Metropolis* of *Cyprus*, *Salamis* or *Constantia*. But this by the way, as a digression, not to satisfie any importunites of *S. W.* but to prevent mistakes.

- 5th Mean while what was thus defined there in behalf of *Cyprus* being by that *Canon* expressly affirmed to extend to all other Churches in like manner (the thing being lookt on as κοινὸν καὶ ὅθι, a common disease, and τὸς πάντων ἐκδοτέας ἐν αἵματι, that which concerned the liberty of all, and proportionably care taken for the cure of all, τὸ αὐτὸ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις διακρίσεων καὶ τὸν ἀπαρταχέν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις περιουλαγθήσεται, the same shall be observed in the other Dioceses (that was the word that then belonged to the fourteen divisions of the Empire, of which *Rome* was one) and all the Provinces every where) must in all reason be of equal and full force to the vindicating of the liberties of all other Primates, as well as of *Cyprus*, and an evidence that the Preeminence of a few Patriarchs is no prejudice to the freedom and independency of the many Primates and Metropolitans in the world, which being so, it is clear that what I pretended to prove from the *Ephesine Canon*, was really proved from it.

In conclusion of that 6. Sect. upon mention of that order given in that *Canon* indefinitely against all invasions for time to come, in whatsoever Diocese, that no Bishop shall usurpe a power

where from the Apostles times he had not enjoyed it, I add [which how directly it prejudices the pretensions of Rome, as well as Antioch, is so manifest that it cannot need farther demonstrating. Here saith S. W. Dr. H. supposes it a first principle evident by the light of Nature, or begs it gratis, that the Pope hath thus incroached, though that be the only thing in controversy] and there is a Syllogism formed to shew the grossness of my arguing, and on this there is great rejoicing.

7. But to this answer, 1. That there be divers things (beside first principles, evident by the light of nature) which need no farther demonstrating; such are those that are sufficiently testified already, such are matters of fact, obvious to every mans observation. And of this nature is that which I here speak of, that Rome pretends, and so usurps a power, where from the Apostles times she hath not enjoyed it. The power which Rome pretends to is universal over all the world of Christians. And is it not visible that this hath not been enjoyed by her through all time *αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐξέτισαν*? The Abyssenes sure are a very considerable part of the world, and yet were not from their first plantation, *ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, under the hand, or power of the Bishop of Rome, *ἢ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ*, or of his predecessors in that See. The Histories of those Ethiopick Christians tell us, that they were very early Primi, vel inter Primos, the first or among the first of the gentiles converted to the faith, first by Indica, the Eunuch whom Philip baptized, Act. 8 then more fully by Saint Matthew, *qui distributo Apostolis Orbe Ethiopiam sortito cernit*, who in the division of the world among the Apostles, had Ethiopia for his Province; that by the Arabick Canons, their chief Bishop is called Catholicus, & loco Patriarchæ, but hath not the power of Patriarch for Ordination, &c. but is under the See of Alexandria; that they * use not the Romane Rites, but are averse from them, || fast exactly on Wednesdays and Fridays; and taste nothing till Sun set, and many the like; || have kept no kind of Communion with Europe, till by the Portugueses navigation thither, David their King was inclined to desire the friendship of Emmanuel King of Portugal, and wrote to Pope Clement the seventh, that he acknowledged the Bishop of Rome Pastor of the Universal Church: yet when upon this, soon after, Pope Julius the

Godign de
red. Abail. 1.
1. c. 18.

[Nicen. Con.
36.

* Cædign. 1. 1.
c. 22.

|| Ib. c. 19.

[Auber. Mir. c.

Not. Epif. op.

1. c. 11.

the third sent *Iohannes Nonnius* to be their *Patriarch*, *Claudius* the successor of that *David* rejecting him, the design *vanish'd*, and came to nought. And so still the power of their Ecclesiastical affairs remains in their own *Patriarch*, saith *Damian a Goes*. I shall therefore onely ask *S. W.* whether from Saint *Matthews* time to this, the *Bishop of Rome* hath enjoyed a power over the *Abissines*? and if not, whether without breach of the *Ephesine Canon* he can now pretend to have any such power, or whether this need any further demonstrating?

8. Or if he be unwilling to go so far off, for the perfecting this demonstration, I shall need draw him no farther then these *British Islands* of ours (the matter of our present controversie) and desire him to shew me any evidences, which may clear the *Bishop of Romes* pretensions to the supreme jurisdiction over these Churches at the time of the *Ephesine Council*, and it appears from the time of planting the Christian faith here, till then: If he can, I desire he will produce them, and shew us what *Bishops of Rome* they were which exercised it. If he cannot, then the *Canon of Ephesus* defines *in certis Caver*, that he shall not assume any such power, or if he have assumed, that he shall *an. de. v. make* restitution, quit, and disclaim that power. And so this, I hope, needs no further demonstration.

9. Secondly, That what I say, needs no farther demonstrating, is not by me supposed, or begged as a Principle, but as a conclusion so far formerly inferred, that on this occasion, *loco non suo*, it needed not be farther demonstrated. The interposition of the word [farther] prevented all this triumph of his. For to omit all that had been said in the former chapter, which I must be allowed to think, had so far disproved the *Popes* pretended Universal jurisdiction in the very fountain of it, the universal Pastorship of Saint *Peter*, that I should not be bound under the pain of begging the question, to prove it anew in every Paragraph of the ensuing discourse; to omit this, I say, the section immediately precedent had manifested that *Rome* was no more then a *Patriarchate*; and then looking upon it as such, and no more, the conclusion was irrefragable, that *Romes* present pretensions are encroachments, and most directly not onely prejudicial, but destroyed by that *Canon*: For 1. as a *Patriarch*, tis not imaginable that the

Bishop

Bishop of Rome can have any authority farther then his own *Patriarchal Province*, and that is not the *whole world*, because there be other *Patriarchs*, and each of them hath his distinct assignation of *Province*. And 2. A *Patriarch* hath no jurisdiction over the *Primates* in his own *Province*, the *Authority of Primates* and *Patriarchs* being the same, as hath been shewed out of *Anacletus*, Tr. of *Schism*, p. 58. And 3. Some *Metropolitans* were exempt from the power of the *Patriarch*, as is evident by the *Ephesine Canon*. And so still this is destructive to *Romes* pretensions to *Universal jurisdiction* upon this account which had formerly from the *Canon of Chalcedon* been proved to belong to it, of its being a *Patriarchy*. And 4. the *Ephesine Canon* referring to ancient and original *Canons* and *customs*, it must be supposed to agree to the sixth *Canon of Nice*. Now in that *Nicene Canon* tis plain, that there are bounds and limits supposed to belong to every *Patriarchate*, and order given that they shall be observed; that order expressly given for *Alexandria*, that *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis* shall belong to that, and the *Bishop of Alexandria* πᾶσαν τήν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ, to have the power of all them; and the reason given for the observing those bounds, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς συνόδους ἐστὶν, because this also is customary to the *Bishop of Rome*. Where unless the *Romane Diocese* were limited, it could not possibly be a copy, and reason of the limiting of the *Alexandrian* (sure twould never be deemed reasonable to say, *Alexandria* must have limits, because *Rome* hath, if it were possible to affirm that *Rome* had none) which yet that it was (besides the evidence of the words themselves) tis the expresse affirmation of one of their own *Popes*, *Nicholas 1. Epist. 8. Nicena Synodus Romane Ecclesie nullum contulit incrementum, sed potius ex ejus forma quod Alexandrine Ecclesie tribueret, particulariter sumpsit exemplum.* The *Nicene Synod* conferred no increase on *Rome*, but rather took from *Rome* an example particularly, what to give to the Church of *Alexandria*. And then if at the making of the *Nicene Canon*, *Rome* had bounds, it must needs follow by the *Ephesine Canon*, that those bounds must be to all time observed, and so that will be most destructive to the *Universal* (for that is boundless, unlimited) *Pastorship* of that See. So that having now joyned the force of

of the *Nicen* and *Ephesin Canon* into one, I shall flatter my self, that it will not be easily *broken* asunder by *S. W.* And so though much more might be fitly added to this purpose (and somewhat hath been said in the *Reply*, *Ch. 5. Sect. 5.*) this shall suffice at this time, till *S. W.* shall undertake to reconcile a *limited Diocese* with *universal Pastorship* ; or shew that by the *Nicen Canon*, the *Roman* was not then *such*; or that being *such* then, it could commence so afterward, without *violation* of the *Ephesine*.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Justiniana, *Ἀυτοκράτορος*. Receiving the Pall, no sign of subjection antiently. Since it hath brought in gain and power to the Papacy. Supremacy in his own Province not reconcilable with subjection to the Pope. A Manuscript chidden for being old, and of no antiquity. All Primates supreme in their Province. The dignity conferr'd by the Emperour, not the Pope. *Locus Apostolica sedis*. *πίπος*, for dignity. *τοποῖον ἔχειν οὐκ ἔστιν*. All the Popes substitutes are not his subjects. Subjection for Ordination must be subjection. Ordination of Primates by their own Council. Of inferiour Bishops by Primates. Few independent Archbishopricks. All Primates such. Independency of Primates is no denying the Catholic Church. The Government whereof is not Monarchick. The Doctrine of the Councils, which the Pope vows to maintain, unreconcilable with universal Pastorship. The Milevitan and Constantinopolitan Canon. The Canon of Nice cited by the Pope, but not found in the Authenticks.

I. **W**HAT he adds in the latter part of this 2. Sect. concerning *Justiniana Prima*, hath in part been prevented in the *Reply*, ch. 5. sect. 6. But some things are said by S.W. which were not there tendred, and therefore a few words may be thought due to them: First, saith he, *Justinian's constitution is no decree of a Council*] Neither said I it was; yet being the constitution of a Christian Emperour, and formally inserted into the body of the Law, and never checked at (that we discern, or is pretended) either by any Council, or by the Bishops of the Church then living, or noted as irregular, or intrenchment on the Privileges or Jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, or any other, and yet insisting on that City all Ecclesiastical censure, supreme Priesthood, supreme dignity, it is a competent evidence, that this might lawfully be done, and consequently that the Church of a City and Province under it might be exempt from all foreign Jurisdiction, *ἀπορρομή* within it self. And then that is all that it was produced to testify.

Secondly

2. Secondly, saith he, *Justinians fact (in case he had pretended it)* is not able to invalidate that sacred dignity of head of the Church, had any such been constituted by our Saviour. But here is a begging the question, that the Pope was by our Saviour constituted head of the Church; and it matters not what *Justinians constitution* would have done in that case, when it is so far from granted that this was the case. It is much more reasonable to assume, that he was not in that age deemed head of the Church, or universal Pastor, by *Christs constitution*, when this act of the Emperour, which supposes the contrarie, was yet entred into the Law, and stood in full effect, and never appears to be by any in that time lookt on as an injury or innovation.
3. Thirdly, saith he, *Justinian never intended to crop the aspiring growth of Rome, as the Dr. imagines, which is manifest by his sending to Pope Vigilius to bestow a Pall upon his new Archbishop.* And truly I never said *Justinian* intended it; he intended only kindness, and to express that honour and power to the place of his own birth, *Achrida* a City of *Bulgaria*, making it an *Archiepiscopal* See, and *subjecting* many regions to it, but leaving it subject to none, an image of his own *αὐτοκρατία* or independent power. And this was no kind of diminution of that *Patriarchal* power which *Rome* then had, the absoluteness of *Primates* being, as was shewed, reconcileable with that; and this that *Justiniana* now had, being no more than such. And at this time, whilst *Justinian* reigned, the Bishop of *Rome* had not ascended to any greater sublimity then that of the first *Patriarch*, the title of universal Bishop, which signifies that unlimited power, and Pastorship, which is now pretended to, being the concession of *Phocas* to *Boniface*, after the reign of *Justinian*. And therefore it signifies very little, what is here added for an evidence on S. W. his side, viz. *Pope Vigilius his sending him a Pall*. That was an honorarie ornament, which the Emperours first gave the *Patriarchs*, and the *Patriarchs* sent to *Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans* (but was in the East, common to all Bishops) and was then far from what since it hath been taught to be, a sign of subjection to him that sends it. The antient custom was for the new *Arch-Bishop* to make his profession of the Christian faith before his *Patriarch*, and from him to receive the *Pall*, as appears

*Fidem tuam
sanctæ sedi
Apostolicæ
exponere, u-
sumque Pallii
expetere &
excipere. Corp.
Iur. Decret.
part. 1. Dist.
100. c. 1.
* Ep. ex Re-
gist. l. 4. In-
dist. 13. Ep.
55 Et Corp.
Iur. Decret.
par. 1. Dist.
100. c. 3.
Novit sancti-
tas tua quia
prius pallium
nisi dato com-
modo non da-
batur.
Epist. 15 and
Corp. Iur.
Decret. par. 1.
Dist. 63.
Quia.*

by the words of || *Pelagius* in the *Canon Law*; But latter *Popes* have made this matter of *gain* first, and then of *Power* to them- selves: Of *gain*, as appears in * *Gregories* *Epistle* to *John Bishop of Corinth*, where he notes this in his *Predecessors*, but saith an *Act* of *Council* had lately past against it. As for some || *Xenia*, gifts or presents, though he tells the *Arch-Bishop* of this *Justiniana*, that he would not have received such a *predatus & afflitus fratribus* from pillaged and distressed brethren (which seems no relieving them from others) yet upon remonstrance, that they were sent as an offering to God, he receives them from him. As for power and gain both, *Pope Hildebrand* laid the grounds, who required that every *Archbishop* should personally come to *Rome* (bringing presents was a consequent to that) and receive the *Pall*, which formerly had used to be sent; and *Paschalis II.* that soon followed him, made a decree that they that asked the *Pall* should make an oath of fidelity to him; And so now the receiving the *Pall* may be an argument for *S. W.* to witness subjection to the *Papal power*, but signified no such thing in *Vigilius* his time, and so is no prejudice to the *ultra paxia*, and *summum fastigium*, the independent power (as of a *Primate*) which *Iustinian* conferred upon him.

4. Fourthly, he will hope to get some advantage by our answer to this question, Whether all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, supreme Priesthood and supreme honor must mean a supremacy over the whole Church, or only in his own particular diocese? and supposing with reason that the former will not be said, he fastens on the latter, and then, saith he, he might be supreme there, and yet subiect to the Pope too.] But to this I answer that acknowledging it to belong to him only in his own Province, now assigned him by *Iustinian*, it must yet necessarily exclude the *Popes* Jurisdiction over him. For he that is supreme within himself, and hath power finally to conclude all differences, within his own Province, so that there shall be no resort to any other, is certainly so supreme in his own Province, that he is not subiect to the Pope. And this was the express privilege of *Iustiniana*, in the Constitution set out by *Gothofred*, *Dirimant, finem imponent, nec ad alium quemvis eatur*; and if other *Primates* may have the same privilege, and exemption from all forraign Jurisdiction, I have

have little more to ask of *S. W.* for the *gaining* the whole *Con-verse*; for then our *Primates* shall have *final, conclusive power* within their own *Provinces*, and the *Bishop of Rome* have nothing of jurisdiction here, which was all, (if not somewhat more) that by this instance I designed to demonstrate.

5. It was therefore but *necessarie*, that the witness that adventured to speak so *contrary* to *S. W.* his interest, should in the next place, be *defamed*; *The testimonie*, saith he, is from an *old mouse-eaten Manuscript* of he knows not what authority; and yet after he hath called it *old*, &c. he adds, it is of *no antiquity nor humanity*, and yet after all this, he saith most truly, that he hath not seen the Book, and it is hard to be found.]
6. I wish his *memorie* would serve him from the *beginning* to the *end* of a period, or that he would teach us the new art of *discerning*, how that is *old*, which is of *no antiquity*; or how he can affirm that to be *mouse-eaten*, which he confesseth, he hath not seen. But the short is, the *weakest* answers may by being well worded be much *improved*, and accordingly the *authority* of an *ancient Manuscript*, published by a *learned man*, and ready for all men to *view*, that can but read, may be *invalidated*, and put off with the bare scorn first of *old* (which seriously spoken were the greatest honor to it; sure *new Manuscripts* are not like *new clothes*, but like *new wine*, and *new friends*, the *old* are infinitely better) and then of *hard to be found*, and *Mouse-eaten*, which are equally pertinent, and true, and for want of more *evasions*, the *Latine must be said to have no humanity nor antiquity in it*; and but one thing really wanting all this while, all degree of care that there should be any the least *colour* or *appearance* of truth in all this.
7. And when his *conscience* could not but tell him this, and how discernable it was, he must then still *proceed*, and add, that *this testimonie is still nothing to the purpose*.
8. And can any man imagine him to *think*, what now he saith, who would call in, and make use of such *strange prelusorie arts* to divert it? Sure if the force of this instance had been *avoidable*, and he had heartily thought it so, that would have been *earlier said*. he would not have put himself upon the so much *harder* and *less creditable task* of reconciling *contradictions*.

9. But wherefore is it not to the purpose? Why, saith he, *here is nothing said which was not common to the Patriarchs, and such Metropolitans as Cyprus was, so wis that they had no ordinarie appeal further, which, saith he, no way hinders but that extraordinary cases, which could not be ended among themselves, should be carried to Rome: and so (he concludes) this leaves this Bishop as subject to the Pope, as any of the Patriarchs, or any out of the Patriarchate of the West was.* And truly I can grant this conclusion, and yet receive as much benefit by this testimonie, find it as much to my purpose, as I ever designed it to be. For I that conceive (and have shewed) every Patriarch to have *ἰσὺν ἐπίσκοπον*, equal power and priviledges with the Bishop of Rome (place only excepted, and the honorarie consequents of that) and 2. Every Primates power to be equal to a Patriarchs, and to be absolute and independent from him, shall most willingly grant that neither Justiniana nor Carthage, after their exemption, ascended any higher then these; and yet am thereby competently secured, that Rome had no jurisdiction over it, either ordinarie or extraordinarie; for so certainly the *summum* signifies, and the *finem* important, and the *nec ad alium quemvis eatur*, the supreme power, conclusive, and exclusive of all others, unless either there be higher than the supreme, posterior to the last, and some-body who is no body, and the Bishop of Rome be all these.
10. There is no other force in this argument, but that which is willingly yielded to S. W. that what thus appears to have been the state of Justiniana, is really the state of all Primates; and then when it is his own conclusion, I hope he will not chide me for assuming it, that in very deed every Primate, and so the Bishop of Canterbury in this Nation. hath the supreme Priesthood, Dignity, Jurisdiction belonging to him, within his own Province, that he hath power of defining all controversies finally, without farther resort or appeal *ad alium quemvis*, to any other. And that is all S. W. hath as yet acquired by this answer.
11. A next Attempt he makes out of my own Testimonie from Iustinian, Nov. 13 I. c. 3. which he resolves will determine it for him after all this. The words are, he shall have *locum Apostolica sedis*, which he will render, he shall be in all that Diocess the Popes Legate, and after, he shall have the place or lieu of the Apostolical seat,

seat, or be the Popes substitute, asking me where I have read the Greek *ἰσχυρὸς* explicated for honour or dignity.] To this I answer, 1. That it were to be wisht that he would provide him some testimonies of his own, and not so wholly, and so constantly rely on the advantages which his arts and dexterities can extract out of those which I have produced against him; he must be a greater Master than S.W. yet appears to be, that can come thus weaponless into the field, and yet undertake to be a Disarmer: Mean while tis visible where his confidence (not his strength) lies: it is pure *sight of hand*, that must work his victories, and supply all his want out of his enemies Magazin. How well this trust hath yet succeeded to him, hath formerly appeared, as oft as it hath been depended on, and now it is as visible as ever. To evidence it, I shall but demand, who it was that gave the Arch-Bishop of Justiniana this privilege (and that not personally to the first, but to all that should succeed in that See) was it the Pope or the Emperour? If it had been the Pope, there might have been some colour for S.W. his affirmation, for then he might reasonably be yielded to make his own Legate or Substitute, and perhaps to do it to a whole succession, to affix that honor to a particular See. But it is plain my Testimonie was fetcht out of Justinians Novell, not out of Vigilius's Epistle, an extract or copie of the Emperours (*ἡγεμονικῆς*) constitution, not of the Popes deputation. And I hope the Emperour is not so much Master of the Popes Acts and will; as that he can decree, to whom (to all posterity) the Pope shall give his Deputations. If he be, this is as much as I shall demand at this time, and that I am sure the Novell will give me, that whatsoever is meant by this *locum Apostolica sedis*, the place of the Apostolical See, it was not by the Pope, which ordain'd the first Bishop of Justiniana (yet none of the succeeding) but by the Emperour, who raised that See to that *summum fastigium*, supreme height, conferrd upon him.

12. In this matter it is possible S.W. may have a little mistaken my meaning, and therefore to cure it in him, or to prevent that possibility in others, I assure him I mean by the phrase *locum Apostolica sedis*, the same that he would have me, the place of the Apostolick, as that signifies the Roman seat. And though the

particle [an] instead of *the* may seem to prejudice that sense, yet I never made that use of it, but contrariwise in the *Reply*, added the Greek words, which take away all ambiguity, τὸ πον ἐπέχειν αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀποστολικῇ Ῥώμῃ, that he shall in the Provinces subject to him, hold the place of the Apostolical throne of Rome; But still this is far enough from favouring *S. W.* his pretension, of his being no more but the Popes substitute. For as that is already prejudged by the Emperors giving him this place, so other circumstances concur to avert that interpretation. 1. The express words of || *Julianus Antecessor*, Nov. 109. *Archiepiscopum Iustiniana Prima eadem jura super Episcopos sibi subjectos habere, quae Papa Romanus habet super Episcopos sibi suppositos*, that the Archbishop of Iustiniana shall have the same rights over the Bishops that are under him, which the Pope of Rome hath over the Bishops that are under him. This gives him as clear an example of my interpretation of τὸ πον, and as full an answer to his question, as he could have wish't; He asks where I met it for honor and dignity? And I answer, I rendred it place or dignity, and here it signifies that, yea and more added to it, the power and jurisdiction over those which are under him, equal, because the same with those which Rome had over her subjects. And if he desire more testimonies for this notion of τὸ πον, I shall not omit to satisfy his curiosity in that also, though it be now very impertinent, and superfluous. || Of *Alexandria*, *Dion. Chrysostom* hath these words, ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πρῶτον ὅσον διαφέρει, καὶ περιφανῶς ἀποδείκνυται δευτέρα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, for your City doth very much excell both in greatness and place (sure that must be dignity, attending that greatness) and is illustriously demonstrated to be the second of all under the Sun, i. e. next unto Rome in dignity. So when *Iosephus* saith of *Antioch*, τρίτον ἀδριάντος ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις διακείμενης ἔχει τὸ πον, it hath the third place in the world which is under Rome, he expresses what he means by τὸ πον, μεγαλειότης καὶ ἄλλη εὐδαιμονίας; such as belongs to it in respect of the greatness, and other felicity, that sure is the dignity of that City. And what thinks he of the words of *Ansonius*, *Ambarum locus unus*, they have both of them the same place; that sure must be the same dignity. And if *S. W.* will but have patience to spend a very little necessary time in Books, I believe he will soon be able

¶ *Id. Phil.*
Boet. Puth.
 l. 2. c. 3.
Auber. Mir. n.
Not. Episc. l. 1.
 c. 9.

¶ *Or. 22. ad*
Alexand.

¶ *De Bell. Iud.*
 l. 5. c. 3.

able to throw in more *examples* under this head.

13. Lastly, *S.W.* must learn a difference betwixt τόπον ἔχειν ἐπίχειν, *to have, to hold a place*, on one side, and τόπον τηρεῖν, φυλάττειν, διέπειν, *to keep, supply, and minister a place*, on the other side. The latter of these indeed doth constantly belong to a *substitute* as of the *Pope*, &c. his τοποτηνῆς, or *place-keeper*, which the *Law* deduces ἐκ τῆς τηρεῖν, δέ σι φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς ἀναπληρῶν τὸς τόπος τῶν σελλόντων αὐτὸς *from keeping or supplying the places of them who send them*, as is frequently to be met with in the *subscriptions of Councils*; But to τόπον ἔχειν ἢ ἐπὶ χειρῶν, *to have or hold a place*, (as when they are used of having the *first* or *second* place) that sense of *substitution* or *vicegerency* is not applicable, but this other of *having*, or *possessing* such a *dignity*, as ones own, in his *own right*, I shall not need to seek instances of this, the thing being fully cleared, as far as concerns the business in hand, by comparing the words of *Julianus Antecessor*, even now vouched, with these in *Iustinians Novel*, both speaking of the very same thing, and one expressing it by τόπον ἔχειν, *locum habere, to have the place*, and the other by habere eadem iura. or δυνάμει, *to have the same rights or powers*, which evidently proves the matter in hand, and satisfies his demand, that τόπος place doth, and doth in this *Novel*, signify *dignity*, and that the place of the *Apostolick seat* of *Rome*, is the same power in his, that the *Pope* hath in his *Dioceſs*, which was the thing incumbent on me to be proved.

Vid. Zenc-
ram in Praef.
ad Concil.
Caribag. p.
384.

14. And having thus far attended him, One farther mis-adventure there is yet in this *Answer* of *S.W.* (and there could not have been more expected in one paragraph) For having resolved from the words of the *Novel*, that this *Bishop* was the *Popes Legate* in all that *Dioceſs*; he concludes it thence clear that his *Dioceſs* remained, notwithstanding all these *priviledges*, subject to the *Pope*.
15. How clearly this is hence deducible, will soon be discerned; That the *Pope* may chose one of his subjects to be his *Legates*, I willingly grant; but it follows not from hence, nor from any other medium here tendred by *S.W.* that this holds in conversion, that whosoever is his *Legate*, is his subject. And yet this is absolutely necessarie to the clear inferring his conclusion from this medium;

dium, it being certain that he which by being the *Popes Legate* is not made free from his *subjection*, may yet be upon some other account; such is the *Emperors* giving him here the *summum fastigium*, and the final, conclusive, and exclusive power forementioned.

16. Now that the *Pope* may have a *Legate* or *Substitute*, who is nor his *subject*, may 1. appear by the *testimony* of *Balsamon* in his preface to the *Council in Trullo*. Where both from the nature of a *Legate de latere*, that it is one that must *ὁ πρεσβυτερος παριστάσκειν*, represent his person, when it is needful, and from the *Bishop* of *Thessalonica*, *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Crete*, *Patra*, and *Ravenna* and others thus representing him, over whom, saith he, the *Pope* hath no *δικαίαν χειροτονίαν*, right of ordination, he concludes, *ἐκείνους εἶναι τὰ Παπᾶ λεγόμενους ὡς ὁ κατ' ἐν τῶν ἡ ἐκείνους ὁ μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς ὑπερεπίστολούς περὶ αὐτὸν* — That those are the *Popes Legats*, Whom he hath particularly chosen, but yet that they are not all within his bounds under him, but that this of having *Legates* was invented because of the length of the way, not as of his subjects, but as of those that were neereſt at hand, to represent him the more easily.

17. If *Balsamons* judgement be not here thought fit to be taken, as being no friend to the *Romane* greatness (though I know no obligation lies on me to rely on no body but *S. W.* his friends, as long as he is so careful not to believe, or be concluded by his enemies, that in this, and generally in his affirmations, he makes use of no other but his own testimony; I shall offer this confirmation of it. A superior (or an equal) may have the proxy of an inferior, and be substituted by him, as is evident in the *Guardian* substituted by the *Pupl.* and acting for him. And so a *Bishop* may in *Council* have the proxy, and so represent the person of another *Bishop* from whom he hath no dependence, or subjection. *Philippi* was a *Metropolis* of a Province of *Macedonia*. Besides the words, *Act. 16. 12.* *ὡς ἐστὶν πόλις τῆς περιείδος*, a first or prime City of that portion of *Macedonia*, || *Photius* is clear in it, *ἡ ἐκείνων πόλις τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐστὶν ἐξ ἡμετέρας πόλεως ἑσθῆς*, the City of *Philippi* the *Metropolis* of a Province of *Macedonia*, and by being such, it is secured from being under any other (no more then) *Metropolis*. Yet in the great *Council* of *Ephesus*, *Flavianus* of

of *Philippi* supplied the place of *Rufus* of *Thessalonica*, and so was his *Legate*, had his *τόπος* place, in *S. W.* his *sense*. And I suppose nothing is more ordinary in *Councils* than this, that one *Metropolitan*, that is present, shall receive the proxy, and supply the place of any other *Metropolitan* indifferently, without losing his liberty, or becoming his subject, or inferior, whose place he supplies: and if in those parts, the *Bishop* of *Iustiniana* were by the *Pope* thus delegated, and made his perpetuall substitute (as by the *Novell* 'tis plain he was not, for whatsoever was meant by it, 'tis evident that from the *Emperour* he had it, not from the *Pope*) yet would not that conclude him subject to the *Pope*, when the *Emperour's* so liberall donations had explicitly exempted him.

18. His next answer, or endeavour (again, after his old manner) to shew me doing against my self, and by a *Testimony* out of *Nicephorus*, convincing, as he suggests, all my proceſſe of nullity, was made use of before him by the *Cath. Gent.* and is answered in the *Reply*, sect. 5. n. 5. &c.

19. But we are not yet at end of this matter. For beside that from the *Pope's* ordaining the first *Bishop*, he will needs conclude, that he consented to his erection (which I shall willingly grant (so he meane not authoritative consent) assuring my selfe the erection was an act of the *Emperour* onely, wherein the *Pope* had nothing to do) and so somewhat again, from his giving him the *Pall*, though he know not well what; *It was*, saith he, a signe of superiority, and a kinde of benediction, and at least an honour, if not a jurisdiction (and if it were thus, then perhaps it was no jurisdiction, and I have accounted for this of the *Pall* already) beside these, I say, he proceeds in these words, *In the next Paragraph the Doctor tells us, that this particularity that his Successors were to be consecrated by their Counsel of Metropolitanates, is a second instance of the point in hand; and (saith he) I do not deny, but sometimes to be subject for ordination, was a signe of subjection, but not alwaies: The Bp. of Ostia hath the priviledge to consecrate the Pope, yet the Pope is not held to be his subject.—*]

20. Here be some considerable frailties discernable; first, in his intellective faculty, which had made this particularity, that his Successors were to be consecrated by their Council—to be a second

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instance of the point in hand, whereas 'tis most evident in the place, that the whole precedent discourse of the erection, and independency of *Iustiniana Prima*, and not onely this branch of it, was the second instance, as the priviledges of the Archbishop of Carthage had been the former, p. 101. but this was but a slip. What then was the second, that to be subject for ordination was sometimes a signe of subjection, but not alwaies. In propriety of speaking indeed, being subject cannot be a sign of subjection, either alwaies, or sometimes; but yielding him that impropriety also, what shall we say to this part of the proposition, being subject, for ordination is not alwaies a sign of subjection? This is something like the hard headed respondent, that satisfied himself, that a Goose-py was not a pye, for none but that sort of Logick can ever conclude, that he that is subject for ordination is not subject.

21. But sure *S. W.* had here some good meaning also, that subjection for ordination doth not argue all kinde of subjection, or that he may be subject for ordination, that is not subject for jurisdiction: But 1. this is no way proved; 2. it can by no means be assistant to *S. W.* unlesse he could prove *è converso*, that they that are subject for jurisdiction, may yet not be subject for ordination, for that onely can answer my argument of *Iustiniana's* not being subject to Rome's jurisdiction, because 'twas not subject to it for ordination, the Bishop being to all succession allowed by *Iustinian* to be ordained by his own Counsel of Bishops.

22. As for that which he saith in the instance of *Ostia*, that that Bishop hath the priviledge to consecrate the Pope, yet the Pope is not held his subject? it might easily have been seen through by *S. W.* his Optick. For no doubt the Pope may be consecrated by him, without being subject to him for ordination, as the Patriarch of Constantinople was wont to be consecrated by the Bishop of Heraclea, one of his Suffragans, or as the Kings of England have generally been crowned by the Bishop of Canterbury, without any subjection on either side, either for ordination, or coronation. And so all Primates are, I suppose, to be consecrated by the Counsel of their own Bishops, and there is no shew of subjection in all this, for it being impossible that a Primate shall become such, without being consecrated, it is necessarily consequent to his *ἀυτοκρατία* or independence from all other Superiors, that his

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own *Bishops* should consecrate him, but this without any note of *subjection* herein; But if the case be put of a *Bishop* which is *subject* to the *jurisdiction* of some *superiour Bishop* (as *S. W.* must suppose the *Bishop* of *Justiniana* to have been) *Metropolitane*, *Primate*, or *Patriarch*, I shall then demand, whether *subjection* for ordination would not be that *Bishops* portion, as well as any other kinde of *subjection*? To this case he knowes his *instance* of *Ofsia* belongs not, and as little that other which he brings of the decree of the Council of *Sardica*, that the next *Province* shall give *Bishops* to a *Province* that wants, for this is visibly but an act of charity to those that want that *almes*; And when that *Province* is once furnished, I shall suppose for the future, it may lawfully give *Bishops* to it self.

23. As for his other two instances of *Alexandria* giving the *Indians Bishops*, and consecrating the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, 'tis notorious that that *Patriarch* was customarily consecrated by his own *Suffragan*, the *Bishop* of *Heraclea*, and for the *Indians*, all that is pretended is, that the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria* gave them *Bishops*, when they wanted, and so that falls under the other forementioned head of *mercy*, which is distant from all colour of *jurisdiction*; or if it did not, I am no way concern'd to vindicate the *Indians liberties*, or non-subjection to that *Patriarch*; so that still it remains most firme, that if *Justiniana prima* had been *subject* under the obedience of the *Bp.* of *Rome*, the *Bps.* of *Rome* would have continued to ordain him as a *Primate*, or *Patriarch* ordaines all that are under their *subjection*, and this being part of *Justiniana's* privilege, that the *Archb.* be ordained by his own *Counsel*, as all other independent *Archbishops* (of which the store is not great) and all *Primates* and *Patriarchs* are, this is a strong prejudice to the *Pope's* having any *jurisdiction* over him.

24. What here next followes, is by asking *Who can tell what the Doctor meanes*, when he saith the *Emperour* did all this onely by making *Justiniana* a *Primate's* or chief *Metropolitan's* See, & that *Carthage's* being the prime *Metropolis* of *Africk*, is expressed by having the same privileges with *prima Justiniana*, pretending that this is nothing else, but to mock my *Auditory*, and that as farre as he understands, these words signifie that the *Emperour* said onely, be thou a *Metropolis*, and in so saying, gave all these privileges.]

ledges.] 'Tis much his *understanding* should be rendred so *incapable* in an instant, which hath served him so *faithfully*, and sure pac'd for very *pregnant* and *piercing* all this while. It is as if a man should say to himself, *ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ὁρᾷ, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς*, Doe not see what is before thine eyes, and then let him look never so *intently*, he shall be able to descry nothing; Otherwise sure the words are plaine, and the sense as discernible, as of any period in the Book, that every *Primacy* is really thus independent, as a *Primacy*, (but that is not all one with a *Metropolis*, as he would set it. *Justiniana* had six *Metropolies* under it, saith * *Miraeus* from *Nectarius* Bishop thereof:) and so that all *Justinians Privileges* bestowed on *Acrida*, the place of his birth, are no more than what every *Primate* by right enjoyed, and consequently that when *Carthage* was raised to this *Privilege* of *Independency*, or *Primacy*, being but an *Arch-bishops* See, and every such not being necessarily a *Primacy*, the *compendious* method was, to give it the *Privileges* of *Justiniana*, which being but an *Arch-bishops* See, had yet the *Independent exemptions* of a *Primacy*.

* Not. Episc.
l. c. 9.

25. Here is no *subtily* to torture *S. W.* his *understanding*, but grosse matter of *right*, and of *fact*; the former of which he might have seen *deictically* laid before him, in chap. 3. sec. 21: &c. if he had not *fastidiously* overlookt it, endeavouring to persuade his Reader, that there were not five words in that Chapter which could in any way be preparative to the question before us, whereas indeed nothing can be more to the purpose, than the due stating the *originall* and *rights* of *Primacies*, which was there handled.

26. But perhaps there was some *obstruction* in the way, which thus made plain sense so *unintelligible* with my otherwise *quick-sighted* Disarmer, & if we may believe him, 'twas this, that all the *Doflor's* labour and the texts by him cited, wherein every privilege is set down so particularly, had infused this prejudice into him, for, saith he, they make it manifest that there were none, or not eminent examples of any such *Cities*, or *Bishopricks*, and therefore so many particularities were necessary to be expressed, and it be made an example to others. Yet upon this relieth the *Doflors* main evidence, and demonstration, though if you will believe him, the conclusion of it selfe

is most certain, and might otherwise be testified by innumerable evidences, which he ought to suppose the Doctor omits for brevity sake.

27. If there be now any sincerity in this Disputer, here will be a triall of it: for this prejudice, and misapprehension of his owne, being once removed, the matter will be so cleare before him, that he will not be able to escape the apprehending of it.
28. First then he is to know, that every Archbishop's See is not independent, Nay, that of such there are but few examples, viz. *Justiniana*, and *Cyprus*, and *Carthage*, and *Ravenna*, and the *Metropolis of Iberiam*, now called the *Georgians in Asia* (as *Miræus* concludes from the *Council of Antioch*) and so he sees the reason, why four * the most famous of these ^{* Not Ep. l. x. c. 9.} were the chosen instances to be insisted on, viz. of *Archiepiscopall Sees*, that were *αυτοκέφαλοι*, heads to themselves, subject to no other, whether *Primate*, or *Patriarch*, nor consequently to the *Bishop of Rome*.
29. Secondly, That all *Primates* are of this independent nature, no way differing from *Patriarchs*, but in respect of place or order, having, what *Justinian* gave *Achridæ*, *Summum sacerdotium, summum fastigium, summam dignitatem omnem Ecclesiasticam Censuram, the highest Priesthood & Dignity, all Ecclesiastick all Jurisdiction*, power of deciding all *Controversies* within their *Province*, and doing this ultimately; so that it is not lawfull to retort or appeale to any other, and so also he sees that there be as many evidences against the *Pope's Universall Pastorship*, as there are evidences in bookes of the Independent power of *Primates*: those I was bold by *S. W.* his good leave, to call innumerable evidences, not knowing any certaine way to help me or him to the certaine number of them. And so this great posing riddle is explained, I hope, to *S. W.* his capacity: and that he may not thinke my ungrounded affirmations have helpt it to this perspicuity, I referre him to the *Council of Ephesus*, where what was adjudged to *Constantia* is extended to all other, *συνήκτους* or *Provinces*, that the *Primate* thereof, he that had beene so *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* from the beginning, should be independent from all others, or, if he will, to

the constitution it selfe, wherein *Justiniana's* independent power is set down, Νεαρ: Διαλαξ: ελα. For there, as it followes immediately, καὶ ὁμοιον τέποιον—that the *Archbishop* of *Carthage* shall have this ἀδικαιον ἀρχιερωσύνης, this privilege of the *Chiefe Priest-hood* in the like manner, that *Justiniana*, so it concludes. Καὶ ἄλλαι ὁ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἐπισκοποῖσις ἐν διαφόροις τόποις μετροπολιτικὸν δίκαιον παρεχέσθαι, τῶ τοιούτῳ προνομίῳ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκκλησιαστικόν, And other cities, and the *Bishops* of them who in several places have *Metropolitall jurisdiction* allowed them, shall for perpetuity enjoy the like prerogative. The τοιούτῳ the like] must surely refer to the precedent examples of *Justiniana*, and *Carthage*, and then the conclusion is evident, that all *Primates* shall enjoy the same (for so I conceive 'tis necessary the place must be interpreted of *Prime Metropolies*, or *Primacies*, and not of every lower *Metropolitall See*, for such had not that *supreme Priesthood*, &c.) which was adjudged to *Justiniana*, there being six *Metropolies*, as was said, under that, and many under each *Priamte*.

30. But there is yet one reserve behinde, and that he promises, will make any sensible man understand my former discourses, that they were all vain and wicked, viz. that this my reasoning from the independent power vested in each *Priamte*, is the denying of the *Catholique Church*, of which we ought to be members. And this he thus inferres from my discourse, You say, saith he, every chief *Metropolitane* was independent from all others, they made therefore so many absolute Churches, therefore made not any one Church, where then is the *Catholique Church*? many houses to be one house, is as fairly contradictory, as many men or horses to be one man, or one horse, and so of many Churches to be one Church: Adding from *S. Cyprian*, that a Church is a People united to their *Bishop*: if then, saith he, there be a *Catholique Church*, there must be a *Catholick Bishop*, & taking away the obedience of one *Bishop*, you cannot save one Church] What solidity there is in this last refuge will be soon discernable, by going along with him step by step: For, 1. The affirming an independent power to be vested in each *Priamte*, is far from denying a *Catholique Church*, All those *Primates* are eminent *Governours* of so many *διοικήσεις* or divisions, of which the world first, and now the *Catholique Church* consists.

2. Nothing

31. 2. Nothing here produced by *S. W.* hinders in the least but that every such *διωκτικὴς* diocesse in the antient notion of that word, for that which contains many *Provinces* under it, may be an *absolute Church*, Independent from any Superior on earth, under no others *jurisdiction*, but that of its own *Primate*.
32. - For Thirdly, when from thence, i.e. from the *absoluteness* of all the *Primacies*, he concludes, that therefore they make not one *Church*, there is no consequence in that, Many particular, or nationall *Churches*, each of them independent from any Superior, may yet fraternally be connected one with another, & make up the *Catholique Church*, as many *nations* of the world, no one subjected to another, but each independent, and *ἀνελκίραλ* may make up the *World*, or *Universe*, and yet these, as now 'tis evident, be under no one *Governour* on earth, *Emperour*, or whatever *Monarchicall* supreme power. And so still his curiosity is satisfied, he sees, where the *Catholique Church* is.
33. 4. Though many houses cannot be one house, any more than many horses, or men, can be one horse, or man, yet many houses may be one city, many Cities one Province, many *Provinces* one Diocesse, many Diocesses one World, or one *Catholique Church*. And the word *Church* being both in propriety and vulgar use capable of as many significations, as there can be sorts of *Christian cœtus*, or assemblies imaginable, is thereupon an ambiguous word, and belongs to the larger, as well as narrower Societies, equally fit to signifie a *Parochial*, *Diocesan*, *Provincial*, *Nationall*, or *Universall Church*, and then many of these in the narrower, lesse comprehensive notion, may yet be but one in the larger, and more comprehensive. Thus we know many heaps may be put together, and make one heap, many rivers may meet, and make one river; And there can be no need of examples to illustrate this so obvious visible truth, that many *Parish Churohes* among the *Romanists*, as well as us, make one *Diœcesan*, many *Diœcesan*, one *Provincial*; many *Provincial*, one *National*; and many *National*, one *Catholick Church*. And so still for all his colours of the house, the man, and the horse, we have not lost the *Catholick Church*: such thin *Sophismes* may be seen through by ordinary eyes, and so, many particulars be as competent as one could wish, to make up an *Universal*.
5. When

34. 5. When S. Cyprian saith, a Church is a People united to their Bishop, 'tis certain he speaks of a particular Church, and so of a particular Bishop. The place where S. Cyprian saith it, is not referred to by him, but I who had * used the testimony, know where to turn to it, Ep. 69. where the Church is defined *Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adhaerens*, a People united to their Priest, a Flock adhering to their Shepherd: and the circumstances of the Epistle make it cleare, that the Bishop there mentioned, is such as himself, the Bishop of Carthage, and every of the Coëpiscopi with him, and consequently the Church there spoken of, the Church of Carthage, the exact parallel to the Church of Justiniana, now before us; and if you would know how that being a Church can joyn with other Churches, and remain a Church still, he will tell you in that Epistle, that individual concord and charity of all the members of the Church, is that *vinculum unitatis*, band of unity, by which all Churches over the whole world may conjoyn and become one together.
35. 6. When from this one testimony of Cyprian hastily cast down, he makes such full speed to conclude, that if there be a Catholick Church, there must be a Catholick Bishop; what is this but to inferre, because Carthage is governed by one Bishop, and every other Diocese by another, therefore the whole world is govern'd by one Bishop. Because Spaine is governed by one King, and France by another, therefore the whole world is governed by one also; which as it is *de facto*, visibly false, so the unproved asserting of it is founded on two Hypotheses, neither of which hath the least truth in it. First, that every the vastest body (for such is the Universal Church all the world over) must be under some one particular government; and secondly, that that particular government of the Church must needs be Monarchical; whereas 1. the whole managery of the world is certainly transacted without being under any common governor on earth; and no doubt the affaires of the Church may be so too, a fraterall union and communion of all Patriarchs, or even of all Princes, each ruling in their severall Provinces by the Lawes of Christ, may suffice for all ordinarie wants of all; *Ecce homo, ecce Carthago, ecce alie & alie civitates*, saith S. Augustine, in Plal. 44. *filia Regum sunt*, — & *ex omnibus fit una Regina*; Be-
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* Of Schism,
P. 41.

hold Rome, saith he, behold Carthage, behold other, and other Cities, they are daughters of Kings, and of all of them one Queen is made. And 2. for extraordinary, an universal Counsel, or assembly of all these, may by way of Aristocracy, provide for, & administer them. And so still the Catholick Church is saved, and all our Phenomena preserved intire, without either talking (as he saith like a Saint) of Christ our head in heaven, or paying all our obedience to any one supreme Bishop upon earth, as to him that is by Christ thus delegated to preside (but will never be able to produce his commission) over the whole world.

37. This fifth Chapter of the Tr: of Schisme I concluded with some words of our Bishops, in Convocation 1537. (and the same are recited again in the Necessary Doctrine, Anno 1543.) and there was great evidence of reason in them, two things affirmed, the truth of which is to be contested by proofs, and if evinced on our side, the whole controversie now depending betwixt us is concluded, 1. That it was many hundred years before the Bishop of Rome could acquire any power of a Primate over any other Bishops, which were not within his Province of Italy. 2. That the Pope now professing at his consecration, that he will inviolably observe all the decrees of the first eight generall Councils, among which this is certainly one, that all causes shall be determined within the Province where they be begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province; this absolutely excludes all foreign and so papall power out of this realm. Now for the former of these, I thought I had evidenced it by the proofs preceding in that chapter, the Canons of Chalcedon, and Ephesus, and the Novel about Justiniana, as that was extended like the Ephesine Canon, to all Primates, and then it was no hurt, I hope, to recapitulate in the words of our Bishops. As for the second, it was both built on the same foundation, and also a visible matter of fact in each branch of it, 1. that such was the matter of those Decrees, most unreconcilable with Universall primacy; and 2. that the Pope professes, and vows obedience to all those decrees. And to all this he hath no least word of reply, but onely in lieu of that, is willing to mistake my procedure, and so to feign that I appealed to our Bishops as to witnesses, and then to answer me with a proverb or two. But to this I reply,

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1. that as for this purpose I acknowledge them *incompetent* to be produced to *S. W.* or others of his *perswasion*, so I never laid any such weight on their *testimony*, but onely as what they said, had solidity of *reason*, and somewhat of *evidence* in it, and so would have deserved some *reply* from my *Disarmer*, if it had not been more for his *turn* and *temper*, to gibe than to *discourse*, to *divert* than to *answer arguments*.

38. 2. That what I set down as our *Bishops conclusion*, was by them, if he had pleased to have resorted to the *Book*, inferred by such *reasons*, as *S. W.* will not easily be able to *answer*, and so could not with justice complain of my brief *reference* to their *conclusion*, without setting down their *premisses*, which was *his*, not *mine* advantage. To clear this therefore, and because the *e books* are not commonly to be had, I shall recite but *three* of their many *heads of argument*.

39. 1. From the *Milevitan Council*, where *S. Augustine* was present and *subscribed* it, which decreed *excommunicate* any *Clerk* of *Africk*, that should *appeale* to any *Bishop* beyond the *Sea*.

40. 2. From the *Generall Council* of *Constantinople*, decreeing that every *cause*, or *controversie*, should be determined within the *Province*, where the matter did lye, and that by the *Bishops* of the same *Province*, and that no *Bishop* should *exercise power* out of his own *Diocese*, or *Province*, this being also the mind of *Cyprian*, and the other *African Fathers*, before the time of any *Generall Council*.

41. 3. From the *story* of the *sixt Great Council* of *Carthage*, whither the *Bishop* of *Rome* sent his *Legates* to *allege* and vindicate his *Primacy*, and by that *title* to maintain the receiving of *appeales* made unto him of *controversies* commenced in *Africk*. And when in the debating of this, the *Bishop* of *Rome* alleged a *Canon* of the *first Council* of *Nice*, and the *Bishops* of *Africk* denied there was any such *Canon*; for triall thereof, *Messengers* were sent to the *Patriarchs Sees* of the *East* (*Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*) to make search for the *intire volume* of the *Canons* of *Nice*, and when they were brought from thence, there was no such *Canon* among them, as the *Bishop* of *Rome* had alleged (the truth of all which is now visible to any
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in the *Acts* of that Council of Carthage, and particularly in * their *Epistle* to *Celestine*, *Bp. of Rome*.) From this one instance they thought they might conclude these two things, 1. that the * *Bp. of Rome* had no challenge of such *Primacy*, by any words of *Scripture*; for if he had, he would then certainly have alleged it on so important an occasion; and besides, the *African Fathers* were so learned in holy *Scripture*, that they could not have bin ignorant of it, & so *veracious*, that if they had known it, they would never have made any *Act* to the contrary. nor after so earnestly have refused it. 2. That the *Bishops* of *Rome* have no such power given them by any ancient *Generall Council*; or if they had, they would then have alleged it, rather than have vouched a *pretensed Canon*, which upon search, could never be found in the *Authenticks*. And these two conclusions thus deduced, might well set a period to this controversy. As it is, I shall, I hope, need adde no more reply to his second Section, for the vindicating of my fifth Chapter, and refuting the *Romanists* second Plea drawne from the *Pope's* succession to Saint *Peter*.

CHAP. V.

*A Defence of the sixth Chapter of the
Tract of Schisme.*

S E C T. I.

The Romanists Plea from conversion. Phil. Scot. The expressions of our real Gratitude to Rome. The Testimony of the Annals of Gisburne. The occasion of producing it. The planting of this Church before Augustine, and surviving Dioclesians persecution. The Pope's power in Ordination. The customs of making profession to the See of Rome. Receiving the Pall without it. Cærusk ἀνολοιπαλ &c. Independency from Canterbury implied it from Rome also.

1. **I**N his third Sect. of this his second Part, he proceeds to a view of my 6. Chap. and the subject of that, being an examination of another plea of the Romanists, from the Pope's having planted Christianity among us, he begins with great displeasure, that I should deem this any plea of theirs, and so pronounces this ground of the whole chapter to be absolutely false, and forged upon them, asking what Catholick Author ever affirm'd—
2. That *S. W.* as the Catholick Gentleman before, do indeed renounce this plea, I have no need to repine, or regret, for then their other onely plea from Christs donation to S. Peter, and the Pope's succession to that legacy, being, I suppose, competently invalidated, there remains no more for me to contend in this matter, save onely to render my account how I fell into this gainlesse misprision, even by that charity that makes me still apt to think men believe, and advert to their own discourses, and
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consequently that this was due to the *Romanists* disputings against us, for from thence it was undoubtedly, that I was deceived into a *persuasion*, that they laid some weight on this *plea* from our *conversion*.

3. To omit the *Catalogue* of those *Romanists*, that have insisted on it, I shall onely mention the reall *occasion* of my taking in this, for one of their *pleas*; A very little while before I set upon that *treatise* of *Schisme*, a little *Book* bearing this title, *A Treatise of the Schisme of England* by Philip Scot, *Permissu Superiorum*,] was conveyed to me from what hands I never knew, but had some reasons to think, that it was from a *Romanist*. Of this therefore (after I had read it with no kinde of *satisfaction*, and found that Mr. *Hobs*, and another discourse, with which he proposed to combat, were such as I no way inclined to defend, or vindicate) I resolved so farre to serve my selfe, as to take notice, what *pleas* it chiefly insisted on, to inferre what he had undertaken, the *Schisme* of this *Church* of ours. To this purpose I found him concluding p. 163. that the *case* of the *Bulgares*, ought to be drawne unto us, to wit, for the title of *conversion*. And p. 165. speaking of the *subjection* of *England* to *Rome*, it was acknowledged, saith he, ever by our *lawes* even from the *conversion* of the *Country* under *St. Gregory*: and p. 167. much lesse this *Island* ought to separate from the *See* of *Rome*, by reason of the title of *conversion*, not onely under *Gregory* the first, but long before, under *Pope Eleutherius*, &c. This I supposed sufficient (if I had wanted other motives) to direct me to this branch of my *method*, to consider this title of *conversion*, and so *S. W.* discernes to whom the *crimen falsi* is due, and I am onely to ask pardon of *Ph: Scot* and his *superiours*, that I gave so much heed to them, as to bring this *rebuke* upon my self.

4. As it is, I shall most willingly acknowledge my error, and now proclaim from these greater *authorities* of the *Catholick Gentleman* and *S. W.* that we are manumitted, and, by consent, set free from all obligation of *subjection* to the *Pope's Primacy*, which we causelessly feared might come upon us by this title of *Conversion*, and are now onely to make good our *gratitude* for the *benefits* which we received from that *See*: And that, let me assure him most seriously, we shall endeavour to do, in any way,

that may be most proportionable to very great obligations, and never go about to divert, or make quittance, by putting into the counterpoise either the severity and bloody rigours which the British inhabitants, the 1200. devout Monks of Bangor in the front, and then the rest of that numerous Army suffered from Edilsfred, King of Northumberland, as the fruit of Augustine's menaces, or some other unkindnesses, since received, which have not been of the complexion of that paternal sweetnesse, which is said to have moved Gregory's charity to our Saxon Ancestors, but return our ἀρετὰ ἀγαθὰ, our purest and most uncompounded offices of all Christian affection, our utmost effusions of that most ethieriall charity, our prayers and our tears poured out towards Heaven, that God will out of his richest treasure supply all their wants, and by the power of his grace, work those changes, which he discernes most necessary to be wrought in them, that the successors of St. Peter may timely imitate the repentance, and faith, and zeale of S. Peter, and the eminence of that See joyned again at last, as at the first, with the purity of all Christian profession and practice, become the reall, effectual prover of Ecclesiasticall unity and communion, and attain that highest title, which can belong to any Church on earth, to be στήλη καὶ ἰδρυμα a pillar and stabiliment of all saving truth, without any alloy or mixture of error, to abate that glorious felicity, which from my soule I wish to it; If this be not the short image of that gratitude which S. W. is willing to minde us of, together with the most passionate desire to minister to them in the bowels of Christ, by indeavouring not to suffer sinne upon our brethren by admonishing them in the spirit of meeknesse (and not vomiting out, as he saith, any one venomous spitefull expression, but heartily and humbly retracting all such language, that hath ever proceeded from us) by heaping none but such coales of fire upon their heads, which may in Gods good time, be most effectually to the melting of them; If, I say, this be not it, and if any Romanist of a more happy temper, than my Dissembler hath yet exprest, will direct me to any other method of discharging this obligation of the most exact refined gratitude, I shall be most thankful for the advertisement, presuming that nothing of injustice, or sin against a duly instructed conscience, can ever be ingredient

gradient in it, and then hoping for so much *mercy* from God, that no true son of this Church of ours, will ever be wanting in any other way of expressing it.

5. The rest of this third *Section*, concerning holding by two titles, and the conversion of this *Island* (whether of Britanes or Saxons) was in substance proposed by the *Catholick Gentleman*, and is accordingly superseded in the *Reply*, p. 100. &c. And so likewise the *Abbat of Bangor's answer to Augustine*, was vindicated in the account of H.T. his *Appendix*.

6. Only the testimony out of the *Annals of Gisleburn*, which had not formerly been taken notice of, is here a little considered, and the parts of the testimony being two; 1. that the *Bishop of S. David's* was consecrated by his owne *Suffragans*; and this 2. without any profession or subjection to any other Church; He is willing to invalidate both these: the first, because, saith he, the Pope may be head of the Church without consecrating all the Bishops in the world; the second, because, saith he, the custome of making a profession, or exhibiting subjection to the See of Rome, when the Bishops were consecrated, was not then in use; and besides, the words bring alteri Ecclesie, not specifying Rome in particular, affords nothing to my purpose, but may bear the interpretation of the Bishop of St. David's being independent of any within that continent, or of any private Patriarch, with which may consist a subjection to the Pope; as the *Univerſall Paſtor*.]

7. But here first S. W. must be advised to permit testimonies, brought to infer a conclusion, to connect with the conclusion, to which the producer applied them, and not still out of jealousy of his own *Helena* to feign every thing that is said on any other subject, to be designed to the impugning the Popes Supremacy. 'Tis evident to what that whole fourth Section belongs, viz. to demonstrate the planting the Faith here long before Augustine the Monk, and its surviving the slaughters of Dioclesian. Among other evidences of this (to which I now adde the expresse words of * Bede) comes in the early mention of three

* *Ubi turbo persecucionis qui evis in publicum, fideles Christi, qui se tempore discriminis silvæ ac deserti abditisque speluncis occultaverant, renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destruktas, Basilicas sanctorum Martyrum fundant, construnt, perficiunt, ac veluti victorica signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra mundo cor-*

de atque ore conficiunt, manſiſque hæc in Eccleſiis Chriſti, quæ erant in Britannia pax uſque ad ſem-
pora Ariana veſania. l. i. c. 8. What is there added of infuſing this poiſon, and every other
Herſe in this nation, and the great levity and inſtancy in the ſcrib, the Reader may obſerve
to be an *inſerſion* in the *Latine* copy of *Bede*, which *Aſfrid's* Saxon *Paraphraſe* hath no word of,
and as it might be evidently reſuted, as far as concerns the *Arian Herſe*, ſo as to the *Pe-
lagian*, 'tis diſclaimed by *Bede*, l. i. c. 12, 13. the words are ſet downe in the *Reply*,
pag. 103.

Metropolitanes, and among them of the *Biſhop of Caernsk* (and
his *Province Britannia ſecunda*) afterward in *King Arthurs*
time tranſlated to *S. David's* (and this we know ſixty years be-
fore *Auguſtine's* coming) where it continued an *Archbiſhop-
rick* 500 years more, without dependence on any, till in the
reign of *Hen. I.* it was ſubjected to *Canterbury*, which how fit
it was to concur with other evidences, to prove the point then
in hand, I leave any man to conſider, and then there is no more
required of me for the vindicating that testimony

8. Yet ſecondly, when 'tis remembred, that though the *Pope*
oblige not himſelf to conſecrate all the *Biſhops in the world*, yet as
far as his *jurisdiction* extendeth, he takes upon him to diſpoſe
all ordinations, and accordingly (as appeares by the expreſſe
words of his *Epistle*) *Pope Gregory* appointed *Auguſtine* to or-
dain the *Metropolitanes*, of *London* and *York* (though not all the
Biſhops under them) and for the future, provided for their ordi-
nations by their own *Synods*, by ſending each of them a *Pall*, as
the ſame *Epistle* expreſſeth; it is hence viſible, that his firſt
Answer hath no force in it, but leaves a viſible difference betwixt
the *Metropoles* of *S. Davids*, and the two other *Metropoles* in
reſpect of ordination. And

9. Thirdly, *S. W.* his fair confeſſion, that the cuſtome of making
profeſſion, or exhibiting ſubjection to the *See of Rome*, was not then
in faſhion] muſt be lookt on as ſome degree of liberaliſty, which
I muſt ſuppoſe he had ſome motive to extort from him, and ſure
concludes that the introducing this faſhion ſince, is an innova-
tion.

10. Fourthly, that when 'tis remembred, that at this time *Grego-
ry* ſent the *Pall* to *Auguſtine*, and promiſed the ſame to the *Bi-
ſhops* of *London* and *York*, it muſt be inferred by force of his
ſecond answer, that the *Pope's* ſending a *Pall* had not alwaies
annexed to it an exhibition of ſubjection to his *See*, from him that

recei-

received it, and then how could *Justiniana's* subjection to *Rome*, even now, be inferred from the *Pope's* sending a *Pall* to the *Archbishop* thereof?

11. Fifthly, That *S. Davids* making no such profession, exhibiting no such subjection for the space of 500. yeares, and so long after *Augustine's* coming, viz. till the reign of *Hen. I.* and not so much as receiving a *Pall* from *Rome*, and yet holding the dignity and power of an Independent *Archbishop*, consecrated by his own *Suffragans* (as the *Bishop of Cyprus* was) and thereby evidenced to be αυτοκράτωρ, is still, by force of his second answer, a farther proof, that the present *Romish* practises are usurpations, and innovations, and a prejudice to the pretended universall acknowledgement of his headship.
12. Lastly, When 'tis so well known by the forementioned * *Epi.* * *Tua fraterni-*
ste, that this whole nation, and all the *Bishops* of *Britaine*, were *tas omnes Bri-*
 by *Gregory* required to be subject to the See of *Canterbury*, *tannia sacerdo-*
 where *Augustine* sat, and yet by this testimony of those *Annals*, *tes habeas sub-*
 and by evidence of the fact, through all *History* of those times, *jectos.*
 it appears that the *Archbishop* of *Caernsk*, or *S. Davids*, was independent from all other power (a *Metropolitane* long before *Augustine's* coming hither) and never subjected to *Canterbury*, nor consequently to *Rome*, for so many hundred yeares, till *Hen. I.* It is from thence most manifest, that *S. W.* his answers, are of no force even to that, which he doth so solicitously ward by them, this of consecration by his own *Suffragans*, not held by any *Pall* from *Rome*, and the making no profession or subjection, alteri Ecclesia, to any other Church, be it but, as *S. W.* would have it, to any within that Continent, particularly to *Canterbury*, being as full an evidence as could be wished, that he acknowledged no subjection to the *Pope*, who had subjected all the *Bishops* of this Island to *Canterbury*. And this is all that can be due to be replied to his third Section.

SECT. II.

S. W. his Arts. St. Paul's chaire at Ephesus, &c. Conversion of Britany before Peters coming to Rome. Exemption from the Pope's Jurisdiction a prejudice to his universall Pastorship. Carthage's Contestation before Justinian's time. Justinian's Act approved, a President to England. The questioning it.

1. **H**is fourth Section begins with one of his dexterities, of which we have had an instance or two formerly. To invalidate the title from conversion, I had regularly proved these two things: 1. That the Britains were not converted by them. 2. That for the Saxons, which were converted from Rome, that title of conversion was of no force; And these two together, were the full proving of my conclusion, which the former single did not pretend to do, yet had enough of prejudice to the pretence for universall Primacy, for one exception was destructive to that; and the Dominions of Wales as much so, as all England would have been.
2. Now *S. W.* his art was, to divide these two branches, and to make answer to the former of them, taken alone, Sect. 3. and by that meanes to gain opportunity of rejoycing, that I have left myself and my fellow Englishmen in the luds, and onely proved the Welsh no Schismaticks (adding onely, that now the Welsh are so subjected to the English Bishops, that they must be involved in the same Schism) & so he triumphantly ends that Section, beginning this fourth with a view of the branch which belonged to the Saxons, as of a second part of my text (as he calls it) by this imposing on his Reader, who if he had foreseen that there was any thing said to that of the Saxons, or could carry it in his memory from one section to another, must needs discern, that what was before said of leaving the English in the luds, had not the least degree of truth in it. For if indeed I equally proved it (though not by the same medium) of the English and the Welsh, how could it ever, with truth, be said, that I proved it of the Welsh onely?

only? Such *arts* as these, which receive all their force from a *hope*, that the *Readers memory* cannot hold out from the end of one *Section* to the beginning of another, are one of *S. W.* his *Master-pieces*, which have rendred him so much a *firewreder man*, than the *Catholick Gentleman*.

3. What followes, 1. of *S. Paul's Plantations*, and the independency thereof, both from the *See*, where *S. Paul* sat at the time of converting them, and more especially from the *See of Rome*: And 2. of the independency and absoluteness of *Timothy*, and *Titus* in their severall *Provinces*, hath been briefly vindicated in the *Reply*, cap. 61. sect. 3, 4. onely when *S. W.* here asks what I intend by the *chaire* where *S. Paul* sat, adding, that it was meervly a fiction, that *S. Paul* ever sat in any *chire* or was first *Bishop* in any place, but at *Rome* onely with *S. Peter*. I answer, 1. That this ought to have had some offer of proof annex to it, and not onely be so *magisterially* affirmed by him: 2. By *chaire* I mean a place of his particular residence, and ruling (after he had planted) for some time, before he left a *Bishop* in one, and went to some other place; And thus 'tis sure he resided in many cities and *Provinces* as properly as at *Rome* he can be affirmed to have done. At *Rome*, he so resided not, as not to make excursions very farre from thence, to plant and confirm *Churches*, and in the like manner he resided at *Antioch* for one season, at *Ephesus*, and in all *Asia*, under that *Prime Metropolis*, for no lesse than three yeares, and so at *Co'inth*, at *Philippi*, and at *Thessalonica*, and all these before ever he saw *Rome*, and to no one of these were all other *Churches* (where at that time he wrought conversions, founded and settled *Churches*) subjected by him, any farther than this, that the *Churches* of the *Regions* were subjected to the *City church*, the *Churches* of inferior cities to the *Metropoles*, and those united again in the *Prime Metropoles* of each *Diocesis*. And so this was a competent instance of the point in hand, and *Timothy* and *Titus* cleare evidences of it, both those demonstrated to be clearly independent from *Rome*, whether upon the score of *Peter's*, or of *Paul's* presiding there (not by force of my negative, insufficient proofs, as he calls them, but) upon this irrefragable evidence, that those were placed *Bishop* at *Ephesus*, and *Creta*, before either of these yet so much as

come to that *imperiall city*. And the like upon the same account might, if we can believe story, be resolved of this *Island* of ours, where (saith *Gildas Brito*, or *Badonicus*, anciently stiled *Sapiens*, *Gildas Albanicus* in his Book of the victory of *Anrelins Ambrosius*, and the *Vatican M. S.* in *Baronius*) a Church was planted before the end of *Tiberius's* reign, and that manifestly before *S. Peter* was come to *Rome*, *secundo Claudii*, as might be shewed by unquestioned records, if this were a place for it.

4. The next particular of the power of Princes to erect or translate Patriarchs, hath also been vindicated, *Repl. c. 6. sec. 4.* and there it appears how little reason he hath to affirm, that this is the begging of the question, viz. that the Pope's power is merely Patriarchal, when that on which my proofs proceed, the independency of those prime Churches, which have been erected by Emperours, is as destructive to this Pope's pretended title of universal Pastorskip, as to the immoveableness of his Patriarchal power; the exempting any from his jurisdiction being as contradictory to the universality of his jurisdiction, as any thing could be supposed to have been.

5. Next, when of one of my instances, *Carthage*, he concludes from my own words, that all that the Emperour did, was to restore it to its Primacy, after the Vandals were driven out, and so only an act of preserving the Canons inviolate, which every good Christian Emperour ought to doe] this is but a catching of any thing that comes, though it be but like *Hierocles's Scholasticus*, that in the shipwrack caught hold on, and meant to save himself by the anchor, which served onely to discover his feare, and ascertaine his perishing. For 'tis certain, that before the Vandals inrode, *Carthage*, though within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, had refused to submit to her jurisdiction; or to allow of any appeale thither. The contest set down from the *African Council*, in the close of the fourth Chapter of this Reply, is an evidence of that; and he that knows any thing in Church story, cannot be ignorant of it. And if *Justinian's* restoring of that, after the expulsi^on of the Vandals, and (which is somewhat more, and yet was there subjoyned) his annexing two new Provinces, which had not before been under that Bishops jurisdiction, be that, which every good Emperour, not onely may, but ought to doe, then shall I never desire

fire any more to inferre my *conclusion*, 1. that *Hen. VIII.* in restoring that *independency* to the *Church of England*, which it had before *Augustin's* coming hither, nay, *αὐτὸς ἀρχὴς* from the first conversion, of this nation, and so ought to retain it by the *Ephesine Canon*, was but the preserving the *A&I's* of the *Church inviolate*, and no more than every good Prince may, and ought to doe. 2. That by *S W.* his acknowledgement, *Justinian* in this matter of *Carthage*, did but as a good Prince ought to doe, and then doing no more in the erection of *Justiniana*, than in the restitution of *Carthage* he had done; it must likewise follow, that herein also he no way misbehaved himself, and yet upon the presumption that he did, his whole answer depends, which next followes to my instance of *Justiniana*.

6. For though upon a former mention of this matter, he had never attempted to asperse *Justinian*, but in this second part, *sec. 2.* gave very plausible answers, that *Justinian* never intended to erop the aspiring growth of *Rome*, but sent to the Pope for a Pall for his new *Archbishop*, and a great deale more to the same purpose; yet now upon another incidentall glance on the same instance, as if the *Catholick Gentleman* and he had divided the cup of *Lethe* betwixt them, he now questions the power of *Justinian* to do what he did, and the legality of the act, and compares it with the *A&I* of the late Parliament in taking away *Bishops*, having no power to take them away.
7. Thus every the most contrary colour (of answer) becomes *S W.* as well as ever it did *Ariflippus*, but this slip having befallen him by following the footsteps of the *Cath: Gent.* I have spoken sufficiently to it there, *Repl. c. 6. sec. 4. n. 11. 12.* and fully manifested the legality of *Justinians* action, without any delegation from the Pope to do what he did. *n. 13.*

SECT. III.

The Privilege of Ravenna. The Authority of it. Hieron. Rubeus, no partial Writer against Rome. Baronius's Dislikes. S.W. his Objections to the Privilege answered. In nomine Domini, a Style of Donatians. Edicts of one Emperour without the name of the other. Valentinian's peculiar respect to Ravenna. Valentinianus Major Imperator. Mediolanense Concilium. Regum Placentia, &c. Brixillis, not under Milan. The Pall. Cæsareum Paludamentum, not the Pastorall. The Pope's Consent, not Authoritative. The Pope's Vision about P. Chrysologus. The duration of Ravenna's ἀυτοκραλία. The Contest betwixt P. Gregory, and John of Ravenna. The no proof of their Schisme. P. Gregory's dislike of the title of Universall Pastor.

1. **H**Is next attempt is against the Instance of Ravenna, and he sets out with a special piece of wit, that when I say, the Emperor Valentinian did by his Rescript constitute Ravenna a Patriarchal seat, I quote no Author but Ann. Dom. 432.] where 1. 'Tis strange, that he that hath yet (to my best remembrance) produced but one citation of his own, and withall, hath oft reproacht my unnecessary citations should yet now exact of me the producing of Authors for every period; and yet more strange, that when I quote the Emperours Rescript, wherein it was thus constituted. he should yet say I quoted no Author: The Emperour himself was vouched as my Author, and his Rescript the Testimony; and yet upon the Catholick Gentleman's doubt of this, I produced the Author, which conveyed this record to us, one very fit for the turn, the writer of the history of that city Hieronymus Rubeus, who sets down the words of this privilege out of as most ancient record, which saith he, in tabulario Ursiano adhuc servatur, is still kept in the Archives of that city.

city. Of this Author who produces it, it may be considered, 1. That his History was at a second publication of it, 17. yeares after the former, dedicated to the Pope Sixtus V. by the Senate of Ravenna (who testifie that it was collected *ex tabulariis potissimum civitatis*, out of the Records of the city;) And 2. that it was by himself dedicated to their Archbishop, a Cardinall, appealing to his knowledge, that he had been in antiquitate investigandâ satis accuratus, sufficiently accurate in the search of antiquity: And 3. to remove all suspicion of partiality to his own city against Rome, he hath approved himself to be as great an admirer of the Papacy, as any, calls it in his Preface, *sedem de coelo in terras demissam*, a See sent down from heaven to earth, for Learning most divine, for Religion most holy, for Empire most sublime. And in this very matter of Ravenna's contending with Rome, de Principatu, he is very bitter against his own Countreymens temerity, and perfidiousnesse, together with insolent pride, affirming the Popes to be Vicars of Christ; in *Ecclesia Universalis administratione*, in the administration of the Universal Church. If these be indications of the Preposterous love of his countrey, which Rubens is blamed for by S. W. it will be very hard to gain his favour; And 4. to conclude, his authority with the Romanists is such, as Baronius, the principall Author, that hath questioned this privilege, makes use of his testimony with confidence, when it is for his turn, (though in a matter much more liable to mistake the relation of a vision) himself also confessing, that the Rescript is very ancient, and acknowledged by severall writers.

2. And truly that Annalists and his followers disputing against it by those little probable arguments, which S. W. hath here transcribed (as nothing was ever really done, but some light colours might be brought against it) as it signifies no more, but that this act of the Emperour's was repugnant to the interest which that learned Annalist had professedly espoused, the absolute Universal Dominion of the Romish See, so is it an evidence irrefragable, that that privilege which Ravenna is pretended to have had, was not reconcileable with the pretensions of Rome, which yet was in effect, no greater, than those which without doubt were soon after conferred on Justiniana and others, by other

other Emperours, before either of these, and to which the Council of Chalcedon had laid the foundation, that the τὰς order Ecclesiasticall should follow, and beare proportion with the νομικὰ τῶν τοι imperiall acts of building, or repairing, or enlarging, and dignifying of cities.

3. As for the objections against the authenticknesse of that decree, I shall need say no more, but that they are very unproportionable to be put in the balance against the originall record and testification of the fact in the plain words of the Edict. First, saith he, it begins in a different manner from the constant tenor of all other Rescripts,] but he did not think good to tell us how it began, lest that might discover the vanity of the exception, nor to remember what was the subject matter of this Rescript which might fitly occasion and own this difference. It was the Donation of a Privilege to the Church, to the honour of God, and accordingly it begins in such a form, as most exactly accords therewith, and is the ancient, as well as modern style in such matters. In Nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi, In the name of the Lord God our Saviour Jesus Christ. This, as it had been lesse proper for some other secular matters, so was most agreeable to the matter of an Ecclesiasticall privilege, or collation. So in the Novels of the Emperours, which conferre, or confirm privileges, to the Church, there is nothing more frequent. The first of Heraclius, being of this sort, begins so,

† *Jus Græco.*
Rom. l. 2. p.

90.

* P. 77.

† P. 83.

* *Ib. l. 8. p.*

521.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοπτότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμεῶν, Ἡρακλίου — In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ our God, Heraclius — to Sergius — And so the * second, and the † fourth. So begins Justinian's Edict, de fide Orthodoxa, * ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ — In the name of God the Father, and of his onely begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the holy Ghost. I shall trouble the Reader with no more examples. And then, what could have been objected more unseasonably, or untruly, than that this manner of beginning differs from the constant tenor of all other Rescripts?

4. Next, saith he, The decree is singular, and consequently to be suspected in this; that all the other Rescripts made in the reigns of the two Emperours, though constituted by one of them onely, yet were ever authorised by both their names, whereas the name and authority of the Emperour Theodosius was wanting to this.] But there

is as little *truth* in this, as in the former *suggestion*. In the *constructions* of *Heraclius*, the first indeed begins with the *names* of both the *Emperours*, Ἡράκλειος, καὶ Ἡρόδωρος υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου, πρῶτοι ἐν Χρυσῷ βασιλεῦς, and to the *fourth* after the like manner. But then in the *second* the style is *singular*, Ἀυτοκράτωρ καὶ σαρ Φλάβιος Ἡράκλειος — and the *third* in like manner, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, *Heraclius* alone without naming the *other*. 'Tis strange such matters of *ordinary* visible practice, should be so confidently *denied*, to gain a poor, pitifull, probable argument against an *Edict*, that is irrefragably testified by the *Records*, and is no way concerned in such *Topicks* as these, if they had (as they have not the least) *truth* in them: But besides, if it were reasonable to conclude a matter of fact by *reason*, 'tis cleare there is *reason* of this also. *Valentinian* was born in this city, as before * *Rubeni*, *Marcellus Comes* delivers, and now resided there (as *Honorius* had long done, ever since *Alaricus*'s coming into Italy) and accordingly makes that a special motive of giving this privilege (*Et maxime ubi serenitatis nostra præsulget præsentia*) in the words of the *Edict*: And of him particularly 'tis * noted and cited from *Agnellus*, a grave *Author*, that he both re-built, and enlarged the walls of the city, and constituted it, after *Rome*, the head of *Italy*. All which being peculiar acts of his kindnesse to the city, and not common to *Theodosius* with him, as they make it reasonable, that they should beare none but his name in the front of the *Donation*, so without question they no way invalidate the *authority* of it.

* Rub. Hist. Rom.
l. 2 p. 90.

* Ibid. p. 98.

5. The third objection is, that the *Inscription*, *Imperator Major*, is new, and unheard of, all the rest intitling *Valentinian Imperator Maximus*.] But the *Inscription* is, *Valentinianus fidelis Jesu Christi Major imperator*. *Aug.* The [Major] is not here *subjoyned* to *Imperator*, but to *Valentinian* (as *Augustus* to *Imperator*) and is, I suppose to distinguish him from others of the same name, as *Theodosius*, ὁ μικρὸς, the little, that reigned with *Valentinian*, is so called to distinguish him from *Theodosius*, ὁ μέγας the Great, *Honorius*'s Father. So *Leo* ὁ μέγας, and *Leo* ὁ μικρὸς, and so *Valentinianus Major* to distinguish this from *Valentinianus*, *Gratian*'s Father, who in respect of him was *Maximus*. 2. As for the title of *Imperator Maximus* (*Maxi-*

mus *subjoynd to Imperator*) it might have been worth his pains to set down some of those *Edicts* (which he calls *all the rest*) that so intitle him. I am sure *Rubens* affords him none. *Pontifex Maximus* was once an ordinary title for the Emperours, and *Imperator Clementissimus*, and the like, but sure *Imperator Maximus* was not so; And yet 3. if it were so, it would prove little; for this *Valentinian*, which is here styled *Major*, is ordinarily known by the title of *Junior*; *Major*, in respect of *Maximus*, being *Junior*, as *Theodosius* mixes the *Little* is ordinarily *Theodosius Junior* in the *Comparative*, and many such like, so that still I have no reason to admire *S. W.* his *Arguments*.

6. 4. He objects from the mention of *Regium, Placentia, and Brixillis* named in the *Rescript*, as under the jurisdiction of *Ravenna*, which, saith *S. W.* is a plain forgery, since not long after, *Pope Leo* commanding *Eusebius Bishop* of *Milan*, to gather a provincial Council of the *Bishops* subject to him, those three *Bishops* met there, and subscribed in that Council, as appears by the *Synodal Epistle* yet extant.] Of this suggestion some parts are true, but that on which alone the whole force of the *Objection* against the *Rescript* depends, hath no offer of proofe nor yet appearance of truth in it. And therefore it was prudently done, to cite the *Synodal Epistle* for the subscription of these names, but neither to direct us where to finde that *Synodal Epistle*, nor to offer any reason or testimony, that all that subscribed there were subject to *Milan*.

7. The truth of the whole matter lies thus, In the yeare 450. *Pope Leo* sent foure *Legates*, two *Bishops*, and two *Presbyters* to *Anatolius*, *Bishop* of *Constantinople*, successor to *Flavianus*, with an *Epistle*, anathematizing *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*, and all their followers, which was accordingly read, and fully consented to, and subscribed in Council by *Anatolius*, and the neighbouring *Bishops*, assembled with him, and sent to all the *Metropolitans* of the *East* to be subscribed by them. See *Council Tom. 3. p. 701, 702*. Upon the return of these *Legates*, *Leo* commands them to go to *Eusebius* the *Bishop* of *Milan* (in the most ancient *Notitia*, the *Prime Metropolis* of *Italy*) and treat with him for a meeting of other *Bishops* of *Italy*, which, we know, consisted

sisted of many Provinces, to subscribe and profess the reception of the same doctrine against those Hereticks, to the end that in the meeting of a *Generall Council*, the *Pope's Legates* might go, in the name of the whole *Western Church*, and inform the *Council* of the judgment of those *Bishops*, who should not be able to be present there: And accordingly it was done, and upon this meeting (called thence *Medolanense Concilium* in the *Councils*, T. 2. p. 702.) the *Bishop of Milan*, and nineteen other *Bishops of Italy*, some of his Province, and some of others, wrote a Letter to *Leo*, and subscribed their consent to that confession of faith, which he had sent into the *East*. The *Epistle* is to be seen among *Leo's*, with this title, *Eusebii Mediolanensis Episcopi cum aliis Episcopis consentientibus*, and after him the first that are named are the *Bishops of Regium, Placentia, and Brixillis*. But now, that all the *Bishops* that are there named, were of this particular Province of *Milan*, and subject immediately to that *Bishop*, as it is the onely thing of force in the present objection, so it hath no offer of proof, or that I discern appearance of truth in it. Of the 19. *Bishops*, which are there named to subscribe after *Milan*, *Mirau*, out of the *Ancient Roman Provincial*, sets down but twelve, under the *Metropolis of Milan*, and two of them with an *Asterisk* for exempts, *Placentinus*, and *Papiensis* (which is all one with *Ticinensis* in these subscriptions) to that beside *Placentia, Regium, and Brixillis*, here named in the *Edict*, the second of which he places expressly under *Ravenna*, and the third was destroyed *Ann. 586.* faith * *Rubens*, there remains * P. 181. *Augustana* under the *Archbishop of Mentz*, *Comensis* under *Aquileia*, *Curienfis* in *Rhetia Prima*, under the *Archbishop of Mentz*, *Genuensis* and *Albingaunensis*, both in *Liguria*, none of which can with any reason be pretended to be under the particular Province of *Milan*, and so this is sufficient to evacuate the seeming force of that argument.

8. 2. It must be farther remembred, that in order to this design of having this Profession of *Leo's* faith, subscribed by the *Bishops of Italy*, it was as necessary that other *Bishops* consents should be had, as those of the particular Province of *Milan*. The *Legates* were sent in like manner to the *Gallia*, and from thence the subscription come of * 44. *Bishops*, which sure were not all * *Leo Ep. 51.*

of one Province: In a word, there is little reason to believe, but all Italy were as much concerned in this action, as those under Milan, onely the meeting being in that place, as that which had been antiently the prime Metropolis of the Diocese of Italy, there were more of that present there, than of any other particular Province, yet the three first of the subscribers, the Bishops of these cities under Ravenna, which was a compleat number for that Exarchate; so that still this Edict may passe for authentick, though it put Regium, &c. under the Archbishop of Ravenna, for there still they are, for ought this of the *Mediolanense concilium* proves to the contrary.

9. Or if this be not yet sufficient, then I shall oppose the authority of *Blondus* and *Sabellicus*, for the confirming the Edict, and invalidating this pitifull shew of objections. *Blondus*, who had said (from other evidences, and not from this Rescript) that the Emperour subjected twelve Bishops to the See of Ravenna, naming Regium and Placentia for two of them, and *Sabellicus* in his *Enneads*, and others with him, affirm there were fourteen, as the Edict doth, and so doth *Mirau*, out of the ancient Roman Pontificall, though in specifying the names of them, he differ from this Edict.

10. But his last argument is that on which he seemes to place his confidence, as a Rub which, saith he puzzled *Rubens*, that the same Rescript which gives them an Archbishoprick, granted them also the use of the Pall, which, saith he, was never used to be given by the Emperours but by the Popes onely, as appears by the Epistle of Gregory the Great to the then Archbishop of Ravenna; and thus, saith he, forced *Rubens* to explicate that Pall to be *Cæsareum psudamentum*, such an imperial Robe as the Cæsars used to wear, whereas besides the unlikeliness of the action, it is contrary to the Rescript it self; which grants them such a Pall, sicut ceteri sub nostrâ Christianissimâ potestate saepe degentes fruuntur Metropolitanâ, as the rest of the Metropolitans in his Dominions after wore; which, saith he, every one who hath but tasted of the Study of ancient History, knowes to have been another manner of thing than the Emperours robe.]

11. What solidity of truth there is in all this, will be soon discerned: For 1. that this rub is said to have puzzled *Rubens*, and that

that to smooch it, he was forced to explicate it of the *Cæsareum paludamentum*,] hath no kind of truth in it: What he saith is not from any such necessity, to avoid the importunity of any objection, but as an instance of the Emperors gratitude to that Church, and John the Archbishop thereof, *maximum beneficium adiecit*, he added this greatest favour, a Pall, but that such an one as in the city, and in any pomp, or solemnity, the Cæsars alone were wont to use, as an universall and perpetual prerogative of him and his successors in that See.

12. But then 2. if *Constantine's Donation to Sylvester*, which is entred into their * *Corpus Juris*, and must not be despised by the Romanists, be by *S. W.* believed to have any truth in it, or if the fiction of it be not founded in gross absurdity, & impossibility, we cannot but learn this from it, which here *S. W.* will not allow any man to think that hath but tasted of the study of ancient History, viz. that the *superhumeral*, the Pall, that belongs to Archbishops, was the *lorum quod Imperiale ei candidare solibat collum*, the very imperial ornament, that incompart his neck (and so the purple robe, and the scarlet gown, and *omnia Imperialia indumenta*, all the imperiall vestiments) communicated from the Emperours to the Pope, and by him imparted to Archbishops. The same we are taught by *Balsamon* from the *Greek Church*, that severall Ensignes of the Imperiall authority were communicated to the Patriarchs * *μόνοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ὑπὸ τοῖς Παλεῖσχαυς* * *Ματθ. 7. 445.* *ἐπιτολῶν καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων*, this privilege (speaking of the *p. 445.* *Ααμπάδες*) was allowed to none but the Kings and Patriarchs *Im Graco.* (having before said expressly, that the Archbishop of Bulgaria, *Rom. l. 7.* and some others, had received them, *ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι* *βασιλικῶν* *ἰδιότης*, from the Emperours. especial munificence, and * *Philippus* * *Pitban. l. 2. c. 7.* *Berterius*, who, I hope, had tasted of ancient history, cites it from him, and subjoyns *σαυερήνῃα ἐπιμαρξία*, *Palia & cætera hujusmodi quæ fere omnia tantæ Metropolitanis sunt concessa*, almost all kind of habits, particularly the Pall, all which almost were at length allowed to the Metropolitan, he might have said (as far as belongs to the East) to the Bp. also. Thus when *Anthemius* of Constantinop was deposed, * it is said of him, that when he saw himself turned out of his See, he restored the Pall which he had, to the Emperours. And * *P. Gr.* himself speaking of the return of *Anastas.* Patriarch of *E. p. 2. 7.*

* *Devec. par. 7.*
Dist. 96. c. 13.
Constantinus.

* *Ματθ. 7.*

* *Ματθ. 7.*

* *Ματθ. 7.*

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* *Ματθ. 7.*

* *Ματθ. 7.*

* *Suggestionem
summæ præcitus
plenam. ibid.
quantæ valui
precibus postula-
vi, ib, Ep. 7.*

Alexandria, saith that he had made *earnest request to the Emperours, *ut concessio usui Pallii ad Beati Petri limina — transmittere debuissent*, that they would grant him the use of the Pall, and send him to Rome to him, to officiate with him *quatenus mecum in honore suo viveret*, and to live and enjoy his Patriarchall honour with him.

13. Sure these are more than obscure indications, that the Pall having this original from the Emperours donation, was, and consequently may, by the Emperour, particularly be bestowed upon a *Ser*, advanced by him to some more than ordinary eminence, after the manner of those, whom a King will honour, by putting some part of his royal ornaments upon them, and it will otherwise be hard to imagine, from whence the Pope himselfe shall originally have received it, if not from the favour of the Emperour, for as to that of the Sheep taken upon the Pastors shoulders, which may be thought to deduce it from *S. Peter*, it is sure as *Apocryphal*, as *Constantine's donation* can by any be imagined to be, and beside other *Anomalies* in the Emblem, 'tis that which must equally belong to every Bishop, whose office is as perfectly Pastoral, as any *Metropolitane*, *Primate*, *Patriarch*, or the Pope himselfe can be pretended to be, though his *Diocesse* be not so wide, nor his power so absolute, and so can by no Analogie be the Ensigne discriminative of an *Archbishop*.

24. But I shall not need to insist farther on this, for if I should grant, that the Pall were originally Ecclesiasticall, and a thing perfectly distant from the Imperiale lorum, and so that the Emperour could with no propriety conferre it, as from himselfe; this notwithstanding would be very incompetent to prejudge, or disparage *Valentinian's Rescript*, in the forme, wherein *Hier: Rubens* hath conveyed it to us, for of it this may very fitly be the interpretation, that the Archbishop of *Ravenna* being thus exalted by the Emperour, the said Emperour ordained and decreed, that as other *Metropolitanes* in his Dominions, have the use of the Pall, receiving it from their Patriarch, according to custome, upon their consecrating, so should he receive it from the Bp. of *Rome*, the Patriarch of the West. And this being the onely objection against the Rescript. which hath any shew of validity

lidity in it, it now appeares, I suppose, that this is but a *show*, and so the *Rescript* may yet stand firme upon the *vanishing* of it.

15. Yet is this Argument of such force with *S. W.* that he is resolved (and he *cannot*, he saith, in reason think other) it must (some way or other) invalidate this instance of *Ravenna*, but which way it shall do it he is not yet resolved, onely he hath pitcht on one of these two wayes, either that the *Rescript* is false, forged in the time of the *Schisme*, or at least, that it cannot be imagined to have been made without the *Popes* consent.]

16. These conjectures are distant enough & so prove themselves to be but conjectures, for if the *Rescript* were false, and forged in time of the *Schisme*, then sure the *Pope* never gave consent to it, and if he gave consent to it, then sure 'twas not false, nor forged in time of the *Schisme*. And yet he tenders his proof for each of these, which fighting thus unreconcilably one with another, it were almost pity to interpose, it being certain that the leaving them thus engaged, must be the shortest end of the *Controversie*. But I shall not give him the example of despising tenders of reason.

17. For the first then, that the *Rescript* is false, and forged in the time of the *Schism*, (besides what hath already been mentioned of the *Pall*, and I suppose removed) he hath no farther offer of argument, but this, that no new *Bishop* of *Ravenna* could use the *Pall* without a new concession from the *Pope*, as (saith he) appears in *S. Gregory*, l. 5. Ep. 8. and therefore it was forged in time of the *Schisme*, that they might have some pretence to retain still the use of the *Pall*, which they accounted honorable.]

18. Whether the new *Bishop* were to receive the *Pall* from the hands of the *Pope*, I shall not need dispute; This might be a formality due to him as *Patriarch* of the *West*, and is perfectly reconcilable with the *Emperours* conferring this privilege on this *See*, to all succession (as the *Edict* declares) without any active concurrence, or joynt authority of the *Pope*. But he that * *Ep. ex Regis*. shall look on that * *Epistle*, will finde no more than this, that l. 5. *Indict*. 14. *Pope Gregory* sends the *Bishop* of *Ravenna* a *Pall* (*provocatus an-*

tiqae

tigua consuetudinis ordine, moved thereto by the order of ancient
**Ep ex Reg. l. 5. customs) *for him to use at the times, and in the manner, as, he*
indict. 14. c. 108: saith, he doubts not his predecessor had used it, adding, Omnia enim
privilegia quæ tua pridem concessa esse constat Ecclesie, nostrâ au-
thoritate firmamus, & illibata decernimus, permanere, for all the
privileges which appears to have been heretofore granted to your
Church, we confirm by our authority, and decree that they shall re-
main untouched; and (beside some good admonitions to adorn his
office and dignity, with the probity of manners and works) this is
all that is to be found in that Epistle.

19. And considering that the *privileges* which he formally confirmed, were acknowledged by him to be *pridem concessa*, granted to the See of Ravenna long before, without mention of their being granted to him by the *Popes*, and so must most probably referre to this act of the Emperour *Valentinian*, which gave it these *privileges*; all this doth very well agree with the *Edict*, and conclude that it must have been *unjust* in the *Pope* to deny the *Pall* to any new *Bishop* of that *See*; And then the least that can be said, is, that *S. W.* will never be able by any *Engine* to fetch out from this *Epistle* his designed *conclusion*, that this *Rescript* was forged in the time of the *Schism*; and if it were not then forged, I mean while *Ravenna* stood upon her *Independency* from *Rome* (for that, I suppose, he will have deemed a *Schism*, by a mean begging the question) there can be no time imaginable for the forging it, for while *Ravenna* yielded to *Rome* all that she desired, this cannot sensibly be suggested: And so still here is not the least colour of pretence for the forging of it.

20. What followes upon the other branch of his conjecture, to make it probable, that it was not made without the *Pope's* consent, if it have any appearance of force in it, it again concludes, that it was not forged, nor then lookt on by any (not by the *Pope* himself) as an *Innovation*, for the Emperour thus to advance a Church to this *independency*; and against this I have no reason to dispute, but shall most willingly yield it to *S. W.* his affirmation, without the least tender of proof, and onely resolve from thence, that *Valentinian* herein did nothing contrary to the duty of a very good Emperour, nothing but. by the very *Bishop* of *Rome's* very good

good liking, and consequently, that the *Ravennates* that insisted on this their *privilege*, were farre from being *Schismaticks*, or culpable in so doing, as my *Disarmer* will have believed to be the acknowledgement of all the world.

21. If any more than such a *consent* as this, a good liking, or not checking at it, be here meant by *S. W.* as the mention of the Pope's appointing and constituting (even those at *Ravenna* at first being unwilling) *S. Peter Chrysologus* to succeed in that See, after the decease of *John*] seems willing to conclude, viz. an authoritative consent, or that which hath any thing of jurisdiction in it, I shall then answer, that supposing the *Edict* to have been really made (as in thus arguing *S. W.* supposes, for else how could the Pope thus consent to the making it) it is most evident that the Pope had thus nothing to do in the making of it. The words are plain, *Imperiali autoritate sancimus, We decree by our imperial authority, that it shall be thus advanced to the Metropolitall dignity: and constituimus, the Emperour again by his authority, constitutes, or appoints the disposition of the whole Province of Aemylia, under the government of that Church, and the creations of all those 14. Bishops, &c. adding, Conferentes ei ob decorem Apostolica dignitatis honorem Pallii & omnem Pontificalis decoris usum, conferring on him for the glory of the Apostolick dignity, the honour of the Pall, and all the use of Pontificall glory or splendor, and this, as was said, not to the person of the present Bishop John, but to the Church, atque Universos postea Prasules, all Bishops which should succeed in that See.* Which puts the matter beyond dispute, that the Pope had neither in the making of the decree, nor in the Bishops succeeding to the benefit of it, any authoritative consent. It came wholly from the Imperial munificence, the same by which it was once resolved in *Honorius's* time (as *Rubens* cites it from * *Johannes Baptista Pigna*) that the seat of the Empire should be translated from *Rome* to *Ravenna*.

* In hist. Princip. Etsi

22. What he saith of the Pope's appointing and constituting *Chrysologus* to succeed in that See, even those of *Ravenna*, at first being unwilling] lies thus, clearly, in the story, That the *Ravennates* sent the Archbishop whom they had created, to Pope *Xystus III.* for his customary confirmation. The Pope had seen a vision that night, wherein *S. Peter* and *S. Apollinaris*, the first

Bishop of that See, having a young man between them, foretold him, that he should create him Bishop of Ravenna, and should not confirm him whom the Ravennates had chosen; this therefore he did obey, and rejecting their Bishop, ordain'd Peter Chrysologus to that See, and the Ravennates taking it ill, he told them his vision, and then they acquiesced in reverence to S. Peter. If there be truth in this story, 'tis little to the advantage of the Pope's authority, the vision being evidently that, which gave Peter Chrysologus this dignity, which the Pope could not have done without the vision. If it be not true, sure S. W. can conclude nothing from it, unless it be this, that Rubius is to be believed by a Romanist in the relation of a Legend, which looks a little kindly to the Romanists side, but must not be believed in the vouching an ancient Record, when that should seem against them.

33. He next tells us, the *after-Bishops of Ravenna* were sometimes *Schismatics*, none excusing them, or bringing that action of theirs for a testimony or example, till such as D. H. arose, who were involved in the same crime.] But herein is manifest injustice. For wholly to omit the inquiry, whether the *Bishops of Ravenna* were afterwards *schismaticall*, or no, I know every thing which seems averse to the plenitude of all power in the *Romish See*, shall be sure to be looked on by them as an act of *Schisme*, or else we had never lain under that charge: to omit this, I say (though it be but a begging the main question in him that suggests it) it is manifest that the testimony produced by me was not founded in the actions of those *after-Bishops*, but in the first collation of dignity on that *Church* by the *Edict* of the *Emperor*, that being the one thing that was pertinent, and fully conclusive to the matter, which I had then in hand, from *Sett 9.* the power of *Kings* to erect or translate *Primacies* or *Patriarchates*: For if *Valentinian* had that power, and actually made use of it, *Imperiali auctoritate sancire, constituere, conferre*, to advance *Ravenna* to that honour and power, to assigne him such a Province, and to conferre such privileges, on that *See* for ever, and no check made against this at that time, either by the *Pope*, or other *Bishops* of the *Church*, as against an innovation, or usurpation of undue power in the *Emperor*; then sure another *Prince*, which hath the

the same power in his *Kingdome*, which *Valentinian* had in his *Dominions*, may as lawfully do the same, *ὁπὲρ ἐκεῖ δέξαι*, which was the only thing which by this example of *Ravenna*, and testimony of that *Edict*, I attempted to demonstrate.

24. But now follows an intollerable mistake of the Doctor's, which must needs have some of *S. W.* his *Discipline*. And what is the mistake? Why, *That from Valentinian's time Ravenna held the Patriarchate without dependance on the Bishop of Rome, till the time of Constantinus Pogonatus.*] For this my *Disarmer* hath not yet so approved his *fidelity*, that his own bare word should be concluding: From his tribunall I appeal to *Anastasius*, in *vita Doni. Hujus temporibus*, i. e. *Constantini Pogonati*, saith he, *Ecclesia Ravennatum, quæ se ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ segregaverat causâ antiocephalia, denudò se pristina sedì Apostolica subjugavit*, In the times of *Constantinus Pogonatus* the Church of *Ravenna* which had separated it self from the *Ch.* of *Rome*, upon the account of being independent, and an head too, or within it self, subjected it self again to the former *Apostolick See*. What can be more punctual for the full defence of my intollerable mistake? And yet, saith he, every one meanly versed in *History*, knows 'tis thus. But I demand whether *Anastasius* were not so, nay, whether there can be produced any one *Historian*, that doubts of it, much lesse that affirms the contrary.

25. But, saith he, 'Tis manifest by *Pope Gregory's Letters to the Bishops of that place, who was made Pope in the year 590. whereas Pogonatus began his reign in the year 668.*] This is a manifestation indeed fit for one who had once spent 150 may lines to set down the nature of an evidence, as the standard for future discourse between us. And what if one should put this into mood, and figure, and exact of it a conformity, with the most vulgar of those necessary rules? It would then run thus, *Pogonatus began his reign 78. yeares after Gregory ascended to the Papacy, and Gregory wrote Letters to the Bishops of Ravenna, therefore Ravenna held not the patriarchate without dependance from Rome, from the reign of Valentinian to Pogonatus.* A conclusion very irrefragably inferred, and yet there is no possibility to assist this medium of his, unlesse it may some way appeare from those *Epistles of Gregory*, that *Ravenna* was not independent in his

time. But that from *S. W.* his arguing no way appeares, no one passage being by him tendred from thence, unless what was before cited from *Li. 5. Ep. 8.* and that hath already been accounted for, and cleared to have no such *intimation* in it, but onely that he sent him the *Pall*, and confirmed the *privileges* of his Church, which by the *Emperours Rescript* were sufficiently authorized, if he had not confirmed them.

26. Many other *Epistles* indeed this *Gregory* wrote to the several *Bishops* of *Ravenna*, many to *John*, l. 1. and 2. some to *Marinian*, l. 4. and 5. and to the whole Church, l. 5. and in these he oft takes upon him to finde fault, especially for the frequent using the *Pall* in publick processions; but this proves not their dependance on him, either *de jure*, or *de facto*, either that it was really due, or by them acknowledged, and yielded to him. Nay many indications there are to the contrary, *privileges* pleaded by them, though by him denied to belong to them. And indeed, had he really consulted either the story, or *Gregories Epistles*, he must have discerned the truth of mine, and the groundlesnesse of his affirmation. For of *John III.* to whom *Gregory's Epistles* are written, l. 1. and 2. it is by the writers for the most part, resolved, that he was the first *Archbishop* of *Ravenna*, *qui palam tentaverit, who made a publick attempt this way*, drawing many of the *Bishops* of *Italy* to his side. See *Hist. Raven.* l. 4. p. 181. and 184. where the whole contest is set down, collected punctually out of *Gregory's Epistles*, (and he that shall compare them, shall find it done exactly) together with a copy of *John's Epistle* to him, modest, but yet standing to his *privileges*, with a *Nullus ergo contra me Domino meo conetur surripere, quia si vult, Deo custode, non esse potest, quod à me aliqua novitas fuisset introducta, & adjuro vos per ipsam sedem Apostolicam, ut in nullo, Ravennatis Ecclesie privilegia quibus huc usque usa est, minuat*— looking on *Gregory's* disputing his *privileges*, as an invasion, and intolerable innovation, and adjuring him by the dignity of his place not to be guilty of it. And so nothing can with the least shew be inferred from the *Epistles* of *Gregory*, against the truth of what I affirmed from *Anastasius*, concerning the independence of this Church, held out till *Pogonatus's* time, i. e. till the necessity of their affaires, (occasioned by the invasion of the *Longobards*, and
want

want of relief and support from the *Greek Emperours Vicarii*) drave them to the *Bishop of Rome* for aid, who would not give it, but upon this price of giving up their former *liberties*.

27. What he addes again of the *Ravennates* being *Schismatics* as well as we, (though even now one of his answers was taken from the *Pope* consenting to the *Edict*, and I am sure *Gregory* oft professes to have confirmed their *privileges*) ought not to be of much force with any that knows his *Notion* of *Schismatics*, such as yield not obedience to the *Universal Pastorship* of the *Pope*, which is evidently the question at this time, and should be gained and won, not assumed and begged by him.

- 28 But at length he is content that plain reason should judge in this Controversie. And what reason doth he offer to prove, that the *Ravennates* pretended *ἀὐτοκράτεια* from the time of *Valentinian's* *Edict* was an act of *Schisme*? Why, saith he, at the breach of the *Ravennates* from their subjection, the *Popes* made head against them, and stood upon their authority, as *Universal Pastors*, which therefore in all likelihood would have been looked on by the rest of the *Catholic Bishops*, as a proud usurpation, and being against their common interest to let the *Pope* pretend this, ought in all reason to have engaged them in the *Ravennates* quarrel, and there being no news of such siding, one may at least conjecture, that they thought the *Popes* pretence to the *Primacy* lawful.

29. Here is the plain reason we were promised, which at the beginning of the *Paragraph* undertook to judge in the controversy, and yet when it hath had audience, the utmost that *S. W.* that produced this plain, decisive (that sure must be demonstrative) reason, can dare to say of it, is, that it is able to induce a conjecture, and in a matter of fact contrary to his interest, they would indeed be strangely weak grounds, on which one, i. e. *S. W.* would not found a favourable conjecture. And yet this is the solid pregnant reasoning, beyond all possible confute, 'Tis pity to enter farther into the secrets of it. Yet I cannot but mark, 1. that the *Ravennates ἀὐτοκράτεια*, given them by the *Emperors* *edict*, was of the same nature exactly with the many other examples frequent in the Church, of *Primacies* conferred by the *Imperiall Constitutions*, which were never resisted, or checked at, at the time of their first donations, 2. That if *S. W.* his way of arguing hold,

then it follows as consequently, that what *Valentinian* did, was no innovation or assuming of undue power. For then in all likelihood it would have been lookt on by the *Catholike Bishops* as such, and this no way appearing, one may as reasonably conjecture, that they never deemed it unlawful, especially if to this we adde, what the stories tell us, that *John III.* of *Ravenna*, that contested with *Gregory* about the *Pa^l*, had gotten many of the *Bishops* of *Italy* to his side. See *Hist. Raven.* p. 180. Thirdly, That if the collation of this *Independency* be it, which *S. W.* calls the breach of the *Ravennates* from their subjection, it is in no degree true, that at that breach, i. e. at the time of their first assuming this *ἡσυχαστικά*, the *Popes* made head against them. This I shall assume from what he even now supposed, when it appeared usefull to him, viz. that the *Edict* was made not without the *Pope's* consent, (and by *Pope Gregory's* confirming their privileges) for if so, then sure they did not make head against it, for that were strongly to dissent, and expresse their dissent, which consequently must have been visible, and then he could never have been so blind, as to deem them consenting. 4ly. That the first dissent that *S. W.* takes notice of, is that of *P. Greg.* who, according to his own just computation ascended to the *Papacy*, *An* 590. and that is 158. years after the date of the *Rescript* of *Valentinian*, and for ought yet appeares, the *Independency* was undisputed for all that time; a pretty competent space for a proscription. Fifthly, It is not yet proved by *S. W.* that the *Popes* thus early, no not this *Gregory* himself, which disputed *Ravenna's* privileges, stood upon their authority, as *Universall Pastors* of the Church (as he assures me the *Doctor* will grant, and thereby signifies nothing, but that he is not very ready to prove it) I am sure he sadly * complains to *Aurarius* the *Emperour* of the proud and pompatick style, the name of vanity, the new and profane words of *Universall Bish-p*, which *John Bishop* of *Constantinople* had attempted to assume, adding, that for all the eulogies and promises made to *S. Peter*, he was not yet called *Universal Pastor*, and inferres this horrible absurdity upon it, that whereas some of his *Predecessor Bishops* had been *Hereticks*, *Nestorius*, and *Macedonius*, if this title had belonged to that *See*, it must follow, that the *Universal Church*, à statu suo corruit, fell

* Ep. ex Reg.
1. 4. Ind. 6. 1. 1.
Ep. 32. and 47.
Ep. 30.

fell from her state, when he that was thus styled Universal Bishop fell; withall assuring the Emperour, that he did not plead his owne cause, or avenge his private injury: which assures my charity, that this Pope could never assume this title of Universal Pastor of the Church, or make head against Ravenna, standing upon this, (i. e. the Papal, as that is above, Patriarchal) claim of authority: And indeed, this was before Boniface's time, who was the first, to whom Phocas gave that title, and therefore I may with all reason assume, that as yet the Popes could not make head against Ravenna; on that score.

30. Sixty, When this title was assumed, and then the *Ravennates* Independency became such an Ey-fore, most intolerable to the See of Rome, there is no necessity, that all that lookt upon it, as an usurpation, should engage in the *Ravennates* quarrell (though, as hath been said, many of the Bishops of Italy sided with them) weaknesse and feare, and many other secular considerations might interpose, and leave the just cause to be oppressed by the unjust, and there is no consequence to be drawn from not engaging in the cause, to the not approving of the innocence. The Greekes aided the *Ravennates* a while, but the *Longobards* were too hard for them; and the Papacy taking this advantage, would either leave them to be devoured, or would themselves prey upon them; and the *Ravennates* were not the first examples of those, that bought their lives at this price of subjection to the Romans. So perfectly vaine, from one end to the other, is all my Disarmer's discourse in this matter; 'tis a long work to discover most hastily all the flaws and nullities in this procedure, and judgement of his plaine reason.

31. Lastly, When he demands how the *Ravennates* behaved themselves in the businesse, did they stick close to, and constantly claime their non-subjection from Canons or Scripture?] The answer is obvious, they stood to it, as long as they were able, and at length they yielded to necessity, mean while never vouched either Scripture, or Canons. It is the Popes singular privilege to vouch both those, without all rights to either: the later, as long agoe he did in the African Council,

Council, from the *Canon* of *Nice*, when no *authentick* of the *Council* sought for in the *East*, could be found to own any *semblance* of any such *Canon*; the former, as his *Successors* have oft done from *times Petri*, and *Pasce oves*— where the words being found, cannot be discerned to have any such *importance*. The *Ravennates* pretended, what they had, the *Edict* of the *Emperour*, and long continued *custome*, for the injoying of their *privileges*, and could not have been refuted in this plea, if their *secular* affaires had not first made it necessary to wave the *insisting* on it, and if afterward the *Pope* had not prevailed with another *Emperour Justinianus Pivótunl* to *subdane*, and inflict severity on them. And thus I doubt not, the *steadiest*, and best *radicated* *privileges* may be extirpated, and if rescinded by the same *power*, that first gave them, I shall after that, no longer plead for the *continuance* of them: and so I was farre enough all this while, from falling justly under the *censure* of *resisting* the *decision* of those who were *lawfull* *Judges* in the *matter*; all that I did was to vouch the *privilege* when it was given, and before it was judged fit to be *taken* away again by the *Emperour*, and that *S. W.* cannot but know, is all, that was any way usefull for me in this *Testimonie*.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Exemptions from Patriarchs in Balsamon. His Discourse of Patriarchs no way derogatory to Rome's Canonick Rights. S. W. his unjust exactings. The removal of the Patriarchate of Aquileia to Grado. S. W. his Exceptions answered.

1. **T**O the other examples which I had cited out of Balsamon, of Exemptions held by the Emperours Charter, his answers are also remarkable. First, saith he, Balsamon seemes in this very place and treatise, to plead for the Greeks against the Bishop of Rome, and then an enemy's saying is no slander.]
2. I answer, The thing which I produced from Balsamon, was the exemption, or independency from Constantinople, that some Archbishops had by the Emperours Charter, and then what colour of pretence is there, that this should be a part of a plea in Balsamon for the Greeks against the Bishop of Rome? Certainly, Constantinople is not Rome, nor the interests of Constantinople the interests of Rome. 2. That this discourse of Balsamon's, from whence this testimony was cited, layes its foundation in the Synods of Nice, Constantinople, and that in Trullo, and from thence evidently deduces his conclusion for the number and order of Patriarchs, giving Rome the first place, and so is no way injurious to the just Canonick rights of the Bishop of Rome; and if being so, it must yet be deemed an opposition to his other pretensions, this is little for their credit, that they are thus improved beyond what those Canons allowed them. But whatsoever S. W. will think of that, 'tis most evident that the testimony which I voucht out of that discourse, had nothing to do with that controversy, 'twas onely a casuall mention in him (on occasion of the λαμπὰς πατριαρχικὴ) of some Metropolis, that had from the favour of Emperours an ἀντοκρατία with some honorary privileges belonging to it, as of a known matter of fact, which could no more be questioned, than the αυτοκραλία and

immunity of *Cyprus* and *Bulgary*, which he had named immediately before, the one from the pretensions of *Antioch*, the other from the *Metropolitical* power of *Thessalonica*, under which it formerly was.

3. Next, saith he, *If we may trust Balsamon, then two things must lie upon the Dr. to prove, viz he can conclude any thing, to wit, that the Emperours did it not with order from the Church, or in case they did not, that it was done lawfully, and next, that the Emperour priviledged them from subjection to the Pope, as head of the Church.* To these I answer, 1. That all I was to prove, was, that the Emperour, and so other Princes, have power to erect and translate *Primacies*, &c. And such antient examples of the Emperors practises, never checkt at by them, in whose time they were, is a competent proof of that; and if it should prove, that the *Canons* of the Church gave either general or special order, that thus it should be, 'tis so much the better, so much the more unquestionable, that thus it belonged to them. 2. That I can in no reason be required to prove that the Emperours exempted them from the subjection to the Pope, as head of the Church, when 1. it is but a begging the question, to assume thus, without proof, that the Pope is head of the Church; and 2. it is manifest that the Emperours did not then look on him as head of the Church, for then they could not have done such *Ecclesiastica* acts, *imperiali* authority, and *δὲ γεγραμμένων βασιλικῶν*, by *imperiall* authority, and *Princely* writs And 3. I had my full design in having shewed, that Princes may erect *Primacies*, without proceeding in every period to demonstrate that anew, which had been the design of the former Chapters, that *Primates* were free from all subjection to this pretended head.

4. His answer to the mention of the erection of the Patriarchate at *Grado*, is still suitable to his former. I had cited out of *Wernfridus*, that this was done under *Phocas* out of *Eginarius* and *Regino*, that it was done by *Charles the Great*. And he catches presently at the shadow of the word [under] & then saith, it seems the testimony saies not it was done by him, but under him, or while he reigned] I answer, 1. That [under *Phocas*] in the first place is to be taken exactly in the same sense, as in the latter is express in the words [by *Charles the great*] the onely questi-

on among the Writers being, not, whether it were done by the *Emperour*, or no; but onely, by which of the *Emperours*, or in whose reign it was done. This was the onely cause why I cited it in that form, because I was not sure, to which I ought to adhere of the two mentioned *authorities*, where yet 'tis visible that it is as much to my purpose, if *Eginartus* say true, as if *Wafsidus*; and from him it was cited, that it was done by

5. *Charles the great*, and not onely under him, or whilst he reigned.

2. Saith he, *Since it was not of new erected, but translated thither from Aquileia, burnt not long before by the Longobards, it was no sign of a presumed jurisdiction, but rather of a pious generosity (in the Emperour) to bestow a new seat on the destitute Patriarch.*] And I that grant it was not a new erection, but translation from *Aquileia*, have yet as much by this instance, as I designed, viz. that the *Emperour*, and so other *Princes*; in like manner, may translate, as well as erect *Patriarchates*; and sure if this might not lawfully be done by the *Emperour*, it could never be an act of pious generosity in him to do it; charity and piety (or pity) to the distressed, and generosity, must always be founded in justice, and then as pious generosity may fitly move one *Prince* to it, so any other lawfull, much more necessary care of the good of his subjects, may as reasonably move another;

6. and then this was all I contended for by this instance.

What he saith he omits, and yet mentions, the reading the *Epistle* of *Pope Pelagius II.* in the *Council* of *Grado*, granting to *Elias* the place of the *Patriarch* of *Aquileia*.] I may be allowed to omit also, it having certainly nothing of force in it, the *Patriarchate* having been there placed, before that *Council* was called, and then the *Pope's* grant signifies no more, but that he had nothing to object against the lawfulness and fitness of the translation, as it had past, or if it were also a confirmation of it (such acts the *Popes* have been willing to multiply above what was necessary, to gain consideration and honour to themselves) this may be willingly granted also, upon his title of *Western Patriarch*, which I never doubted to yield him, without diminution or prejudice to any of my pretensions. And so at length we are gotten to an end of this his fourth *Section*.

SECT. V.

The 12th Canon of Chalcedon rescued from mistakings. Abuse of Power. The effects of that. Irregular grants of Metropolitick power. Τιμή. Ὄνομα. Honour. The Objections answered.

1. **T**HE 5. Section enters on the view of the testimonies, which I had brought for the erection of Metropoles, by the power of Princes, out of the Canons of Councils, and first begins with that from the twelfth Canon of Chalcedon, & Balsamon's note upon it. And first, saith he, the Council saith onely that those cities were honoured τῷ ὀνόματι with the name alone, which the Doctor englishes, name and dignity, the later of which, saith he, they wanted, that which should dignifie them in a degree of a Metropolitan; being absolutely interdicted them by this very Canon, in these words, μόνως ἀπολαύτωσαν τῆς τιμῆς, let them enjoy onely the honour: And secondly, what this honour was, Balsamon tells, onely καλεῖσθαι μητρόπολιν to be called a Metropolis: And thirdly, answerable to this are the words of the Council, calling the former Metropolis, in contradistinction to this, the true one, signifying the other to be meerly titular.]

2. Here is a *specious* shew indeed, and the Reader may be imposed on, if he do not please to take this caution with him, that there are two things considerable in that twelfth Canon; one, the premising a mention of the practice, or custome of erecting Metropoles διὰ βασιλικῶν, by regall constitutions (as the latter part of the Canon, the words of the Scholiast, and the mention of δυνάστεων Potentates, interprets it) the second censure, or sentence of the Council on some persons, who had in an undue manner, acquired this dignity by that means. Those things, we know, that are in themselves most lawful, when regularly used, may be very fit to be forbidden, and censured, when irregular. And thus it was here, a power Princes had to erect Metropoles: but if it were exercised so, as to thwart known Canons, and customes of the Church, this certainly was an abuse: As
for

for example, One Canon it was, that there should be but one Bishop, of one Church, and one Metropolitane of one Province. See Photii *nomocanon*: Tit. l. c. 20. Another, which is oft repeated, that *Dioceses* and *Provinces* should be preserved intire, without one Bishops encroaching on another; If therefore where there is one Metropolitane already, to whom the government of the Province by right belongs, another ordinary Bishop in that Province shall by ambition, base solicitation, whispering, or false suggestion, gain a pragmatick from the Prince, to make him a Metropolitane also, *ὡς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀντιεπολιτῆς εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ*, saith the Canon, so that by these meanes there are two Metropolitanes in the same Province, (which must needs disturb the administration, and invade the rights of the former Metropolitane) here certainly is an abuse, fit for a great Council to take cognizance of, and provide against, and by censures to reduce this irregular Bishop to some order. And this was exactly the case here, and consequently the Canon begins with *Ἰδὲν, εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς τινὲς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς δεσμὰς περιεμύβοντες διωσάμενοι διὰ πρᾶγματικῶν τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέστημον*, It hath come to our eares how contrary to the Ecclesiasticall Canons some men running to the secular powers have by Pragmaticks cut one Province into two, and therefore the Synod declares, that no Bishop shall dare, or attempt any such thing, or if he doth, he shall fall from his own degree, but those that have formerly been thus honoured by the Kings Writs, they shall enjoy the honour alone, but the rights shall be preserved to the true Metropolitane: where there is nothing more clear than this, that the irregularity of the particular erection, in respect of these circumstances and consequences, of unworthy solicitation in the Bishop, and the tearing a Province into two, to the bringing in of violence and confusion, was it that made that Council censure such ambitious persons: and yet this so, as not wholly to cassate the Princes act, even when 'twas thus irregular, much lesse to intimate in the least, that such power belonged not to the Prince, or would not stand valid to all effects, if it were duly exercised by him, without wrong to any. The validity of such acts is fully cleared by the *seventeenth Canon* of that Council, and by the 37th. in *Trullo*, and the way of reconciling

this ἐναλλογενεία, or seeming difference, is clearly set down in that Tr. of Schism, from the law of *Alenius Comnenus*, and the Canon under him, as is visible in the latter part of that 14. Sect. viz. that in case the King did it ἀποβήσαντο, of his own incitation, it should stand good, but it should not be lawful for any by base solicitation, to seek or obtain it, and consequently, that the Patriarch suspending the confirmation till he had remonstrated to the Emperour, what the Canon were in that case, if it appeared that the Emperour did it δι' ἑαυτοῦ of his own motion, he was presently to admit it.

3. So that now it will soon appear, what justice there is in all S.W. his suggestions in this matter; as 1. when he saith, that the Council saith only that those cities were honoured with the name alone, charging it as a fluency of the Doctors expression, that he englishes it [name and dignity.] I answer, that I well understand what is meant by such fluent, or large expressions, and will never once be willingly guilty of any such, and therefore to clear my self in this particular, I wish it be remembred, 1. that as ὄνομα, name, is the word here used, so τιμή, dignity, or honor, is also used of the same thing in another part of that Canon and even when it is said by way of censure on them, that they shall enjoy τιμὴς μόνως, no more but that, yet it is τιμή still, and that is ordinarily rendred honour, or dignity; 2. before this censure falls on them, when ὀνόματι, name, is mentioned alone, yet the verb joyned with it is ἐτιμῶντο, they were honoured, i.e. dignified by that name (for honour* say the Lawyers, est administratio provinciae cum dignitatis gradu, an administration with a degree of dignity, so in the African Can. 68. ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τιμαῖς ἀδελφωμένοι, they shall be received in their own honours, i.e. their Episcopal powers and offices, and so in Augustine, Ep. 50. in suis honoribus suscipiendos, in the same matter) which they could not be, if that name were not a dignity to them that had it. 3. ὄνομα, ordinarily signifies dignity and power, and not onely name, as when the name of Christ, and of Jesus, in the sacred style signifies more than the bare name, or title, the power and dignity of his person. All which, I suppose, will justify me for englishing ὀνόματι καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ, by, name and dignity of Metropolis.

But

* l. 14 D. de
muner. & bo-
nor.

4. But then 2. when he saith, the Council saith onely that they were honoured with the name alone.] There is no sincerity in this, for 1. the word [alone] is put in by S. W. 'tis ὀνόματι, name, not ὀνόματι μόνον, name alone: 2. 'tis in the second part of the Canon (that which sets down the mulct, or punishment of those which had unduly ascended to this dignity) that that interdict is found in these words, *Let them enjoy onely the honour* and not in the first part, where the name and dignity, which they received by the Pragmatick, is mentioned, and consequently 'tis so farre from being hence inferred, that they had from the Pragmatick nothing but the name, that on the contrary, 'tis clear by the Canon, which thus punisheth them for their offence (that they shall enjoy μόνον τὴν τιμὴν the honour alone) that if they were not thus punish'd, or before they were, i.e. before the making of this Canon, they should and did enjoy more than the honour alone, and so more than onely the name.
5. 2. When he saith Balsamon tells me what that honour meant, viz. onely to be called a Metropolis: This is another falsification, for besides that he saith no more than this, that some asked, and heard, or were told thus, i.e. that some thus interpreted it, beside this, I say, it is clear, that this of the being onely called Metropolitans, was the punishment inflicted on them by the Council, which, as I said, resists not, but necessarily supposes, that they had further honour, than meerly that titular, conferred on them by the Prince, for otherwise they could not be thus mulct'd or punish'd by the Council for their irregular ambition, by having it taken from them.
6. 3. The contradistinction between this and the true Metropolis, is of no force to his, or against my pretensions. For that again onely signifies, that the rights did truly and duly belong to the other Metropolis, and that this which was thus unduly advanced, though by the Emperours constitution, did not acquire any just or solid right, which I most willingly grant, in such cases as that which was there mentioned, and can from thence receive no preiudice to my conclusion, viz. that in the East many Emperours had erected Metropolitans, which was the main thing to which I designed that testimony, both from the words of the Canon, and from Balsamon, who affirms it distinctly.

strictly of the *Metropolis of Lacedaemonia*, of *Madyta* and *Abydus*, and never gives the least reason to suspect that those *acts* of these were *invalid*. Thus wholly vain are all *S. W.* his *artifices*, and consequently his *suggestion*, that the *consequences of this testimonie are totally against my self*, though thus indeed they might seem to the *hasty* reader to be, before his *Arts of disguising*, by *confounding the distant parts of the Canon* were thus discovered. Herein I acknowledge he hath shewed himself a *dexterous* manager, but as it falls out, hath made no *real* advantage of his *artifices*.

7. What he yet farther addes in the fourth place from *Balsamon*, that he shall be ordained and judged by the old *Metropolitane*, is already answered, that this was the *Councils* penalty inflicted on him; as for others that should *after* that *Canon* attempt the like, the *Canon* decrees that they were to be degraded from the *power* which they already had.
8. As for the fifth thing, of the *power* given to the *Prince* *avardes*, which he will have rendred *olim*, by *some precedent Council*, it was, upon some occasion, spoken to in the *Reply*, cap. 6. *sec. 4. n. 19.* and evidenced in whatsoever sense it were taken, to be *favourable*, and not *contrary* to my *pretensions*.

SECT. VI.

Balsamon's words of the Emperour's erecting many Metropoles. Of what times to be understood. *Ἀνωθεν*. Helenopontus. Paphlagonia. Phrygia Capatiana. Capadocia prima, secunda, Basil. Anthimus.

- I. **I**N the next place, on a view of a first observation of mine, that if Balsamon say right, that at the time of that Council of Chalcedon, many Emperours had erected many, there must needs be others before Valentinian, who was but twenty yeares before that Council; he saith, the observer is fallen into a great mistake, Balsamon's words being to be interpreted, saith he, in his *owne* times, in which he lived, i.e. 600. yeares after the Council, that then such Metropoles were made.] To this I answer, that Balsamon's words lye indifferently, without notation of the particular time, of which he speaks, onely *ἡδὲ ποτε* *διαφόροι ἐτίμωσαν*, divers Kings have honoured divers, so that neither can I conclude from the bare force of them, that he spake of any before that Council, nor he on the contrary, that he spake of those of his own times; to which it belongs, must be judged by other circumstances: and though the matter be not great, which way it be determined, nor at all necessary to my pretensions, to be interpreted of the times before the Council, yet I shall mention the reason, which inclines it that way, and let it be of force, as it shall deserve. Upon the mention of divers Bishopricks thus dignified by the Emperours into Metropoles, he mentions his opinion, collected from the 17. Canon of Chalcedon, and 38. in Trullo (*τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐκ μὲν. καὶ ὧν* — it appears to me from those Canons) that such *ἐκείνοι* were made by Kings, according to the power given them, *ἄνωθεν* from above, or of old; Here first I shall gratifie S. W. that *ἄνωθεν* may indeed signifie *olim*, and if it so signifie in that place, then it must in all probability refer, not to this Council of Chalcedon, and in Trullo, which he names, and from which he concludes that this power was given them of old, but to times before those Councils. And so this very

probability, if there were no more, will make it unreasonable to confine his precedent words [*Ἰδαομεν ἐτιμῆδυσαν* divers have been honoured] to the times so long after that Council, as those wherein Balsamon lived, when the words will bear so much a greater latitude, & signifie such grants before that Council. Now that it doth thus really refer to some more antient times, I thus farther infer, 1. from the nature of the word *ἀρχαῖος*, which is all one with *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* from the beginning, and elsewhere frequently notes an originall right, from the first, i. e. the Apostles times, or first plantations, And agreeably to this 2. from the generall Aphorisme, which we have in Origen, who was before this of Chalcedon above 200. yeares, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐκείνης πόλεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκαλεῖσθαι*, that the Governour of the Church in each city must be corresponding to the Governour of the inhabitants of the city, viz. the civil Governour; which, supposing what is undoubted, that a King may dignifie an ordinary city, and make it a Metropolis, amounts to the same effect, that he may by consequence thus advance a Bishop into a Metropolitane; 3. and chiefly from what Balsamon here addes, *διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ* — for this cause, i. e. because of this power, which was of old given to Kings, the third chapter of the first title of the third book of the Basilica was out of use, or obsolete, continued not of force in the Church.

2. To understand the importance of which words, 'tis necessary to consider what that chap. is, which he saith was by this means out-dated, and in what times it was so. What that chapter was, he tells us expressly, though it be now (as being long disused) left out in the Basilica. It is, saith he, to be found in the 20. chap. of the first title of his present work, i. e. of Photius's Nomocanon. Thither if we turn, we shall finde the first part of it to be this, that there must not be two Metropolitans in one Province; which how it was out of use, or obsolete, and when or how long it had been so, appears by the *κείμενον*, or text subjoyned, *Ἐλενοπόλιν & δὲ ἔχει μετροπολίτας, ὥς ἢ καὶ νεώτερον*. — Helenopolis hath two Metropolitans, as appears by the 28. Novel, Paphlagonia divers, as the 29. Novel witnesseth, and so Phrygia Capatiana, and the second Cappadocia. Now by these examples I may assume to prove, what I have in hand, for in what time these examples

examples shall appeare to fall, of those in any reason *Balsamon's* words must be interpreted. And for the former of them, those that are mentioned from *Justinians Novels*, the case is pretty clear, they both were evidently thus, long before *Justinian's* time up' ενι πρώτῳ ἀρχόντι, * saith he of one of them, 'twas in some * διαλ. κβ' former Governours time, not naming whose, that it was ere 'led; but of the other, that of *Paphlagonia*, he saith expressly, that it was done, ἐν τῷ Ὁνορίῳ χρόνῳ, in *Honorius's* time, διαλ. κδ'. and that we know was before this Council of *Chalcedon*, and before *Valentinian*, which was all that I attempted to prove from *Balsamon's* words. As for the instance of *secunda Cappadocia*, 'tis manifest that it was the act of *Vulens*, colleague to *Valentinian* the elder, and so evidently before those times either of the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the other *Valentinian*.

3. This instance is considerable to the main businesse, and not insisted on formerly, and therefore I shall a little enlarge on it. *Casarea* had at first been the one *Metropolis* of *Cappadocia*, and *Basil* the Great, Bishop of it; but *Valens* dividing *Cappadocia* into two Provinces, the first and second *Cappadocia*, made *Thyana* *Metropolis* of the second, and *Anthimus* was *Metropolitan* of it. Upon this grew a contention between *Basil* and *Anthimus*, *Basil* insisting on the ancient customs of the Church, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πατέραν ἀναδιν διατάξεως, and the originall division of the Fathers. *Anthimus*, on the *ἐκκλησία*, or civil formes, or constitutions saith *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Anthimus* overcame, and then *Gregory Nazianzen* himself, *Basil's* deare friend, that had formerly favoured *Basil's* pretensions, doth after that expressly acknowledge the Bishop * of *Thyana* for his *Metropolitan* (*Nazianzen* being * Ep. 88. in *Cappadocia secunda*) and implores his aid to see some other Bishop in his place, now he was by sickness disabled to discharge it, in these words, εἰ μὴ ἄλλῳ τινι παραλῶν ἔχεν ἡ ἐπαρχία— If the Province had any other head, I should appeal to it— τῆς ὅσῃς δουλείας ὑπερχεωμένῃς, πρὸς σε βλέπων ἀναγκάσειν, but you being advanced to that place, I must necessarily look and seek to you. And this still continued valid, and firm, and *Justinian*, that by *Edict* retrencht those two formerly named, *Heleneponus* and *Paphlagonia*, was so far from retrenching this of *Cappadocia*, that he made a yet farther change, οἷς τῆς ἑτέρας, saith

the Scholiast of Nazianzen in *Fus. Or. Patria*, he cut it into three, erected a third Cappadocia, and Mucissus the Metropolis of that, and the Ecclesiastical Government followed, as appears by Euphranta, Bishop of Thyana, and Theodosius, Bishop of Mucissos, in quinta Synod. Collat. 5. sub Justinian.

4. Having said thus much for this interpretation of Balsamon's words, and upon this occasion added these evidences of the ancient practice, and power of Kings to erect Metropolitick Churches (according to the rule of Demetrius Chomatensis, Archbishop of Bulgaria, βασιλεὺς ἐπάγει τὸ ἐλάττω τινὲς ἐκ μεζόων, ἡλιαδὴ τὸ ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς Μητροπολιν, the King advances from a lesser to a greater honour, viz. from Bishopricks to a Metropolis) I should be willing to compare and balance with it any arguments that S. W. could produce for his opinion, that Balsamon speaks of his own times. But he hath been so reserved, as not to offer any such (onely magisterially) to affirme, that the Doctor is fallen into a great mistake, but 'tis not worth arguing or clearing) and therefore I have no more to adde in this matter.

SECT.

S A C T. VII.

Rights of Kings acknowledged and confirmed by Councils.

The Testimony out of Balsamon on Conc. Carth. Can.

16. The grievous mistake, whose it is. The Kings Canonically power, and liberties. Destruction of our Hierarchy no way imputable to the asserting of them.

1. **W**Hat now follows for a leaf together, p. 147. by way of answer to my second observation, and to the same purpose in another leaf, p. 149. in answer to my second testimony, doth somewhat surpasse in its kind, all that hitherto hath been afforded us. The *breviate* of it is this; when I undertake that Kings have power to erect or translate *Metropoles*, *Primacies*, and *Patriarchates*, and to prove it, produce (beside known and allowed practices) the decrees and *Canons* of the Church in Council, that so it shall be, presently he concludes, that the Doctor disputes against himself, he is, saith he, to prove that it is the Kings proper right, independent of the Church, or her *Canons*, and he brings for proof a Canon of a Council, and calls that a more expresse attributing this power to the Prince, which is indeed ~~not~~ attribuer, but tribuer, not an acknowledgement, but a bestowing and conferring it;] And on he runs a very fair loose in this chase, and clearly carries all before him.

2. Of this I have already spoken to the *Catholick Gentleman*, Repl. p. 112. and I shall need adde but this, that the rights of Kings have been ever since the *Apostles* times preserved inviolate by all good Christians, that what without and before *Universall Councils*, reasonably belonged to them, hath by *Universall Councils* been yielded to them. And this I deemed a fit way of judging of any particular right, whether it belonged to them or no, by inquiring what the *Christian Church* hath still yielded to them, meaning thereby not the *Decrees* of the Pope, *S. W.* his pretended head of the Church, but the *Canons* of the *Oecumenical Councils*, truly so called, and the avowed Doctrine

of the *Universall Church*, by which it hath alwaies been yielded lawful for *Princes* to dispose of, and administer matters of exterior order in the *Church*, and so to erect or remove *Patriarchates*, and consequently beyond all dispute, *Princes* still have this power, and the *Pope*, that at his creation hath vowed to observe all those *antient Canons* inviolate, cannot without violation of his oath attempt to deny any *Christian Prince* this power in his own dominions.

3. To this all that *S. W.* hath to object, is, *that the Church confers this power on Kings, and so doth not attribuer, but tribuer, attribute it, but bestow it.* And I that meant not to dispute of such niceties in *Grammar*, or mysteries of *State*, desirous to unite the civil and ecclesiasticall power, and not to sow seeds of jealousies or dissensions betwixt them, finding the same thing assumed by *Kings*, as their right, and yielded them by the *Church* to be enjoyed by them (for that sure is all that *Balsamon's* words can import, which he thinks so much for his advantage, *ὅτι μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς παρὰ τὸ κανὼν ἐκτέλεσαν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπισκοπὰς ποιεῖν ἐκ νεῦ*, we say that by this present Canon (in *Trullo*) 'tis yielded to the Prince to erect *Bishopricks* anew, for 'tis certain that in *Trullo* being after the Canon of *Chalcedon*, it was not by this present Canon so given him, that it was not his before, and the other testimony, that affirms this privilege given to the *Kingly power*, *παρα τῆς θείας κανόνων* indefinitely, by the divine Canons, will stand him in little stead) I thought I might hence conclude this to be unquestionably their due, but whether it were from God immediately conferred on them, and independently from the *Church*, or whether the *Church* in any notion were the medium that God used now under the *Gospel* to conferre it on them, truly I neither then was, nor now am, inclined either to inquire, or to take upon me to determine, being sure that this is not the hinge, on which the controversy betwixt us can depend, when it shall once be granted, that as now things stand in the world, *Kings* have this power really vested in them; this being most certain, that they that give the *King* any thing, doe not, if he had it before, (nor indeed can be imagined to) take it away by giving it him. This *Dilemma* will secure both my pretensions, and my method of arguing for them; if this were
the

the *Emperours* right, before the *Church* yielded or gave it to him, then sure the *liberality* of the *Church* is not so much worse than an ἀδωρεῶν δῶρεν, as to betray and rob him of it; If it were not formerly his right, but the *Churches*, then sure it is become so, by that *donation*. And when both these powers concur in the same instance, the *King* doing it of a *presumed* right, and the *Canons* of the *Church* expressly according with it, what doubt can there be of the *conclusion*? Thus the same *Balsamon* tells us in that very place, of *Alexius Comnenus* the *Emperour*, whose *Edict* *S. W.* here cites, that he made a διδγνωσις βασιλική, an imperial decree, καὶ παρυσίαν καὶ τῆς τότε συνδιαγνωμοσύνης συνόδου, in the presence of the *Synod* that then was, and with their consent also, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ τοῦ βασιλεῦς προεδρίας θεῖον τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐπισκοπὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχιεπισκοπὰς εἰς μετροπόλεις ἀνδρῶν, that it was lawful to the *Princes* to grant to churches the chair of presidency, and to advance *Bishopricks* & *Archbishopricks* into *Metropolises*; where as the decree is the *Kings*, and the *Synod* only is present, and consents, so 'tis not that decree that gives the right, but it was by the *Synod* granted to be the *Princes* right before, or else we are to believe that they would not have consented to it; and again in case it were granted to be first given to the *Prince* by the *canons* of the *Church*, i.e. by the *Canons* of some universal *Council*, and that resolved to be the sense of that *Emperors* words in that *Edict*, τὸ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν διδόμενον βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν προνομεῖν, the privilege given to the regal Power by the divine *Canons*; yet being so given, 1. it cannot now be taken away by the power of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, who is himself obliged to observe all such *Canons*; and 2. it cannot want any new act of the *Church* to enable the *Prince* for the exercise of it; the power which he hath so long enjoyed, is of it self sufficient to every particular act comprehended under that power, and wants no *authoritative* new concurrence, or consent of the *Church* for the confirming of it. And truly when in the close of that *Paragrap* *S. W.* hath fairly confessed, that for the *Emperour* to erect *Metropolitans*, is an indulgence or privilege granted and given him by the *Church* in her *Canons*.] I may well conclude the debate, having my whole *conclusion* granted me, as far as I pretended in that *Section*, and as far as I need ever pretend in order to our present controversy.

I now proceed to behold him in the second part of *career* in the same field, the *δολεχόμενον*, wherein he promises himself such *victories*, having at the very entering on this *stage*, the good fortune as he thinks, to have left his adversary behind him irremediably, over head and ears again, saith he, in a *grievous mistake*.] But the word [*again*] yields me some comfort still. For, if I have been once in this condition already, and yet escaped that danger, 'tis more than possible I may again meet with the like *deliverance*, of which I shall not despair, till I have examined what it is, wherein this *grievous mistake* consists. Why, saith he, the Doctor begins thus, And accordingly the same Balsamon (on Con: Carthag: Can. 16.) doth upon that Canon professedly found the authority of Princes, ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς μητροπολίτιν ἀγειν, to advance an Episcopal See into a Metropolis— whereas, saith he, neither doth Balsamon found the authority of Princes to execute such acts on that Canon, there being not a word in it to that purpose, nor doth he professedly say any thing as of himself— and had he said it, I conceive it no such strong argument, that a professed adversary should speak so professedly against one.]

5. Among these three heads I am let to seek out my *grievous mistake*. And for the last of them, I hope it will not very heavily oppress me, when *S W.* in his last paragraph made use of Balsamon against me; and to say no more, I see not why a learned Patriarch of Antioch that had served the Church of God so worthily in his great and excellent pains on the Canons of the Ancient Church, should not be worthy to be named in a controversy concerning the Interests of the Church, or why it should not be as great a prejudice to *S W.* his pretensions, that this Patriarch should be a professed adversary of them, as it can be to ours, that the Pope of Rome is not favourable to them.

6. The like I may resolve of the second, for 1. granting that the words made use of are by Balsamon cited from other men, yet the opinion of others recited by Balsamon, and not disproved by him, but made use of, for the removing a difficulty before him, was, as I thought, by interpretation, the profession of Balsamon: And 2. those others would by their plurality be rather of greater, than of lesser authority than Balsamon, to prove that this Canon was esteemed in the Church a ground, whereon to found

found the *authority of Princes*, which was the onely thing I vouch from it. 3. If the *first objection* have indeed truth in it that there is not a word in the *Canon* to that purpose, then it matters little who 'tis that *founds* this *authority* of the *Prince* on that *Canon*, be it *Balsamon*, or any other, whom he cites, the mistake is equal. The weight then, or *grievousness* of the *mistake* must, I suppose, be laid on the *first* of these, that the *Doctor* cites any, that *professedly found the authority of Princes on that Canon*, which, saith he, *hath not a word in it to that purpose.*]

7. But now, what if the *mistake* should be on *S. W.* his side after all this? Thus he must certainly be obliged to acknowledge, when I have minded the Reader of one *trope*, I know not whether *involuntarily*, or *industriously* put upon him by *S. W.* When in accord with what had been said in the former part of that 14th §. from the *Canon of Chalcedon*, I cite out of *Balsamon* the protest founding the *authority of Princes on that Canon* (in a parenthesis expressing the place in *Balsamon*, where it is to be found, on *Concil: Carthag: Can: 16.*) he hath made a shift to interpret my words to this sense, that I affirm that the *authority of Princes* is professedly founded on the 16th *Canon of Carthage*, which indeed saith not a word of it. Now what a project for *villories* is this? and who would ever submit to such *meanneesses*, that could hope for any other way of tolerable *subsistence*? The short is, the 12th *Canon of Chalcedon*, as that is reconciled with, and interpreted by the 17th *Canon* of that *Council*, and the 38^h in *Trullo*, was the subject matter of that *session*, and upon that *Canon* (that sure is the *Canon of Chalcedon*) *Balsamon*, or those in *Balsamon*, found the *authority of Princes* to advance *Episcopal Sees into Metropolises*; and though the 16th *Canon of Carthage* have not a word to this subject, yet *Balsamon's Scholia* on that *Canon* doe thus, though but occasionally, mention it: If there be any question of this, doe but turn to the place in *Balsamon*, in *Synod: Carthag: p. 627.* where having recited the very words by me set down that the *King hath power to doe many things, among these* ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς μητροπολιν ἀγῆν, ἐκ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκ μητροπολίτας καθίσταν, to advance an *Episcopal See* to a *Metropolis*, and to constitute *Bishops* and *Metropolitans* anew, he adds, χρῶνται ὃ ἐπ' 18'. & 19'. κανόνι

τῆς ἐν χαλκηδόνι σωθῆναι, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ παρὰ κληρονομίαις, they use the 12 and 17 Canon of Chalcedon, and the 38 Canon of the Council in Trullo, which command the same things. What now can be more evident than this, that 'twas not I, but S. W. that was in this grievous mistake?

8. Or if yet he shall insist, that there being mention in the line before, of *Concil Carthag. Can. 16.* [that Canon] in the subsequent must refer to that *Carth. Canon*: I answer, that those words (on *Concil. Carth. 16.*) are in a parenthesis, the known nature of which is, that it may be left out without disturbing the sense, or connexion of the ensuing with the precedent words: And then the sense must be complete thus, leaving out the parenthesis. The same *Balsamon* doth upon that Canon professedly sound the authority of Princes—and then 'tis not possible to feign any antecedent for [that Canon] to relate to, but the *Chalcedon Canon* in the former part of that *Sett.*

9. What here he hath gathered up out of that place of *Balsamon*, that the King is neither under laws nor canons, and therefore he may securely do this; from whence he collects, that this power of the King to remove Patriarchates, is deduced from no other ground than this, that his will is his law, that he may lawfully do what he lists, adding, that these grounds supposed, he blames not the inference that he should erect, transplant, nay pull down, not onely Bishops and Patriarchs, but the whole Hierarchy it self, (your present lot, saith he, consequent to these your grounds) this is still of the same unsincere piece, and is visibly so as soon as ever 'tis remembred, that they that say this of the King, *χρῶνται τὰ κανόνι*—cite three Canons of Councils for their affirmation: For sure if the King have this power, in their opinion, by the decrees of Councils, then he hath it upon some other ground than this, that his will is his law.—

10. The short is, the ancient Canons have made prohibitions, and interdicted Bishops some things, which yet the same Canons allow them to do, when it is by the Kings appointment, they forbid any Bishop to meddle with secular affaires, to incroach on another mans diocese; so again they forbid any ordinary Bishop to take upon him to be a Metropolitan, nay to seek or sollicit for such increase of power to his See; and yet they allow a Bishop

Bishop to meddle with such *secular* Ministeries, καὶ οἰκονομίας βασιλικῶν, when the Prince shall thus appoint, and in that case ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδεύλων κανόνων ἢ κωλυθῆσεται ἢ διβλαβήσεται, he shall not be hindered or hurt by the forementioned Canons: so again they allow liberty to the Prince to advance a *Bishoprick* into a *Metropolis*, and the like, adding that the King ἔτε νόμοις ἔτε κανόνων ὑποκειται, is not subject to *Laws* and *Canons*, i. e. these *Laws* and *Canons* that were made for the retrenching other mens enormous irregular actions, were never meant to extend to the restraining of the Prince, as appears by the very words of these *Canons*, which yield this power to the King, though they take it away from all others. Thus in *Demetrius Chomatensis* his first answer to *Cabasila*, Jur: Græc. Rom. l. 5. p. 317. τὸτο κανονικὸν ἐκ ἔστιν, ἔτε μὲν τῆς ἐκείνου ἢ ἀγέρου παρὰ νόμου γινέσθαι ὃ πολλὰ καὶ βασιλικῶς κελεύοντι, διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀντιτελεῦσθαι κοινῇ, this of a *Bishop* removing from See to See, is not Canonical, neither by any written nor unwritten tradition, yet 'tis ordinarily done upon the command of the King for some administration usefull to the publique, adding by the way of generall Aphorisme, τὰ τοιαῦτα κλεινύσιν μόνον βασιλικῇ δυνάμει ἔχει μεταλλάττειν τε καὶ κανονομεῖν, such things as these the regall Edict alone hath power (that sure is not a violent tyrannicall presumption) to change and innovate; and by and by after a great deal to this purpose he concludes, ταῦτα πάντα πάντων ἐστὶ καλεσθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων προλήψεως, 'Tis easie to learn all this from the volumes of sacred and divine *Canons*, which it seems allow this. And many the like may be met with in Ecclesiastick Writers. And for this there is evident reason, because what would tend to injustice and disorder, being done by *Bishops* on their own heads, or from their own ambitions, being yet ordered and commanded by *Governours*, whose office it is to judge of publick commodity, and accordingly to give rule in it, tends to the most contrary ends, preservation of peace, and order, and justice, and all that is desirable among men. 'Twas not possible *S. W.* should be unable to discern this, whether in the practice (so frequent) or in the palpable reasonableness of it, and therefore the fault is the greater, that he should 1. thus shuffle together things that are most distant, the irregular wills of *Tyrannes*, and the Canonical li-

berties of Princes, and then vouch as our grounds, that the Prince may pull down the whole Hierarchy it selfe, and having ascended to this high degree of that which no Christian should once be guilty of, speaking confidently what he knows hath not the least semblance of truth in it, 'tis admirable that he should yet be able to transcend himself, and advance to this most superlative pitch of affirming our present lot (the pulling down our Hierarchy) to be consequent to these forementioned grounds, as if he which died in the defence of the lawes and hierarchy of our Church, had been guilty of the demolishing of it, 'Tis hard I confesse to reply to such reasonings as this.

SECT. VIII.

Anselm's interpretation of 2 Thes. 2. 7. Lawfull power of Kings. Kings founders of Bishopricks in England. Regali autoritate, in the Charter for Battel Abbey. Bishopricks bestow'd by Kings by Investiture. Non-reception of Legates. Kings power to remove Patriarchates prejudicial to the Papal, not Patriarchal pretensions.

1. **H**Is next tender of answers to my 15. and 16. Sections, begins with many good words to *Anselm*, in pure gratitude for the kindness he expresseth to the Pope, in saving his authority, before he would consent to the erection of the Bishoprick of Ely. And seeing he is by *S. W.* afforded the Elogie of the gravest Prelate our countrey hath ever been honoured with, for this one merit of refusing the Kings sole authority to conclude such businesses, without his and the Pope's consent.] I shall ask him what he thinks of *Anselm's* words on 2 Thes. 2. 7. *Romanus Pontifex qui tenet nunc Ecclesias, teneat illas donec de medio fiat, i.e. donec ab ipsâ Romanâ Ecclesiâ qua est medium & cor Ecclesiarum, fiat iniquitas, ob quam ab eâ multe discedant Ecclesie.* The Bishop of Rome, who now holds the Churches, let him hold them.

them till he be taken away, i.e. saith he, till iniquity be committed by the Roman Church it self, which is the middle and heart of the Churches, for which many Churches depart from her. What ill luck was it that S. W. his profusest acclamations should be bestowed upon one that hath no better deserved them?

2. I have no more to say, but to desire the Reader to read over the Sections, to which they are accommodated, and onely to remember, that when I speak of the power of Kings, I speak onely of their lawfull power, such as was by all disinterested persons accounted really to belong to them, such as is approved and allowed them by the Canons of the Universal Church, and in the exercise whereof, the Bishops or Governours of the Church then being, expressed their sense that it was so, and concurred, as far as they were concerned, to the acts of it (yet this still without the authoritative consent, or concurrence of the Bishop of Rome, as to this Realm of ours) and that for any all-lawful inerrableness, as he calls it, I that do not allow it the Pope in any his narrowest sphere of motion, in his own territories, or chair, did never plead it to belong to Kings in theirs; Nor do I any more pretend, that they which are obliged to make no law, but by consent of Parliament, should make lawes of themselves, without and against that consent, which is all the Reply due to his Answer to the instance of Kenulphus in his next Paragraph.
3. As for his other answer taken from the Kings founding of Abbies— it will rather assist, than prejudice our pretensions, who acknowledge him founder of our Bishopricks also, and from thence framed an argument for this power of his, Sect. 18.
4. What he addes of Regali autoritate, in the Charter of William the Conquerour to Battel Abbey, that it signifies the *Jus Regis*, i. Kin. the power of the sword, and injustice, and this consequent to his being the Emperour] needs no other answer than this, that he that came in by the sword, professed to rule by law, and is no more to be presumed to have broken his oath, than the Popes that vow to rule according to Canon, though they have come in by Simonie. And the particular Charter by me cited from him, having the attestation of the Bishops and Barons joyned

to his *regal authority*, 'tis to be presumed (there appearing no cause of *fear* to extort it from them) that they thought it agreeable to *regalitie* and *justice* too, what he thus did, or would not have thus attested.

5. The *three* particulars behind in this 5. Sect. have been briefly toucht on already here, or in the *Reply*, and there is no appearance of *weight* in what is here suggested, to exact my farther enlarging. For, 1. If the *Kings* of *France* and *England*, and *Emperours* of *Germany*, have alwayes claimed to bestow *Bishopricks* by investiture, then I must still suppose this some prejudice, or retrenchment to the *Pope's Universal Pastorship* as *S. W.* will enlarge the *fringes* of it; and this his own words confesse to me, when at length he mindes me of the *Pope*, and *Clergie's* resistance to *Kings*, that usurped these *Investitures*: for if so they did, sure they must be thought to have deemed it some *invasion* of their pretended rights, that the *Kings* thus claimed and enjoyed them, or else they would not have been so *peevish* to make such *unjust* at once, and *gainlesse* resistances. And this was all that I pretended from that instance.
6. So also for the *Legates* receptions, it cannot misse to be an indication of the *Supreme power* of *Kings* in all causes within their own *Realmes*, and consequently of the no *Supremacy* of the *Pope*, that his *Legate*, which is interpretatively himselfe, cannot without leave from the *Prince*, lawfully enter the *Kingdome*, or exercise any *jurisdiction* in it, this sure being the *privilege* of every *Supreme Governour*, that his *Dominions* should lye open to him, and to the *πρωτομένοισ ἀντι, 1 Pet. 2. 14.* his *ἡγεμόνες*, be they ordinary *Judges* of circuit, or fixt *Procurators*, or any that any way represent his person, as certainly *Legates* doe, and are therefore styled ἀντὶ προσώπῳ from his person, or a *latere*, from his side, and come, and are either received, or rejected in the *virtue* of him that sent them. Of this see the *Reply*, p. 124 And then the greater the number is of such *nations*, which still deny this *liberty* of admission to the *Pope's Legates*, the more proofs there are of the no *Universal* agnition of his *Universal Supremacy*.
7. And lastly, for his suggestion, that all this while I mistake the

the *Papal power for a Patriarchate*. See Reply, c. 6. sect. 4. n. 21. or remember that the *Supreme power of Kings* being once asserted (particularly to this, to erect in their *Realmes*, *Primates*, or *Bishops*, independent from all *forreigne power*) is a competent prejudice to the *Popes* highest pretensions, those of the *Universal Pastorship*, and indeed most proportionable, and particularly adequate to that, and was never designed by me, as the *Engine* to oppugne his *Patriarchal just rights*, nor if it had, could it have hoped to be *successesful* to that end. The *unlimited Papal usurpations* are they, that are found unreconcilable with the *power of Kings* in their owne *Realmes*, as one society cannot have *two Supremes*. This advertisement may assure him, I was not so blinde as to mistake *Rome's* pretensions to bee for no more than a *Patriarchate*; If I had, I should either never have disputed at all, or have made use of some *other arguments*, viz. the *Pope's fastidious* rejecting and disclaiming *that title*, relinquishing and renouncing those his *just rights*, in order to these higher *pretensions*.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Testimonies of the power of Kings in the Church vindicated, From Demetrius Chomatenus. οἷα Constantine in an assembly of Bishops. Hū Ecclesiastick Lawes. τα εἶσα, and τα ἐκλδς ἐκκλησίας. The Bishops and the Kings power. Constantine's titles, and oversight of Bishops. Leo Ilaurus styling himself ιερὺς. Socrates his testimony of the Churches dependance on Kings.

- I. **H**Is sixth Section, after some of his wonted Discipline, to remind me of what I was competently assured, that I was far gone in his displeasure, is pleased to apply answer to my marginal testimonies concerning the power of Kings in the Church : And first, to that of Demetrius Chomatenus, Archbishop of Bulgarie, in his response to Constantinus Cabasila, Archbishop of Dyrrhachium, where he had no temptation to flatter Kings, yet affirms, ὁ βασιλεὺς οἷα καὶ τοὺς ἅλ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιστημονέσχευς καὶ ὃν καὶ ὀνομαζόμεθα, the King is as it were the common director and ruler of the Churches, both in title and reality : he answers, that this signifies rather he was not so, then was so, unlesse I can prove, that quasi, as it were, can beare the sense of revera, indeed and in reality, where to make short, and gratifie S. W. I shall undertake to prove what he thinks so impossible, both that οἷα can, and in that place must, signifie revera, indeed, and in reality.
2. And I I premise that the rendring οἷα by quasi in Latine, or, as it were, in English, cannot prejudice the notation of the word in Greek, particularly in the use of that Writer. οἷα, saith Hesychius and Phavorinus, denotes ὡσπερ, καθάπερ, ὅτι, and is in ordinary use the same with utpote, /cilicet, videlicet, &c, to wit, and so hath no intimation of a bare shew, or similitude, as that is opposed to reality. In the fifth line of that Response, μηδὲ ἐξέβω μοι—ὅτι οὐ εἰδότες, it was not lawful for me—as knowing well— where sure he affirms himself really to know, and not in

resemblance, as that is opposed to *truth*. So within few lines after in the first page *μηδέταρον ὑποσώζειν*—*κεκινδυνεύουσα, οἷα τιὸ μὲν ὑπακούει δυνάμει*, I have been in danger to preserve neither, as being slow (not only appearing to be so) in respect of obedience, and thus tis evidently in this place, the occasion of the Speech is contained in the words immediately precedent, which I had occasion to recite even now, that the King hath power by his sole Edict to change some things in order to publick advantage, which the Canons of the Church have determined, *δύναμιν ἔχει*, saith that Bishop, his command or Edict hath power, and that *μόνῃ* alone by it self. And the words themselves in the full period, of which I cited but the *breviate*, run thus, *ὁ βασιλεὺς γὰρ, οἷα κοινὸς τῇ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιστημονάρχης καὶ ὡν καὶ ὀνομαζέμεθα, καὶ συνωδικαῖς γνώμας ἐπιστάτῃ, καὶ τὸ κύριον ταύταις χειρίζεται, ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τάξεις ῥυθμίζει, καὶ νομοθετεῖ βίαν καὶ πολιτείαν τῇ τοῖς βίαια*— For the King, as both being, and being called the common director and ruler of the Churches (evidently οἷα in the notion of *supreme*) hath the pre- sidence over the Synodical determinations, and gives them the validity, regulates the Ecclesiastical orders, and gives law to the life and conversation of those that wait on the altar, and more to the same purpose in that place, which sure will abundantly reprove S. W. his *κρησφύγιον* from the *quasi* as it were, which he thought would stand him in such stead, to avoid and retort the force of that first testimony.

3. The second testimony from the words of *Constantine*, he thinks hath brought in great pomp to his triumph, but it will not prove so upon the review: For 1. the words I said were spoken in an assembly of Bishops; but I did not say, in a generall council of Bishops, nor meant I, nor foresaw that any, either the simplest reader, or learned as S. W. should ever mistake me so. We use [assembled together] *Ἄλλῃ 1.4. of Christ and his Apostles*, when the Greek *συναλίζεμεθα* signifies eating together, and the propriety is equall, and the word in frequent use, for being together in any common meeting, whatsoever the occasion of the assembly be, and therefore S. W. hath sure gained little by this: It was, I acknowledge most willingly, at a festival assembly of Bishops, that *Constantine* thus spake, yet I suppose that no more prejudice to the truth of his speech, or to the importance of

it, than if it had been spoken in the very *Council of Nice*, or in any other the *fullest*, and *solemnest assembly*; and therefore it was no such rare *εὐρηκα*, to adde to *S. W.* his great *successes*, that either he found the place in *Eusebius*, which is *vulgarly* known, (and therefore could not, as he suggests, be *prudently* omitted by me) or to finde the *Emperour* and *Bishops* at dinner, when he came, or that he was fain to seek to his *Latine Eusebius* to espy this, and make his reports of it.

4. 2. Whereas *S. W.* resolves, that *there never was testimony, nor can be imagined in so little room more expressly witnessing that Kings have nothing to do with Ecclesiastick affaires, than this of Constantine, which the Doctor brings to prove the contrary*] I desire this may be judged, 1. by the immediate antecedents, then by the words themselves in the *Original Greek*, and not in his *misreading Latine Eusebius*. The immediate antecedents in that

* Euseb. de vit.
Cont. Edit. Rob.
sigb. fol. 150.
† εν νόμῳ διε-
κελεύετο, εὐ-
μοθέτετε πραγ-
ματῶν, νόμῳ & ἐ-
ποίητα, νεῦμα
βασιλέως.

* very page, tell us of many *Lawes* of his concerning the obser-
vation of the *Lords day* in all the *Provinces* concerning a set
form of prayer to be used by all (μαρτυροῦμαι ἐν ὅλῳ ἐξ ἐνδὸς συν-
θήματι & ἐμὰ τὰς πάντας ἀνατέμνειν διαβῶ, and again, ἐνδεσμεύς
ἐν ὅλῳ) concerning the use of it by the *Roman Souldiers* in their
vulgar, i.e. ῥωμαϊκῇ γλώττῃ, *Roman tongue*, concerning *holy dayes*,
or the *feasts of Martyrs*, and some other the like, which *lawes*
were exercises of power in *Ecclesiastical affaires*. Then for the
words themselves, it matters little what the title of the chapter
in the *Latine* edition is, when *Eusebius* neither wrote *Latine*,
nor, that we know of, affixt titles to his chapters. The words in
the *Greek* might easily have been come to, *Eusebius* εἰς τὸ εἶον
Κωνσταντίνου, is not so great a rarity, and *S. W.* was lately willing
we should know he could read *Greek*: And there these are the
words of *Eusebius* λόγον ἀνέκεν, ὡς ἄρα εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, lite-
rally, he delivered this speech, that he was also an overseer, or Bi-
shop, adding the very words in which he delivered himself, in
that *Writers hearing*, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ ὅτι τῶν
ἐκκλησίας καὶ διὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσκοπος εἶμι, literally thus (seeing
paraphrases of obscure words must not be indured, when they
found to *S. W.* his disadvantage) ye are *Bishops of the things*
within; the Church, or overseers of the *Church, of the things*
within, but I am constituted under God, Bishop, or overseer
of

of the things without. Here 'twas neither my interest nor design to take the word ἐκκλησία Church (as *S. W.* suggests) for a material Church of stone, but for the Congregation, or assembly of Christians, ruled or administered by the Bishops in some things, by the Emperour in others. Matter of sacred office of Function, administration of Sacraments, ordination, excommunication, and the like, which are the τὰ εἰσω the internal acts were peculiar to the Bishops of the Church; but the τὰ ἔξω matters of external order, such as were even now mentioned out of Demetrius Chomatensis, belonging to the Christian Emperour: he is by God appointed to be the ἐπίσκοπος, Bishop, or overseer, or administrator of such: and among these is particularly set down in the ensuing relation, the inspection and care of the lives of Ecclesiastical persons, which by his adjoining exhortation, he expresseth to be one part of his ἐμπροσθεν, and certainly this is an evidence of the Emperours power in Ecclesiastical matters (and so in spiritual things in that notion of spiritual, for matters of external order in the Church, such is erecting or translating Metropoles, &c.) so is it the very thing that I was to conclude from that, and the other testimonies: And so all that *S. W.* hoped to have gained by a corrupt Latine copie, which, saith he, renders ἐπὶ εἰσω & ἐπὶ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοποι, intra & extra ecclesiam Episcopi (which the particle ἐπὶ demonstrates to be a senselesse rendering) is visibly come to nothing, they were things of the Church that Constantine was Governour of, as well as those that the Bishops administered; all the difference this, that the former were but τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, external matters of order, &c. of the Church, and Churchmen (whereas the Bishops inspection, or rule, belonged to other matters) to which agrees the sense of the Greek Church expresseth in the Calendar of the Church of Constantinople, styling that Emperour ὁ ἐν Βασιλεῦσιν Ἀπόστολος, and ἰσάποστολος, an Apostle among Kings, and equal to an Apostle, not onely in assisting the plantation of the Church in so eminent a manner, (which gave him the title of Religion & fidei author, the author of religion and faith, in an old Marble) but in the governing it when it was plan-

* Græc. p. 159.

5. What he farther addes out of the *Latine copie*, to render his interpretation more probable, and that all that was meant by his calling himself a Bishop, was, that it was his calling to exhort all his subjects to lead a pious life] is again a pitiful stratagem; for whereas his *Latine* hath, *animum in omnes qui ejus suberant imperio intentum habuit, hortatus pro virili ut piam vitam excolerent*, the *Greek* reads τὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖ, πρῶτον πρὸς τὰς— he overlooks or ruled, or took care of all his subjects (and the Clergy and Bishops themselves, if we may believe the Fathers, were of that number) and exhorted them most earnestly to follow a pious life, and as long as the Bishops did continue to do so, there was, I hope, no need of more than exhorting.
6. 3. For the words of *Leo Isaurus*, that told the Pope he was ἱερεὺς, as well as βασιλεὺς. *S. W.* was able without an interpreter, to have understood the meaning of them, the very same that the Kings of England have assumed, not to be Priests in the strict notion of that word ἱερεὺς, that had been very extravagant indeed, and that puts it out of question, that it was not meant by him, but to have power ἐν ἱερεῖς in sacred or Ecclesiastical matters, and not in civill onely; and 'tis more reasonable and Christian, to say with *J. C.* in *Goldastus*, that *Gregory II.* was not so passionate a pretender to the inclosure and monopolie of all Ecclesiastical power, but that he could allow the Emperour his part of it, then with *S. W.* to pronounce an Emperour extravagant, Archheretick, infatuate, because he had unhappily incurred his displeasure, by saying what was not for *S. W.* his interest, to have believed from him.
7. Another [thirdly] now followes in answer to the testimony of *Socrat.* that from the time of the Emperors receiving the Faith, the affairs of the Church depended on them] & this is very sharply rebuked, and poore I, for the sake of it. 1. Because the word Supreme is not there to be found, and because the affairs of the head may depend on the armes and shoulders, and because I catch at a word, and think to deduce thence a full sentence.] But to all this the answer is brief; 1. That the Church, whose affaires are there spoken of, is not the head, but the body, and that on, or (ἐξ) from which the body depends, is still the head, though the head it self may in some sense depend on other parts of the body.
2. That

2. That 'tis plain the dependance here spoken of, is of the *inferiours* on the *supreme*, by that which here followes, as a proof of it in the next words, *ἡ αἰ μὲνίσαι συνόδου τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ γὰρ γόνασι ἡ γίνονται*, and the greatest Synods have been, and are convoked by their appointment, and that sure is an evidence of their *supreme power*, for neither the *armes* nor the *shoulders* were ever called to that office of *convoking* and *indicting* of *Oecumenicall Councils*, but onely the *supreme power*, wheresoever that was placed.

SECT. X.

Optatus his words of the Pope's headship. Petrus Primus, in many respects before Christs promising the Keyes. Caput omnium Apostolorum. Cephas. Cathedra Apostolica, in other Churches as well as Rome. Romes change from the Primitive Zeale and faith. Power of Princes to suppress Schisme. Ecclesiastical persons not secured from Interests.

- I. **T**He place in *Optatus*, noting it as a *Schismaticall* piece of language in the *Donatists*, to say, *Quid imperatori cum ecclesiâ?* might, I doubt not, have been easily found in him, if *S. W.* had lookt with that design; But sometimes *diversion* is the best way of *answering* arguments, as of avoiding of *enemies* forces, and accordingly this *method* is here cholen (and I am so obedient to all his *directions*, as to attend him in it) In that second Book of *Optatus*, he findes, forsooth, that antient Father calling the Doctor *Schismatick*, and quite confuting and contradicting all his books, saying, *Negare non potes scire te in urbe Româ Petro primo Cathedram Episcopalem esse collatam, in quâ sederit omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus*, then he proceeds to reckon up all the *Popes* of *Rome*, till *Siricius*, cum quo nobis totus orbis in commercio formarum in unâ Communionis

focietate concordat, and afterwards— probatum est nos esse in Ecclesia sancta Catholica— per Cathedram Petri quæ nostra est, & per ipsam cæteras dotes apud nos esse, etiam sacerdotium, and then alas poire Dr. H. who having lost communion with that Church, hath lost also his Priesthood, mission— if this holy Father say true.—

2. I shall have S. W. his pardon, I hope, for the digression, and then being very unwilling to wave the considering any thing brought out of antiquity to this purpose, for the Pope's supremacy; I have no other temptation to decline following him κατὰ πρόβα, through this whole passage, not meaning to cast off this ancient Father, as he hath styled Optatus, for no other fault, but that, which neither he nor S. W. could mend, of not being born in due time, or having wrote after the 300th year, which he is pleased to phantasie the fatal period, lower than which we will allow of none, with how little ground of truth, may anon appear also.
3. The first advantage then, I suppose, designed from Optatus, is, that he calls Petrus Primus, for those two words are written in Capital letters; And I answer by these steps, 1. that thus much was sure to be met with in the first 300 years, even in the Evangelists, πρῶτον & Σίμων, which I have oft acknowledged, and is the same in Greek that this is in Latine; 2. that Peter might be first in some other respects, without bringing any advantage to S. W. his pretensions, which depend onely on his Primacy of power and authority, not amongst, but over all others.
4. First he might be in age, and if he was not so simply of all, yet without question of those three; to whom Christ generally vouchsafed his special favours above the rest: 2. he was in Discipleship first, as that signifies, the following, and in strict attending on him (though Philip were first called by Christ, Joh. 1. in which respect, saith * Augustine, Petrus Primus apostolorum, Paulus novissimus, Peter the first, Paul the last of the Apostles; one so the first, as tother the last: And 3. First in confession, and many eminent virtues (though the most eminent in falling also) and so first in three considerable respects (and perhaps in as many more, which I discern not) without having the

* Scri. 47. de
Pet. & Paul.

the dominion assigned, or promised him over the rest of the Apostles. 3. That the Primacy which he had, he had before the donation of the Keyes, or the tu es Petrus, Mat. 16. (on which, and on what was after that, Feed my sheep, the Romanist grounds it) This appeares by Mat. 10. 2. where that title is given him, and so by the Fathers Scholia on Mat. 16. 16. *loci non immemor sui Petrus Primatum egit, primatum confessionis utique non honoris*, saith S. Ambrose, he was mindfull of his place, he had the Primacy of confession, not of honour, of faith, and not of order, * and * De Incar. & this supposes that he had it before Christ's answer to him, wherein the Keyes were promised, and that his confession, and Christ's answer upon that, was rather the effect, than the cause of his Primacy. And so saith * (Cyrill of Alexandria, *περὲς ἁλλων* * To. 4. p. 1118. c. *ἡ αὐτὴ ἁλλων κορυφαῖος καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἁλλων περὶ λαζ μόνος, καὶ φησι*—as the Coryphaeus of the rest, and one placed before the rest he first breaks out and saith, Thou art Christ— having formerly observed of that Apostle in generall, *ἐν πλείστοις αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ὡς ὁ ἀνδραγαθὸς, κενε- ἰσχυρότερος ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖναι τε καὶ εἶπαι περὶ ὅμιλου, δὴ καὶ πρῶτος ὁ μολύβει τὸ πικρὸν*, he was alacrious and nimble alwaies in a high degree, in respect of forwardnesse both to act and speak.

5. As for the second title, *Omnium Apostolorum Caput Petrus*,
 1. That signifies no more than *Primus* did before, and so exacts no new answer: 'tis no newes that the word head in all languages should denote oft times the Primacy of Order, not Supremacy of Jurisdiction, as when Antioch is called the head of the Christian world, because they were there first called Christians: 2. 'Tis no special observation, that Optatus calls him so, others did so before Optatus, who yet appeare to have designed no eminent favour to S. W. his pretensions; witnesse * S. * Alfr. vin. Hierome, or rather Iovinian in S. Hierome, who calls Peter head, *inter duodecim unus constituitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio*, and yet in the very same period affirms, that as the Church was founded on Peter, so 'twas in another place super omnes Apostolos, upon all the Apostles, and cuncti claves cœlorum accipiunt, all received the keyes of heaven, and ex aequo super eos Ecclesia fortitudo solidatur, the strength of the Church is established equally on them all; and if Optatus's words, and the title of Head, may

be interpreted by the same style in this place in S. Hierome before him, 'tis visible what is become of all the advantage S. W. can reap by that testimony.

6. But then 3. if to the mention of *Caput Petrus*, in *Optatus*, he had set down the words immediately following, it would have been little for the dignity of the citation; *Omnium Apostolorum*, saith he, *Caput Petrus, unde & Cephas appellatus est*, Peter was the head of all the Apostles, from whence he was also called Cephas. But doth Cephas a stone signifie a head with *Optatus*? was the Greek κεφαλή a head, drawn in to favour this Etymologie? This may lawfully diminish one's reverence to these words of *Optatus*, though I preserve it never so intire to his other excellencies.

7. As for the rest of the words recited, that the whole world agrees in one society of Communion with Rome, and that they that have the Chair of Peter are by that proved to be in the holy Catholick Church, and to have the rest of the dowries of a Church, particularly the Priesthood.] I doubt not but it hath perfect truth in it, and so it would also, if it had been spoken of any other of the Apostles plantations, the Chair of S. John in Asia, &c. the meaning of the chaire being evident to signifie the ruling power of the Church brought down (as it was in every Apostolick See) by succession from the Apostles, which, saith he, the Donatists could not pretend (and l. 3. he expresses it in another style, *Unitatem cum toto orb: terrarum, & cum memoriis Apostolorum—habere noluitis*, Ye would not have unity with the whole world, and with the memories of the Apostles, in the plural, as well as with S. Peter) and so must be pronounced Schismaticks.

8. Thus in the same second book, he useth the same language of other Churches as he doth here of Rome, *Extra septem Ecclesias, quicquid foris est, alienum est*, Whatsoever is without the seven Churches (of Asia, mentioned Rev. 1.) is strange, or schismatical, and so of* *Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia*. All which enlarges these privileges of the Church, and so the Priesthood and mission among them, to all other Churches that have continued their succession from the Apostles (as I doubt not, we of the Church of England have done) and confines them not to the

* Tibi unitas
displicet; hoc si
cremenjuras, ar-
gue nos Thessa-
lonicensibus, Co-
rinthiis, Gala-
tiis. communi-
casse.

Roman See, exclusively or peculiarly; and so the poor Doctor may retain his *priesthood*, and *mission*, and *power to preach*, and not be fain to seek out the *Donatists Ghosts* to hold communion with, and yet this *Father* be allowed to be of *age to speake*, and by my free consent his *testimony* be taken.

9. For beside what hath been already said, this farther consideration will not fail to supersede all force of this argument from *Optatus's* words. The *See of Rome* had from the *Apostles* to *Optatus's* daies shined in that lustre as to be the most eminent Church of any in the world; and if it had done so still, there might still have been place for *Optatus's* words, but since the change hath been so great, that I may well take up *Priscus's* words in *Excerpti*: *Ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθή ἐστὶ ἀρχαία καὶ ἔτι καὶ πρᾶξις τοῖς πᾶσι περὶ τούτων, αὐτῶν διακυβερνήσις*, *The Faith and Government of the Church of Rome was Apostolical and good, but the later Governours being not affected as antiently they were, have sorely wasted it. God give her a return to her primitive zeal and faith.*

10. So that *S. W.* may now return from whence he came, to the view of my testimony, and free himselfe from the number of those *Donatists*, which would not allow the *Emperour* to have any thing to doe with the Church: and all that he hath to say to it is, that being the nursing Father of the Church, his power was to be granted sufficiently authoritative to punish and repress the *Donatists*.] And if the Prince elsewhere may have the like power to repress all those that transcribe the *Donatists* guilt, or *Schisme*, though they are most unwilling of any to own the name, then truly this is all that I ever designed to conclude from this testimony, and this being in thesi granted me, I have no more to contend for, this being no season to descend to the hypothesis, or application.

11. What he fastidiously subjoynes to the mentions of the *Heathen practises* in that *Margent*, I shall not attempt to make reply to, having placed no trust in that medium, though it could not, I thought, be amisse to annex the consent betwixt all *Professions*, of false, as well as true Religions; in this *Doctrine*. But if his severity be such, that the mentions of *Heathens* puts him into ill humour, he may please, the

next time he views that place, to pass more *slightly* over it, and not think it necessary to *refute* every *casual* *Marginall* note, which might be allowed such an *unconsiderable* place in a discourse, as this was, without *offending* any man. In his answer to it, one thing there is which he may please to *review* and *correct* at leisure. For though the *sacred mysteries* and the *Churches Government*, be *incharg'd* as he saith, to those persons, whose state of life is purely dependent on God and his service, yet sure there is no shew of consequence in what he addes, as the *superstruction* on this *Αιδουσιον*, that this state of life secures them from being *croste* *byas'd* by worldly interests, and secular pretences. I heartily wish this had all truth in it, but shall not need indeavour to *disprove* it, the lives of some such men speaking *louder* than any arguments.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

David's ordering the courses of the Priests. Solomon's Dedication of the Temple. Hezekiah's Ecclesiasticall Acts, Josiah's. S. Paul's Appeal from the Jews Sanhedrim to Cæsar, Act. 25. 9, 10. Judged before me, v. 9. Capital Judgement taken from the Jews. Justinian's Ecclesiasticall laws in the Basilika. S. W. his falsifications and answers. Justinian's charge of Tyranny brought in at a dead lift. Theodosius no Tyrant.

- I. **T**He instances from the Jewish practice now follow : And to the first, of *David's ordering the courses of the Priests*; his answer being the same that had lately been given me by Mr. Cawdry (a person of somewhat different principles,) viz. that *David* was a Prophet as well as a King, I referre him to my answer * there, that this was no act of *David's* prophetike, but meerly of his *Kingly* office, founded on prudential considerations, and the change of times, God having formerly disposed otherwise of it. But it seems his second thoughts have better advised S. W. in this matter, for upon them he presently, in effect, *retracts* this answer (onely it went against his heart to lose so much pretious inke as must have perished by blotting it out againe) and resolves there was in this no streine of an higher jurisdiction (by higher I suppose he means higher than is ordinary and regular for Kings, and then sure twas done by the King, not the Prophet) and that as his greater zeale might invise him, so his exacter knowledge might make his assistance requisite to order the courses of the Priests] And then it seemes I was in the right, and my instance was pertinent to inferre my conclusion, that for matters of outward order in the Church, Princes were very competent, and no doubt were indued with power and authority from God, or else their zeale and knowledge could not have justified the interposing their assistance in them.

* Account of
3. Disc. ch. 5.
Sec. 4. n. 6. 8.

2. To the 2. of Solomon's consecrating the Temple, he answers, it was performed by offering sacrifice, which he himself offered not, but the Priests, so as his consecrating it was nothing else but causing them to consecrate it.]
3. I reply, that besides the Priests part in this work, the offering of sacrifice (which I never imagined to belong to Solomon, nor from thence pretended it lawfull for the Christian King thus to invade the Sacerdotal office, in baptizing, consecrating the Host, or assuming any of the τὰ εἰς τὴν ἑκκλησίαν, that even now Constantine spake of) many other acts there were, conducing to that one main of dedicating, or consecrating the Temple, 1. calling the Assembly, and afterward dissolving it again; 2. disposing and appointing the actions of the Priests; 3. making the oration on that occasion; and lastly, the prayer and the blessing of the congregation of Israel, kneeling on his knees before the altar, and spreading forth his hands toward heaven, in the presence of all the congregation; and all these being Ecclesiastical acts, were yet performed by Solomon, 1 Kings 8. and that was all that I designed from that instance, and there neither is, nor can be any question of it.
4. To the third, of Hezekiah, and Josiah, there was more due than his Sarcastime will any way defray, (and yet that is all he can afford them) Reforming, within his dominions, the affaires of the Church, exercising the ἐπισκοπή, or inspection over the Clergie, when they neglect their duty, the highest, as well as the lower sort of them, is the least that can proportionably be inferred from what is there done by the commandement of the King Hezekiah, 2 Kings 1:18. and 2 Chro. 28. in removing the high places, breaking the brazen Serpent in pieces, and cleansing of the Temple, and restoring the Sacrifice, and the musick of the Temple, and whatsoever was then wanting, or neglected in Gods service, by default of Priests or Levites: And so in like manner, from King Josiah's act in repairing the breaches of Gods house, and destroying Idolatrie, and restoring, by edict, the solemn observation of the Passeover—2 King 22. and 23. To the nothing which he returnes to these instances, all that I need say, is, that my conclusion is inferred, and he hath not attempted to invalidate it.

The

The next instance was that of *S. Paul*, appealing from the judgment of the Chief Priests to the tribunal of *Cæsar*; which if it had any infirmity in it, were not in reason to be imputed to me; but to him from whom I cited it, *Gregor. de Hamburg*, a person formerly well reputed of by *Pope Pius II.* till by defence of the just rights of his Prince, *Sigismund Duke of Austria*, he fell under his displeasure. But it seems though my citation were never so true, yet his name is not able to secure the Doctor from a most grievous mistake, such an one as hath brought a very ill report upon him for the like in almost every place of Scripture he hath yet produced.

6. What this so unlimited a charge signifies, I thank God I cannot divine, but that *S. W.* is now a drawing his *Chancery-Bill*, and thinks it not material, what degree or semblance of truth there is in any thing he casts in. This hath formerly appeared as often as he hath made the like charge, and 't's not improbable it may yet prove so here also, when we have heard what he hath to object. *S. Paul*, saith he, appealed not from the tribunal of the Jews, but from the tribunal of *Portius Festus*, a Roman Governor, unto *Cæsar himself*, and this he will prove so plainly and convincingly, from *Act. 25.9,10* that he shall need only to put down the words in our own translation, and so leave the Doctor to be accused either for wilfully abusing, or ignorantly mistaking them. The words he recites, are these, *But Festus willing to doe the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? Then said Paul, I stand at Cæsars judgement seat, where I ought to be judged.*]

7. These words then are left by their own native force, without any aid from *S. W.* to inferre his conclusion, that *Paul* appealed not from the tribunal of the Jews, but from the tribunal of *Portius Festus* to *Cæsar himself*: Let us see how they will be able to do it: And first, to omit the harder part, the negative, let us examine what they say for the affirmative, that he here appealed from the tribunal of *Festus*. But for this 'tis most certain, that this text alleged can no way possibly conclude it. It is onely an insisting on his right to be judged by *Portius Festus*, in opposition to going up to *Jerusalem*. Thus the very words by him alleged

do evidence, *Festus* then hath him before him at *Cæsarea*, where he kept the *Affizes*, v. 6. and he is now sitting on the judgement seat, and it being the *Jewes* request, v. 3. that he might be sent to *Jerusalem*, *Festus* to gratifie them, v. 9. proposes the removing him thither, which *Paul* directly disclaimes and refuses, and challenges his right, as a *Roman*, I stand, saith he, at *Cæsar's* judgement seat; he means certainly this tribunal of *Festus*, *Cæsar's* Procurator, where he stands already, and where saith he, as a *Roman* I ought to be judged; he makes no farther appeale as yet in these words from the tribunal, before which he stands, but requires to be judged there. This being cleared, S. W. his affirmative part hath certainly faied him, that of his appealing from *Festus's* tribunal, in those two verses alleged by him, as the onely medium to conclude it. His appeal to *Cæsar* himself, or to *Augustus's* hearing, follows in the next words, ver 11. and that expressly, not from *Festus's* judging him there at *Cæsarea*, at the *Roman barre*, but from his delivering him to the *Jewes* to be judged at *Jerusalem*, and that I hope is contrary enough to his negative, his not appealing from the tribunal of the *Jewes*] Nothing can be more manifest, If, saith *Paul*, I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die, (let him be judged there by *Festus*, and whatsoever the event be, he willingly submits to it without any appeale from that judicature of *Festus*, before which now he stands) but if there be none of these things, whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them (i.e. to the *Jewes*) I appeal unto *Cæsar*. So that 'tis not from *Portius Festus* judging him, that he appeales to *Cæsar* himself (if *Festus* would judge him, he would readily submit to it, and requires it as his privilege to be so judged) but from his delivering him to the *Jewes* to be judged at *Jerusalem*, i.e. from that tribunal of their *Sanhedrim* (which represents the *Christian Church* & where the high priest was the principal person, c. 24.1.) he makes his appeal to the secular Magistrate, the *Roman Emperour* himself, and hopes for much more justice from him, though an heathen Prince, than he doth from such a tribunal of *Ananias* and his consistory.

8. If this be not yet plain enough, then 1. remember where 'twas that *Paul* was arraigned, (before *Lysias* the *Roman Commander* sent

sent him to Cæsarea) at the Council or Sanhedrim of the Jewes, Act. 23. 1. where the High priest sat down to judge him after the law of Moses, v. 3. & from among them, i.e. that Council, the soldiers, by the chief Captains command, take him by force, v. 10. thither again they purposed to signify to the chief Captain, that he should be brought on the morrow, v. 15. but upon discovery of the conspiracy to take away his life by the way, he is sent by safe conduct to Cæsarea, v. 23. Then upon Festus's coming to the Province, the Jews renew their suit *ἵνα μὴ ἀρτίμω λήθαι*, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, c. 25. 3. this Festus then denied, v. 4. meaning to judge him by the imperial law at Cæsarea, the Jewes being required to go and prosecute him there, v. 5. When nothing could there be proved against him, v. 7. Festus having so far changed his resolution, to do the Jewes a pleasure, proposes his going up to Jerusalem, v. 9. there to be judged before him (what is meant by that phrase, we shall see anon) and this he accounts of, as a delivering to them, and from that it is that he makes his appeal to Caesar, and that I suppose to be from the Jewes tribunal, and so Festus expresses the meaning of it, v. 20. I asked him (saith he to Agrippa) whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judg'd of these matters; upon that occasion again expressly mentioning his appeal to the hearing of Augustus, in opposition to his going up to Jerusalem to be judged.

9. There is but one possible difficulty which appears to remain in this matter, and that is, what is meant by his being judged before me, i. e. before Festus at Jerusalem, c. 25. 9. for that may be thought to infer, that it was Festus's Tribunal, and not the Jewes; from which he appealed. To this I answer, that the power of the Jewish Sanhedrim at this time was but a very limited power, they might not put any man to death, Job. 18. 31. and consequently when any was judged by them, if the offence seemed capital, the Roman Procurator was to be called to assist, and thus to sentence, as in the crucifixion of Christ it was manifest. And this is all the reason of this phrase [before me] because treason against Caesar being put in amongst his accusations, the Jewes could not judge of such matters, but only take upon them the part of accusers, as we therefore see they do, c. 25. 2. whereas for other things concerning their own law, their tribunal was competent to take audience, and give judgment.

10. And

10. And this is the importance of those words of *Festus*, *Act.* 25. 20. wherein he gives the reason to *Agrippa*, why he asked him, whether he would go to *Jerusalem*, there to be judged of these matters, i.e. of those questions, or accusations, concerning the Jewish superstition, or religion—because *Festus* doubted, or was ignorant of them, knew not what judgement to passe in them, and therefore would have had him to *Jerusalem*, for the *Sanhedrim* there to take cognizance, and judge of such matters, himself going also, there to sit upon him, in case any capital crime, censurable by the *Roman* lawes, should be proved against him. And from the former of these it is, i.e. the *Sanhedrim's* jurisdiction, that *Paul* appeals, as hath hitherto appeared, and only from that, and so not from *Festus's* Jurisdiction; For that he was already under at *Cæsarea* (as much as he could be at *Jerusalem*) and yet appeals not from that, but saith he ought to be judged there, and only averts the going up to *Jerusalem*. A visible difference there is betwixt his being judged by *Festus* at *Cæsarea*, and at *Jerusalem* before him. In the former he stood only at *Cæsar's* judgement seat to be judged by none but his *Procurator*, according to the *Roman* law, and if he were found guilty of no capital crime, rebellion, and the like, he was sure to be set free; and this he feared not, wheresoever he was judged; but if he went up to *Jerusalem* to be judged there, then whatsoever his innocence were as to such capital accusations, he might be deemed guilty of some branches of the *Judaical* law, and for them be judged to other punishments, such as remained in their power, by the *Sanhedrim*, and besides the *high Priests*, and chief of the *Jews*, that pressed so earnestly that he might be remanded to *Jerusalem*, had a treacherous purpose in it, having laid an ambush in the way to kill him. *Act.* 25. 3. and so *Paul* had all reason to appeal from this proposal of delivering him to be judged by the *Jews*, though none to distrust *Festus's* sentence at *Cæsarea*; and so still it is most visible, that from thence it was, that his appeal was made, and not from *Festus's* bench at *Cæsarea*, which was the thing I undertook to conclude from these passages.

11. Thus have I clearly deduced this whole matter, and evidenced the truth of *Gregorius's* assertion, in this observation, that *Paul* did not appeal from *Festus's* judgement at *Cæsarea*, but from the *Sanhedrim's* jurisdiction at *Jerusalem*.

that Emperor was head of the Christian Church, but that S. Paul expected reliefs from this heathen Emperor against the oppressions of the high priest, and his Sanhedrim, which is all that from Heimbürg was pretended.

12. And then who will ever take S. W. his word againe about a grievous mistake, who yet never had the luck to be himselfe in the right, when he came in the greatest rage of Discipline to chastise mistakers.

13. If there be not in all his *darts* some desperate incur-ble payson (by strength of the old Aphorisme, *Calumniare fortiter, aliquid habet*) I shall for o ce adventure to advise S. W. if it be but for his own interests, never to cry [*grievous mistakes*] againe, till he hath gotten some firmer title to *infalibility* then yet he hath attain'd to, lest still it be the *looking-glasse*, and not the *perspective* which helps him to all the mistakes.

14. In the last place he is come to that *meannesse* of changing my words, that he may get some advantage of carping at them, which otherwise he must misse of. I said that in the *Βασιλικὰ*, the whole third Book is made up of *Justinians*, that is of the Emperors, *constitutions de Episcopis, Clericis, & sacris*, concerning Bishops, Clergie-men, and sacred Offices. And he will reade this, that *Justinians* third book is made of *Constitutions de Episcopis, Clericis & laicis*, Bishops, Priests, lay men, and then answer, that all the law's send there must not be necessarily *Justinians*.] What will this dealing advance to, by and by? First, *laicis* must be suborned to turn out *sacris*, and that we may be sure the Printer had no hand in this. 1. the *Englisbing* it *lay-men*, instead of *sacred Offices*, and 2. the no notice of either of these in the *Errata*, is full evidence. And then what trust is to be given to such *fingers*? 2. How came we by the mention of *Justinians* third book? Or what third book doth he mean? I spake of the third book of the *Βασιλικὰ*, which if he knew any thing in the *affaires*, or *Canons* of the Church, is a *Synopsis* of L. X. books *universi Juris Romani* set out 80. yeares since in Greek and *Latine* with *scholia*, by Jo: *Leunclavius*. And if he knew not what belonged to this, why might he not have softly *glided* over it, rather than have adventured *blindfold*, and in the first

words changed this into *Justinians third book* of He knew not what, and then solemnly applied answer to it, which cannot possibly be accommodated to the matter in hand. *Keperer*, saith he, of lawes, use not onely to put in *their lawes* those constitutions themselves made, but also those they are so served, among which are the *Canons and lawes of the Church made before by Counsels and other Ecclesiasticall powers.* But this cannot be applied to the present instance. 'Tis certain, *Justinian* personally made many *statutes*, concerning Ecclesiasticall matters, which are now visible in his *Novells*, each of them clothed with those particular individuating circumstances of the authors name, and the persons to whom they were written, which remove all possible doubt in this matter, and the *third book of the Justiniana* is a collection or *breuiate* of such as these, which are thus at large to be found in his *Novells*, and there discern'd to be none but his. Such luck hath *S. W.* constantly, when he combates *blindfold*.

15. But he satisfies not himselfe with this first answer; he hath a second, that *Justinian* may make constitutions of his own concerning *Bishops and Clergy-men*, in what relates to temporal officers, or as they are parts of the civil Common wealth. But it is evident if he will now upon advertisement turne to the *Basilica*, or to the *Novells* themselves, that many of them are of matters purely Ecclesiasticall; I must not adventure losing my reader, and my selfe, in reciting them.

16. But because this answer was so feeble also, a third is called in, to relieve at a dead life: If neither of these answers will serve, If he shall be found to have made any lawes concerning them, and without the authority of the Church, then, saith he, let the *Dr* prove he had power to make such, minding me of the note of Tyrannie which is objected against *Justinian*. But 1. this is strange hewing asunder, instead of untying of knots, and difficulties; If the argument could be answer'd any other way, then *Justinian* may stand right in the Cause; but if *S. W.* be so driven up to the wall, that he have no way to invent for his escape, then in great sadness *Justinian* must be content to be a Tyrant, rather than *S. W.* be foild in this manner. 2. though *Justinian* for some other unkindness to the Pope, have been

been lookt on *unkindly* by the *Romanists*, and call'd by some ill names; so long after his death; yet I believe *S. W.* will not be able to produce any *Romanist*; which hath affixt this ill character on him upon this single score; which alone I have now insisted on, making of *confutations* for the good government of the *Church*, and then I hope he that hath *offended* once, is not under a necessity of doing all things *amisse*; if so, truly *S. W.* will have a hard time of it, can never *redeeme*, as long as he lives, what he hath *offended* in this one lease, if as he judges this *Emperor*, he shall be judged. But to conclude, 3. my argument voucht the *Theodosian Code* for *decrees* in *Ecclesiastical affaires*, and this reserve of the *Emperors* being a *Tyrant* is no way applicable to him; and so we have done with his last answer.

17. And For the *appendage* of this argument, and answer concerning the *Canons* or the *Councils* receiving their authority and publication from the *Emperor*, I need not reply, having never pretended, or seem'd to pretend what he charges on me, concerning the *Emperors* *Negative* voice in the *Councils*; what I pretended, I spake out in plaine words, that the *Canons* have been mostly set out, and received their authority by the *Emperors* (and this receiving their authority, is I suppose, in order to their powerfull reception in their dominions) and this he acknowledges in the fullest latitude, not onely mostly, but *alwayes*, and so we are for once friends, though he knew not of it, and no man knows how little while it will last. As it is, twill be a good season to sit downe in peace, at this end of the 6. *Section*.

CC2 SECT.

though I know for some other unkindnesses to the Pope, have been

SECT. XII.

Answer to his seventh Section. Strictures on the lighter part of it. Ethelberts erecting the Primacy at Canterbury. Removall of Primacies, and Addition of Provinces, to whom justly assignable. Caerusks remove to S. Davids. Valentia and Flavia Cæsariensis. From York to Canterbury.

1. **T**He first three pages of his 7. Sect: have no appearance of weight, or difficulty: to which any more answer is in reason due, then the Section in the Treatise, to which they belong, will readily, if it be consulted, afford any man. But he, 1. finds fault with *parentheses*, which are a very visible part of the *Scripture style*, and so may not reasonably be found fault with in mine, 2. *misrepresents* my arguing, which neither denies tradition as he would have it, nor lays any more weight on the negative argument than evidently belongs to it, and requires not of him, as he suggests, to find the name of *Primates* or *Patriarchs* in Scripture; but saith that there is no imaginable obstacle there, against which though but interpretatively the Prince can be said to offend, when he shall make such changes; and 3. from *faber fabrilis tractatus* he concludes it the testimony of common sense, that *Kings must not meddle with such matters*, as if none could ever judge which were the largest city, and most fitly accomplished to be a *Metropolis*, but he who had spent his age in the study of Divinity, which yet no way belongs to it, and 4. he resolves that nothing hath been said either to disprove the *Popes Universal Pastorship*, or to evidence this right of *Kings to remove Patriarchs*, to be founded in the Canon of Chalcedon—when I have all reason to think, that he hath not said one word in defence of either of these pretensions, which is not now answered, and when without any id est, the 17th Canon of Chalcedon is plain, that whensoever any city is erected or restored by the Imperial power, the order of the Ecclesiastical divisions shall follow
the

the Civil forms; Of which, and of the Canon in Trullo, and the acknowledged force thereof to this matter, I have in this Reply enlarged abundantly.

2. But what he next proceeds to, hath transported him into severall passions, betwixt which he hath found out another grievous mistake, if it have but the luck to stand good to him; However it makes a dish in the bill of Fare, that allowance of an house to dwell in and meat to eat, is the erection of a Primacy. And was it not truly said of old by the Desipnosophist, that of unskillful women, Cooks are Poets, and that a little skill in that art is sufficient to convert the Rape root into a delicate fish service, at a time when nature denied, and all the Ocean would not afford the like. Just thus is it here, I said that Canterbury or Dorovernia was the seat of King Ethelberts Kingdome, and proved it by the words of Bede, who calls it *Imperii sui totius Metropolis*, * lib. 1 c. 25. and that King at the time of Augustines planting the faith did erect a Primacy in that City, not bringing any proof of this, but mentioning it as a certain thing, that needed no probation. And he very diligently seeks out the place in Bede, where those words are, *Imperii sui Metropolis*, and finding there a mention of his giving them a mansion and food, this forsooth must be drest out for my proof of his erecting a Primacy there, and that at a time when Ethelbert, he confesses, was not yet converted, and all this managed with great demurenesse, as if I had been really guilty of this senselesnesse. The short is, I did really prove from those words, what I designed from them, that Canterbury was King Ethelberts seat of his Kingdom, but never dreamt of inferring from that place the erecting of an Ecclesiastical Primacy there. I know that could not be done, till after the Kings conversion, and then it is distinctly mention'd by the same Bede in the * next Chapter, in the title whereof we read, *Ut in urbe* * lib. 1 c. 26. *Regis sedem Episcopatus acceperit*, how Augustine received the seat of his Bishoprick in the King's city: and so in the chapter it-self in these words, *Nec distulit (Rex) quin— doctoribus suis locum sedis eorum gradui congruum in Doroverniâ Metropoli suâ donaret, simul & necessarias in diversis speciebus possessiones confer. et.* Th. King deferred not to give his Teachers the place of a seat, agreeable to their degree, in Canterbury his Metropolis, and

* Episcopum ordina-
tum: dum (si ab
Anglia suscipi-
rentur) dispo-
nat. Bed. l. 1. c.

23

* c. 27.

together with it conferred on them necessary possessions in several
kings. And there can be no ground of doubting it. The Pope
sent him to preach * appointed Augustine should be ordained Bi-
shop, if the English should receive them. The * Archbishop of Arles
ordained him according to the Popes direction. But where the
seat of his Bishoprick should be fastened, it is not imaginable,
who should give order for that, but onely King Ethelbert; the
Pope could not, who did not certainly foresee his reception; the
ordainer the Bishop of Arles had nothing to doe with it, nay,
this he was first to have as his title, before he could by Canon
ordain him, and accordingly so it is in story, that, and the Pall
from the Pope, his ordination, and consecration were both conse-
quent to the Kings assigning him the seat, the first in 27. the
other in 29 chap: And so much for the childish piece of insincer-
ity, as he calls it: the reader will now judge, on which side it
lies.

3. Next follows the arreignment of my words about the *Removal of the Primacies in England, and addition of Provinces*, which I conceived assignable, i. e. justly, or so as might agree with the truth of History, assignable to nothing but the acts of Princes in removing, and erecting Metropoles; but he affirms these to be assignable, 1. to the Popes power, 2. to the consent of Bishops.] Here if by the consent of Bishops he mean the concurrence of their consent to the Kings act, I shall make no question of that, this differs from an authoritative consent, and so still the King might doe it, though the Bishops concurred and consented to it: his doing it was never by me intimated to be his doing it against their will, but his doing it regularly and advisedly, as in reason, and for the good of the Church he ought to doe it. The former then is the onely matter of question, whether it were the Popes or the Kings act, and as yet there being nothing produced on S. W. his side, but the bare mention of the possibility that the Pope should doe it, without all tender of proof, that he did, there is nothing to be answered, or replied by me, yet I shall by one instance (which will suffice in this matter) evidently prove that in that at least, he neither did, nor could doe it. The Archbishoprick of Caeruek in Monmouth-shire was removed to St. Davids in the reign of King Arthur, and that as hath been

been shew'd, as before *Augustines* coming into *England*, so before the *Pope* had any hold here, and whilst *Cæsar* was not subject to any other *Bishop* whatsoever, as hath formerly been proved, and vindicated; and therefore I conclude this is no way assignable to the *Pope*, without confounding, and denying all that our *Histories* tell us in this matter. As for the addition of *Valentia* and *Flavia Casariensis*, it was certainly done by the *Roman Emperours*, and those are not the *Pope*. And the choice of *Canterbury* for the *Metropolis* having even now been cleared to be the act of *Ethelbert* (though *Augustine* the *Bishop* there was sent from *Rome*, and ordained by the *Bishop* of *Arles*, and after had a *Pall* from *Rome*) the removal of it from *London* (where it was formerly, even at the time of the *Nicene Council*) must be assigned to that original, and the rather, because that which the *Pope* in his Letter to *Augustine*, saith of *London*: that the *Bishop* thereof should *semper in posterum à synodo propria consecrari*, be for ever afterward consecrated by his owne synod, i. e. by an *Archbishop*, never came to any effect, the *Archbishoprick* continuing to be established at *Canterbury*, and no remembrance remaining to us, of *London* being an *Ecclesiastical Metropolis* after this: So that *Neubrigensis* resolves it must be understood of *Canterbury*, what *Greg. Ep.* saith of *London*; discerning it seems, that as to *London* it found no accomplishment. Lastly, for *York*, the principall colonie of the *Romans* in *Britann*, and the seat of the *Emperours* Palace, and the place of the *Lieutenants* residence, and adorned with other dignities, mentioned in *Traët of Schis*: tis certain the *Primacy* continued there, while the *Romans* held the *Government*, and after that, while the *Britans* held *England*, and in memory thereof *Gregories* appointment to *Augustine* after his coming was that * if that City received the Faith, it should so far enjoy the former privilege, as to be the seat of a *Metropolitane*, with twelve *Bishops* under him, and without any subjection *Londonensis Episcopi* ditioni, to the power of the *Bishop* of *London*: or (as *Neubrigensis* with all reason saith it must be understood) of the *Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and * for the future after *Augustines* death, he to be the first of those two *Archbishops* which from time to time was first ordained, which again being not agreeable to *Canterburys* having the *Primacy*, (for

Greg ex Reg.
l. 12. Inicet 7.
Ep. 15.

l. 5 c 10.

* Si civitas cum
finis suis locis
verbum Dei re-
ceperis, ipse quo-
que 12 Episco-
pos ordinet, et
Metropolitani
honore præsua-
tur l. 12 ep. 15.

* Sit vero inter
Episcopos honoris
ista distinctio, ut
ipse prior habeat
qui primus su-
erit ordinatus.

that

that differs from all such equality) tis evident that that *Pope* did not remove the *Primacy* from *York* to *Canterbury*, and that any successor of his did, I know not that it is pretended. And thus he sees the grounds of the *Doctors* reasoning not so irrational, in respect of the *process*, or unconcluding in respect of the *Medium*, as he would have persuaded by his *Sarcasmes* (not his *Reasons*) which make up the far greatest part of his confutations.

SECT. XIII.

The African Canon contrary to the Roman. Lenity to the Donatists. The History of the Canon. S. W. his Exceptions answered. The feined Revocation, and Request. Romes umpirage between Cæcilianus and Donatus, no act of Jurisdiction.

1. **T**hat the power which is duly vested in *Kings*, in case it be taken away by *forreigne*, i. e. by the *Popes* *lawes*, is perfectly lawfull to be resumed by the *Original* possessors, i. e. by our *Kings of England*, I indeavoured to shew *a pari*, by the practice of the *African Church* set downe in the *Council of Carthage*, *Can. 71*. Where when the *Pope* had determined one thing about the non-reception of the *Donatists*, and by letter signified that to the *Council of Carthage*, they prudently and deliberately decree another, and incur no danger of *Schism*, by this means. This in the *treatise of Schism*, p. 128. I shortly touch't, but now upon this occasion must more largely deduce, to vindicate the truth, and force of that testimony for the infering of my conclusion.
2. When that great dissention fell out in *Africk*, betweene *Cæcilianus* *Archbishop of Carthage*, and *Donatus à casis nigris*, and *S. Augustin* tells us, that though *Pope Melchiades*, by the judgment of his *Collegues*, or *Bishops in Council* assembled with him, condemn'd *Donatus*, yet they so spared the *Donatists*, as many as should repent, that they were ready to give them free choice to regain the peace of the Church, and even for those that had

had been ordained Bishops by Majorinus, so that they were two Bishops in one See, they thus compounded it, that he that was first ordain'd in each See, should be confirmed, and some other Church and flock be provided for the other. And the same he affirms againe in his 50. Ep. The Bishops, saith he, in the Church of Rome, thus judg'd in the difference betwixt Cæcilianus and the Donatists, that all, beside Donatus, the author of the Schisma, should upon reformation be received unto their honors, though they had been ordained out of the Church; not that they might have the holy Spirit out of the unity of the body of Christ, but that they might not, by continuing out of the Church, deceive others, and that being thus mildly handled, they might more probably be cured. This was thus resolv'd in Constantine's time, about the yeare 300. But 100. yeares after, Pope Anastasius in a Synod at Rome determines a greater severity necessary toward the Donatists, and sends an Epistle to the Council of Carthage to signify this their judgment. The Epistle of Anastasius, I suppose, is * not extant, but the † Acts of the Council * Justel. in Cod. of Carthage assure us thereof, and set down the summe of it Can. Eccl. Afr. to be an advice to the Africans, that they should not by any P. 74. meanes παραπροποιῶντες τῆς τῆς ἡμέρας — Δοκίμασαν ἐν βουλῇς ἡ ἀνὰ † Just. Cod. Can. ἡμετέρας τῆς τῶν καὶ παλαιῶν Ἀφρικανῶν καὶ καθολικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν and Bals. in Can. βαρβάρως ποιεῖν, dissemble, or proceed with that lenity, toward pag. 692. the treachery and impudence of the heretical and Schismatical Donatists, which did grievously wast the Catholike Church through all the African region. On receipt of this later, the African Fathers in Council gave humble thanks to God for his mercy, & to Anastasius and his Council, for their pious care for them, as for fellow-members of Christ. τοῖς καὶ ἐν διαφύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ σώματι ἀφροῦ καὶ διασπένοντες, who though they be scituate in severall parts of the earth, yet consist in one harmony Can. Eccl. Sec. and concord of a body. But that being done, they proceed con- Justel. Eccl. ciliarly to handle, and consider that matter, and all things secund: Bals. that seem'd to tend to the profit of the Church, and finally they resolve ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν διαπερῆσαι, to continue to deale mildly and pacifickly with them, deeming that the likeliest meanes to convince gainsayers, and to reduce them to the knowl. dge of * Can. Eccl. the truth; and accordingly severall things they * decree, parti- Sec. Just. ca. cularly to write an Epistle to their other brethren and fellow- Sec. Bals.

Bishops, especially to the Apostolical See of Rome, where Anastasius presided, to signifie to them *μεγάλῃ ἀνάγκῃ*, the great necessity, lying on them in order to the peace and utility of the Church, to receive the Donatists to their dignities, as many as should return to the unity of the Church, proposing to all other Bishops to doe the like after their example, who were first infested with them, and with a non obstante, notwithstanding what had been decreed at Rome, *Μὴ ὑποδίστην τοῖς τὸ ἐκείθεν καὶ τῇ τιμῇ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ συνόδῳ*, that which is determined against their honours in the beyond-sea Synod (*ἢ γὰρ τῇ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*, viz. that in Italie, saith the Scholiast) shall not, say they, hinder or prejudice this decree; and againe, *οἱ χηροτονησάντες*—they that have been ordeined on the part of the Donatists, if they shall reform and returne to the Catholike faith, shall not be proceeded with according to the transmarine Synod (which had determined that they should not be received to their own dignities) but shall the rather be received as those that take care for Catholike unity.

3. Here thus anciently, i. e. in the yeare 401. tis cleare, that the decree at Rome was not thought fit to prejudice or hinder the African Synod, to adhere to their former resolution, and so to lawes contrary to the Romane See, and that was all that I undertooke to inferre from it.
4. Now to this what hath S. W. to say? Why, confessing the former part of the story, about Melchisedes, first, he resolves that the Donatists obstinacy permitted not his decree to be executed, and therefore it was recalled; then, that under Pope Anastasius, the African Council commanded a request to be made to the Bishops of Italy by whose predecessors the Revocation was made, that the Donatist Bishops might retaine their places, adding that the cunning Balsamon puts the provision it self for a Canon of this Council, and the Dr. takes no notice of the request, though he must needs have read it in Baronius whom he there cites.] And out of these premisses his conclusion is, that as farre as can be drawn out of the fact and Council, it argues the direct contrary to what the Dr. concludes, viz. that it was not lawfull for their national Council to infringe what was done at Rome.]
5. What truth there is in these premisses, but especially how his

his contrary *conclusion* is inferred from them, he hath not used any *medium* to shew us. And therefore tis all as easily *denied*, as *suggested*. But I shall farther desire it may be *observed*, that he doth not so much as pretend, that what the *African Council* here did in this was *Schismatical*, and then without more adoe, it follows, that a *national Council* may without incurring of *Schism* make *contrary lawes* to what is decreed at *Rome*, for this it is evident the *Africans* did in that *Synod*, 401. and he no way *denies* their having done it, and yet neither doth he *accuse* them, for what they did. This being thus yielded, there is no more that I desire to gaine from this *testimony*. And therefore, 1. I need not be solicitous whether *Melchides* decree were *revoked*. There was indeed no need of *revoking*, for if the *Donatists* would not take the *benefit* of it, it voided it selfe, and became of no force of its own accord: 2. I demand, when, or by whom it was *revoked*, not before *Anastasius*, for then sure that *Council* under him, that sent to *Africk* to presse that *severity*, would have pressed that *Revocation*; and it is sufficient to say, no such precedent *Revocation* appearing in any *Popes*, or *Councils* time betwixt *Melchides* and *Anastasius*, there is no ground to affirme that before *Anastasius* it was *revoked*, and yet that twas not *Anastasius* that *revoked* it, is confest by *S. iv.* when he saith the *revocation* was made by the *predecessors* of those *Bishops* of *Italy* that were under *Anastasius*.

6. But then 2. for his *suggestion*, that under *Anastasius* the *African Council* ordeined a request to be made to the *Bishops* of *Italy*, that the *Donatists Bishops* might *retraine* their places, there is not the least *proofe* offered, save onely from *Baronius*, who is farre from being a competent *witnesse* in this matter. And on the other side we have these strong *prejudices* against it; First, that the *Decree* from *Rome* read at the opening of the *Council* of *Africk* having been directly *contrary* to all *mercy*, or *mildnesse* to the *Donatists*, it no way appears by any subsequent *decree*, that they after *sospend* it, and for that *decree* it selfe, being so *contrary* to the *Donatists* *retraineing* their places, it could be no *answer* of *favour* to the *Africans* request, that they might *retraine* them; 2. Of any such request we have not the least *footrep* in that *Council*, and 3. that * *Canon* from *Bals.*

* 68. Sec B. v. 6
Just 71. Sec.

* *Concil. Tom. 1.*
pag 749 D.

† *Can. 66.*

whence * *Binius's* note deduces it, belongs not to any such request, but is clearly the setting down what the *Africans* had already decreed in this matter, contrary to *Anastasius's* conciliary determination, brought to them, and read at the opening of the Council, and is that very Canon, from which I fetch the evidence of their making a decree contrary to what had been determined at *Rome*, with the *judicatio*, or non obstante of *Rome's* contrary determination.

7. This being briefly thus cleared, I may adde thirdly, that if the *African Fathers* did so request, and thereupon the Council at *Rome* made any decree to revoke their revocation, and consequently to agree with the *Africans* in the milder way, yet it is could not have been to the prejudice of the *Africans*, for still this was to comply with, not to over-rule the *Africans*, and we know that even in *Melchiodorus's* time, when it is granted that the Council of *Italy* did judge betwixt *Cacilianus* and *Donatus*, the *Catholikes* and heretical *Schismatikes* in *Africk*, this came not before them by way of ordinary appeal, as to legal judges or superiors, but of extraordinary complaint, because the *Bishops* of *Africk* being divided one from the other in a horrible Schism, and *Cacilianus* the *Bishop* of *Carthage* and *Primate* of *Africk*, being a party in the controversy, it could not possibly be determined at home, and so was most properly, and necessarily to be done by foreigners, and accordingly not by the *Pope* alone, but by a Council of *Bishops*; and *Augustine* saith, *Ep. 162.* that there were thousands of those *Collegues*, where the differences might have been determined, meaning a fraternal determination, (by allowing the one, and granting communion with him, and expressing disallowance of the other) and not an authoritative act of Jurisdiction, a neighbourly interposition, such as the present case, and necessity of the Church of *Africk* required, but not any injunction or command as to legal subjects. And indeed this sufficiently appears by the *Africans* behaviour here, upon that decree of *Anastasius* and the Council, which was certainly sent from them, and read at the opening of that *African Council*, and yet deemed no way constraining to them, but a decree presently made by the *Africans* quite contrary to that from *Rome*. How little that of
subjection

subjection was owing or acknowledged from *Africk* to *Rome*, I shall now adde no more, having formerly made it cleare, when I spake of the exemption of *Carthage*.

8. 4thy, When he attributes it to the cunning of *Balsamon* that he puts the provision it self for a Canon of this Council, I know not well what to answer, for I am not sure, I judge right (and I believe the Reader will be as little able to resolve as I am) what he means by the provision it self; Onely I am sure *Balsamon* doth no otherwise set down those Canons, than now I see *Binus* himself doth out of the *Codex Can: Eccl: Afr:* (save onely that the numbers of the Canons are varied) as may appear to any by comparing *Balsamon* p. 692. &c. with *Binus's Councils*, Tom: 1. p. 942. &c. and so sure the cunning was not on *Balsamons*, but on *S. W* his side, who having nothing to say, was to d^evert by finding fault, and accusing some body.
9. 5thy. That the Doctor took no notice of the request, he now hath given a sufficient account, because though *Baronius* mentioned it, he had many weighty prejudices against it, and no motive to believe *Baronius*.
10. And then lastly for the conclusion, it follows most evidently, as I inferred it, that the *African Council* decreed the very contrary to what *Rome* had determined at this time, and that when they had taken so solemn a cognizance of her determination, and yet were under no mark of schisme for so doing.

SECT. XIV.

Laws against the Civil right repealable. S. Peter's privileges interfere not with Regal power. Sayr's resolution. My using it no begging the question.

- p. 118. 1. **W**Hat was added by me §. 22. that a Law though made by a Generall Councell, and with the consent of all Christian Princes, yet if it have respect to a civil right, may in this or that nation be repealed] was directed by me to inferre this; formerly set down, conclusion, that the power of Kings to remove Primacies, if taken away by foreign Laws, viz: those of the Court of Rome, is resumable; This I suppose was proper to induce that, because the Law of a General Councell, with the consent of all Christian Princes, was so much above Phocas's donation to Bonifacio, or a Pontifical decree, that my conclusion would follow a major, and with advantage. Now to this saith S. W. that ere it will doe me any good, I must first suppose the title of Head of the Church to be a thing belonging to a Civil right, 2. that that title is denied our Kings upon pretence of a Canon of a Councell, and not on Christs donation of it to S. Peter.]
2. To these I answer, 1. that the power of removing Primacies Sees, being the thing I spake of, and not the title of Head of the Church, all that I am to suppose in the first place, in order to my conclusion, is, that this is legally annex to the Regal, or Imperial power, and that I suppose I have formerly proved, and so doe not relie on an unproved supposition. 2. that all that I need adde to that, is, that Christ never took away from Kings any thing, that was vested in them, to bestow it upon S. Peter, and consequently that whatsoever Christs donations to S. Peter were, this privilege of erecting Metropoles may, and doth still remain to Kings, and the decrees of the Councils, that the Ecclesiastical forms shall follow the Civil, will farther secure it to them, without recurring again to the question long since debated, concerning S. Peter's privileges.
3. That of §. 23. from Balsamon, as saith he it hath by S. W. been already answered, so hath it also been vindicated in this Reply, and shall not be here repeated. To

4. To the last s. where from the resolution of Sayr, their owne *Casnist*, I inferred the no force of prescription to alienate any such right of Kings, he offers two prejudices, 1. that Sayr was a *Monke*, his book written at Rome, and so not likely to speak much on the Doctors behalf. 2. that in case he say any thing against them, he is but a private *Casnist*, and so his opinion with the same facility rejected as alledged.] But to this I reply 1. that to matters of this nature, none being so fit to judge, as *Casnists*, no *Casnist* could by me be produced, with more advantage against the *Romanist*, than honest Sayr, as he calls him, who if he were honest, did not *prevaricate*; if he were a *late Monke*, wrote not in favour of us; if he wrote at Rome, had his Book examined, and licensed, every period in it, by the *Inquisitors* there; and if after all that, he doe really say any thing, on which my conclusion is regularly founded (as his words set down in the *Traict of Schisme*, p. 130. doe testifie, that he doth) it matters not, how unlikely it is, that he should say it, such arguments of improbability against a matter of fact, are of all others the most improbable arguments.
5. But these were but the *procinctus* to his answer, and that comes more solemnly after them, yet such as you might know it at first sight, it is so like, what such *harbingers* promised, viz: that by using this testimony I suppose two things which must not be granted me gratis, 1. that the Pope prescribed against the Kings of England in their pretended right in Ecclesiastical matters, 2. that this prescription of the Pope hath not its force from any thing but a *Canon or Civil Law*,] and great ovation there is in observing this infirmity in my discourse.
6. But I desire to be advised, and directed by *Artists* from their severest laws of *νομιμον ἀδυνασις*, whether a treatise be obliged to be made up of no more than one proposition, or when a foundation is laid, and competently established, it be unlawfull ever to proceed farther, either by way of enlarging the foundation, or superstruëling any fabrick upon it. I had in the former chapters indeavoured to shew, that neither from Christ to S. Peter, nor from S. Peter to the Pope, nor from the planting the faith among us in this Island, nor from any presumed right in antient times, any supreme authority or Universal Pastorship divolved or descended

scended on the *Bishops of Rome*. and having propos'd that, which I thought sufficient to the deducing of these, I was willing to foresee and *examine* all their other *pretences*, and among them not to omit their long *possession* of this *power*, (which both the *Catholick Gent:* and *S. W.* have since pleaded, *Sch. Disar:* pag. 24. [*on the one side*, say they, *is the authority of Antiquity and possession*] and which I cannot but acknowledge as *reasonable* a plea, as that, which also they *both* have made use of, taken from the *possession of the belief* of that and their other *doctrines*) and in order to the *refuting* of that, I could not, I hope, be oblig'd to establish *afresh*, that which had been formerly *confirmed* (and was ready to be view'd by him that *questioned* it) any more than the *Geometrist* is to *demonstrate* anew every *foregoing* Proposition, whensoever he adds a *subsequent*. For the *Popes Universal Pastors*hip being not by the *Romanist* deduced either from the *Law of Nature*, or *Nation*, and their *pleas* from the *Divine Law* or *donation of Christ* being examined, and, as I I had reason to think, found *invalid*, it was no *begging* the *question* sure, to suppose it held either by *prescription*, and that at the most from *force of Canon or Civil Law*, or else by some *lesse valid* or *no title*.

7. This renders the *account* manifest, why I enlarg'd no farther to the applying this *resolution* of the *Casnist* to the *precedent* discourse, and it now appears, that if I had done it, I had *prevailed* nothing with my *Disarmer*, unless I had *reverted* again to prove the *Universal Pastors*hip, and yet so ill provided is his *table*, that even this must be put into the *bill of fare*, as a *special piece* of *wit* to add to the *intertainment*; And I cannot but have some *gust* of it, because it is a *conclusion* of his *declamation* against my 6: *Chapter*.



CHAP. VI.

A defence of the seventh Chapter of Schisme.

SECT. I.

Henry the eighths vices not schisme. The cause of Bishop Fishers death, from his Chaplains history. The fear of the premunire caused their serious consideration. The recantation in Queen Maryes dayes. Charge of Schisme on the Romanist.

1. **H**IS 8th Sect: of this second part, beginning his *Reply* to my 7th Chap: is spent on the view of *Henry VIII.* his fact in casting off the obedience to *Rome*; And his first and principal task, assumed on himself spontaneously, being to declaim against the *lust* and other vices of that Prince, who, saith he, had a little before set out very excellent doctrine against *Luther*, I have no obligation to make any return to it, having said already upon the *Cath: Gent:* his importunity, as much as our present question requires of me, and the vices of this Prince being no more chargeable to the prejudice of our Reformation, if it be otherwise regular, than the as many, and as eminent vices of some Bishops of *Rome*, who have advanced the *Papal* greatnesse to that height, wherein it now stands (particularly those of *Pope Hildebrand*) can prejudice the legality of their present pretensions, in case there were nothing else against them. Repl. ch. 9.
(ch. 1.)

2. We know that *S. W.* hath great fluency in the declamatorie style, and that *Henry VIII.* was no Saint; yet when all is done, tis still manifest, that neither his *lust*, nor his sacrilege was

schisme (any more than his burning of *Protestants*, or his writing against *Luther*) much lesse is my confessing him *guilty* of these, my *excusing*, as *S. W.* saith, the *imputation of them*. In brief, the *sins* which I acknowledge him *guilty* of, I mean not to *defend*, and the *schisme*, which I deny to be caused by him, cannot 1. be supposed to be *chargeable* on him, and then the original of it be examined, without *begging the question* of the whole *Booke*, which is too unreasonably large to be put into one request, and yet the undertaking to discover the grounds of this *schisme*, and to *devoid it of all excuse* (which is the designe of the greatest part of this section) is visibly that, and therefore this is all I have to say to his first proposition. For as to those grounds of mine, which he saith, *absolved the Rebel, Outlaw, and Anabaptist*, and might *absolve King Henry too*, by saying it was his present *perswasion*, I have long since discovered what a *calummie* that was, when 'twas first suggested against me, and it hath not yet provided it self with any more *artificial* visard, to *perswade or deceive* any man.

3. His 2^d consideration, beginning with the mention of *King Henry's* force to make the *Ecclesiastical* state subscribe, to the *ejecting of the Papacy*, and the examples of *Bishop Fisher*, and *Sir Thomas More*] will lose its weight by remembering what *King James* affirms knowingly of the cause of the death of *Bishop Fisher*, which was the onely *Ecclesiastical* person, that is pretended to have suffered on that score. *Is nec solum nec precipue carceris mandatus est propter causam Primatus*, the *supremacy* was not the onely or principal cause of his imprisonment. And this is more fully exprest in that *Bishops* life, written soon after his death by his *Chaplain*, in these words: *After the Bishops had been with him, his own man blames him for not assenting*, and tells him, he may think as he list. To whom *Bishop Fisher* replied, *Thou art a fool, thou knowst little what this matter means*, thou mayst know more hereafter; but I shall tell thee, 'tis not for the *Supremacy* onely that I am thus tossed and troubled, but also for another thing, (meaning the *Oath of the King's succession*) which if I would have sworn, I doubt whether I should ever have been questioned for the *Supremacy* or no: God being my good Lord, I will never agree to any of them both. And thus thou mayst say another day,

In Apol. pro
Juram. Fidel:

day, thou heardest me speak, when I am dead and gone. Thus farre the words of that History.

4. What he adds from my words, of their *fear* of the *premunire*, which he will resolve to have been of force to make the *Clergie* subscribe against conscience, and to conclude my *charity* to them *uncharitable*, a *censure* of their *obduration*, instead of *weaknesse* is wholly destitute of all grounds to inferre it; For as it is obvious to believe, that their *fears* put them upon *deliberation* of all *lawfull* means to avert their *danger*; and so upon the study of the *question* of the *Pope's supremacy*, from the very *bottom*, and *root* of it, so tis no lesse than *duty* of *charity* in us, who see by the *Book*, then set out by them, the *solidity* of the grounds, whereon they founded their *resolution*, to believe, that their *consciences* being duly *satisfied*, their *subscriptions* were after that, *cordial* and *unfeigned*.

5. As for his onely *αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου*, which can pretend to *salve* his *phenomena*, and make his way of *arguing* *consistent* to it self, the *Recantation* of all the *Bishops* in *Queen Maryes* *dayes*, 1. it is farre from all appearance of *truth*, we know that many of the *Bishops* in *Queen Maryes* *dayes* remained *constant* to *death*, and so sealed the *contradictorie* to what he suggests of them; and 2. for those that did *recant*, 'tis as visible, what their *motives* might be, the *bloody examples* before their *eyes*, now, as it can be imagined, that the *premunire* over their *heads* before, could *perswade* their *subscriptions*. In *Bishop Fishers* story 'tis plain the *Bishops* *perswaded* him to *assent* and *subscribe*, and if some that so *perswaded* him *recanted* afterwards, their *fears* being granted to have *force* on them on *both sides*, is sure as *argumentative* to inferre *mine*, as his *conclusion*, and the *advantage* on my side, because the *fagot* was more *formidable* than the *premunire*. But why *strength*, and *force* of *conscience* should make them *recant* against the *reason* of their *subscription*, rather than to *subscribe* what they afterward *recanted*, without *answering* those former grounds, or offering more *powerfull reasons* to the *contrary*, there is no other *account* to be expected from *S. W.* but that the one was *agreeable*, the other *contrary* to his *espoused* interest.

6. His 3d thing falls into the *Cath: Gent:* his way of proving us guilty of *schisme*, from the possession of their claim to the authority of the *Romane See*. And that hath been largely considered, and refused in the *Reply*, Chap. 7. sect. 1. from n. 10. to the end of that Chapter; And that will secure us from the force of his *sylogisme*, and all the *auxiliaries* called in to support it, it being no undertaking of ours to *confesse* first, and then *excuse* our *schisme*, or *avert* the criminalnesse of it, but denying our selves to have separated from any our lawfull *superiours*, whilst we renounced the *Papal* supremacy, or from the body of the *Catholick Church*, to which both by *faith* and *charity* we are still close knit, in the unity of that *sacred body*, to lay all the charge of the separation and *schisme* on them, which will not admit us to their communion.
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SECT.

SECT. II.

S. W. his discourse of the nature of Schisme. The continual begging the question in it. Possession of obedience Romes onely claim, invalid. S. W. his wonderfull arts. The Kings power of removing Patriarchs, a prejudice to the Papal power. The neglect of the use of Communicatory Letters. The use of them to Catholick Unity.

1. **I**N his ninth and tenth *Sections* he hath forsaken the proposed method of answering my arguments, and now he is become the assailant; And it will not be a work of any great length to shew him how little he hath gained by this variety, the whole weight of his discourses being laid on such slender *E-lenchs*, as is the begging the question almost in every period, which is a very ineffectual expedient to inferre his designed conclusion with that evidence, so which he hath oft pretended.

2. I shall shew this as briefly as I may. And first, when he undertakes to open, and describe the nature of Schism more clearly and exactly, and in order to that, to consider, 1. the formal unity it selfe, and 2. the reason of that unity; the unity it selfe, in submitting to one common head, and acknowledging the same Articles of faith with other Churches &c. and this not onely negatively, a not disacknowledging, but positively, when there is an obligation, to doe both these; and the reason of that unity instantly resolved to be the infallibility of the Church.] What is this but to lay for the groundwork of all this new Treatise of Schisme, the obligation to acknowledge 1. the Monarchick (as that is opposed to Aristocratick) government of the Church, and that explain'd to import the chief Pastors of the Bishop of Rome, which 'tis strange he should affirm acknowledged by us (whether that be by us now, or those which then cast it out) to be universally extended over all Patriarchs, and the whole Church, when he can-

not but know that neither *we now*, nor they then *de facto*, or *de jure*, did, or doe think it is, or ever was so *extended*, and 2. the *Infallibility* of the *same Church*, the *denying* of which, he saith, *is not onely the reason of all schisme and heresie, but the very heresie of heresies it self*. Thus the *two* things that are most *denied* by us (and must be evidently *proved* by him, before ever any charge of *schisme* can be found against us) are *S. W.* his *postulata*, his *undeniable first principles*, which for this onely *reason*, that I guesse at, must not be *questioned*, because they cannot be *proved*; And to this issue is his whole *argument* suddenly brought, by *attending* him, while he layes the *foundation* of it.

3. And yet when this is done, there being yet another *pair* of *difficulties* still behind, In case the *Government* of the *Church* were *Monarchick*, to assure us that *Rome* is that *Monarch*, and in case the *Church* were thus *infallible*, to prove the *Church* of *Rome* to be this onely *infallible Church*, these two are by turns either to be *believed*, as *principles* again, or to *induce* and *prove* one the other; One while each of them is to be *believed*, as a *principle*; the *later*, when it is silently *assumed*, and yet the *denying* thereof affirmed to be the *heresie of heresies*, for certainly it is the *Infallibility* of the *Church* under the *obedience* of the *Pope*, i.e. of the *Western* and the *Roman Church*, which he then speaks of, as soon after he makes no *scruple* to expresse, p. 197. The *former*, when he resolves that the *unity* it self consists in the *obligation* of *submitting* to this, without rendring any other *reason* either for that *obligation* of *submitting*, or for *Unities* consisting in it, but onely his *affirmation*, that it doth so, and his mention of an *undoubted possession*, which ought to be *founded* in, and not it self to be the *ground* of the *obligation*. By the way, What now is become of the *title* from *S. Peter*, & *Christ's donation* to him? which formerly was, and *S. I. I.* is again voucht, as their onely *tenure*, and yet here is no one *mention* of it in this whole *discourse*, or intimation of any such thing, nor indeed of any other, but that which may equally be had, without any *original right*, an *establishment* (as it seems, first, *principles* may be *confirmed a posteriori*) in an *undoubted possession*: And yet this again can-
- not

not possibly hold, as to the *Universal Church* (whatsoever it is feigned to doe, in respect of this *Church* of ours, at the time of the *Reformation*) for *Rome* cannot pretend to have had the possession of the *supremacy* over the *Greek Church*, when they acknowledge them *Schismatick*; nor over the *Abassines*, when they acknowledge them *aliens*; nor of any other, but of those, which for the time, upon what motives soever, acknowledged obedience to them: which bare acknowledgment, if it were of force, without farther right, the disacknowledgment upon due proofs of *liberty*, will be of greater force against it, whensoever tis pleaded, as by us it hath been, ever since we renounced it.

- 4 And yet another while (in the laying these very grounds) each of these is mutually brought to induce the other. For 1. the subjection to the one head (which sure must suppose the head to be one, and to the *Romanist*, that the *Pope* is that head) is * brought as the *medium* to prove that they are a *Church*, which till they are proved to be, they cannot be supposed to be, though it were granted that the *Church* is *infallible*. And 2. the *infallibility* of the *Church* being† made the only tie to *communion* (among other things, particularly) in *Government*, that is again (by way of *retribution*) become the *medium* to induce the subjection to the one head. And indeed when at the same time that he concludes the necessity of the subjection, he contents not himselfe with the *negative subjection* (or *indifferent acknowledgment*, having no tie) but exacts the *expresse positive obligation* to obey this head, without which, saith he, it may be a *multitude*, but not a *Church*, as he will never be able to produce any such *expresse positive obligation* to all *Christians*, to obey the *Bishop of Rome*, save what is founded in the dictate of his *infallible Church*, so it is most evident, that this his *infallibility* must be the principle of this subjection to this head of the *Church*, as before this subjection was the principle of the very being, and so of the *infallibility* of his *Church*. And he that can doe such *miracles* as these, take two the most *moveable Stones*, and with no more then *blowing* on them, fix them like two *immovable rocks* (and yet *St. Peter* himselfe not so much as mentioned to be one of these) and whilst each of these stands thus firme upon its owne basis, without any help of the other, or indeed of any third

* A positive obligation to acknowledge that Head is that which only can make a *Church*.
Scif. Dis. p. 194.
 † *Pag. 195.*

font.

foundation (a rock firme in the midst of the *Aire* or *Sea*, without any thing to support it) can, in the very twinkling of an eye, so convey one of these to beare and support the other, as that the other shall at the same time, beare the whole weight of that, which supports it, is, I confesse, too great a Master at his weapon, too profoundly skilled in the *Magick*, rather than *Mathematicks* of *Armes*, for me to fense with him at his owne foiles. So again, that he may with ease conclude us *unexcusably guilty of formall sin* (which I professe to grant) in case we were proved guilty of dividing, and so of the material schisme, he will needs assume this as granted, and confest by us, which sure I expressly deny.

5. Having said this, I shall now therefore leave him to skirmish with the *Aire*, or his owne shadow, for those two *Sections*, which, by thinking it high time to returne to over-look the worke, he acknowledgeth (and I have many more reasons to grant) to be long digressions, and presently fall in with him at his returne, in the beginning of his eleventh *Section*.

6. Onely before I leave it, I shall first minde him of one fallacy, (oft before discernible) in accusing the frivolousnesse of my digression, to prove that Kings may remove Patriarchs, when, saith he, the Papall is greater than Patriarchall power.] For 1. this is but the begging the whole question againe, viz: Whether there be any greater power in the Church, than that of Primates or Patriarchs? And 2. that question is decided in the Negative by this one, which he calls frivolous digression: For sure if there be any such power of removing Patriarchs, vested in any other but the Pope (as there must be, if Kings can remove Patriarchs) then the Pope is not the supreme Governor, or Pastor of the whole Church, over all the world, and consequently can be no more than the first Patriarch.

7. 2y. I shall aske his advise in two things, on occasion of * his mention of the ancient use of communicatory letters, which, saith he, was afterwards, by reason of the perfect colligation of the severall members with their head neglected, as unnecessary.] 1. How then it can with justice be pretended, that the Popes Universal Pastorsip or headship was antiently and universally acknowledged,

* scb. disam.
pag. 94.

ed, for then sure the colligation being so early so perfect, the Communicatory Letters would, as antiently, have been unnecessary, as since that perfect colligation they are by *S W.* acknowledged to be: And 2. what hinders but that Unity over the whole Christian world might still thus be maintain'd between all National Churches, each under their own Primate, by the help of these Communicatory Letters, without need of one visible head, in subjection to whom all unity is by *S W.* said to consist

8. When these two questions, together with the exceptions here premised to the groundwork of his Argument, are satisfactorily answered, I shall have encouragement farther to enlarge on the view of the remainder of his 9th sect. and to make answers for my self instead of those, which in the 10th he hath put into my mouth (and may without much difficulty answer the questions, which himself hath proposed, and that on a subject, which before he begins, he acknowledges to be confest by me, viz: that there can be no just cause given of schisme.) In the mean, being confident I have here, and in the foregoing parts of this Reply laid sufficient, and evident grounds to satisfy all the objections, which here are made to us, I shall resist the temptations, which are before me, to pursue this new path any farther, and indulge no longer to such Divertisments.

SECT. III.

Concession of Kings renounced by S. W. Strictures on his 11th Sect. The King cannot alienate his regality. Some gifts revocable. The Suns light such. So Gods graces. The Popes Territory. The admission of Legates an acknowledgment of power. S W. his calumnies. The Oath of Supremacy to secure Allegiance.

1. **I**N the 11th sect: I am rebuked for mentioning the voluntary concession of Kings (as formerly the title of Conversion) for any part of the ground of the Popes pretensions to supreme authority in this Nation, which, saith he, they found onely on the succession to S. Peter.] If this will indeed be stood to by all, I am again discharged of an unnecessary fear, and by analogie with, and consequence from this, of all need of considering the title of possession, which surely hath sometime been mentioned by some body, whilst the very name of S. Peter, or succession by him, was quite left out in the whole scheme, as was shewed in the last section; And then the whole matter is once more reduced to that one head of S. Peters right to Universal supremacy, and the Popes succeeding to him. And having not onely disproved this, as I then thought, by those 4th and 5th chap: of Schisme, but also thus largely and doubly vindicated them now from all that hath been objected by the Cath: Gent: and S. W. to those chapters, I discern not, how it is possible, I should have any more to doe in this businesse; Or how I can safely adde any word to any other head but that, without danger of relapsing into this impertinent, as well as toilsome error of treating those things, which are not questioned by them.
3. I shall therefore in obedience to his repeated Rebukes, endeavour to make short work of the remainder of this section, (and see whether the 3^d part will afford any new reason of farther engaging) there being indeed nothing behinde here, beside
scurriosity,

scurrility, that requires any further answer, than what is already made in the *Reply*, chap. 7. sect. 11. &c. and what the addition of a few strictures may discharge.

3. As 1. when he saith, the *Papacy* was never imagined at any private King's disposal, till Dr. H. his time. I answer that till he hath solidly asserted the Popes *Universal Pastorship* from *Christ's* donation to *S. Peter*, and all his successors in the *See* of *Rome*, there cannot any other colour of *sure* be imagined for the Popes having the *supreme jurisdiction* over this *Church* of ours, but the *concession* and *disposal* of some of our former *Kings*, and that was all I was to conclude in that place, and is no way invalidated by *S. W.*

4. 2dly. When he blames my inference, that if it were in the *Kings* power to dispose of it to the *Pope*, then the same power remains in the *Kings* to dispose it from him to some other, instancing in the *Kings* yielding an *Island* &c. to an over powering enemy. I answer that the parallel holds not, upon this reason, because in that case, that *Island* must be supposed to goe out from under that *Kings* power, which notwithstanding, he may remain in the full intire *supreme power* over those parts of his *Kingdome*, which are left him; and so be a *supreme Monarch* still over all his remaining subjects, although his *Province*, or *sphere of administration* be lessened; but if the *supremacy* it self in every part of his *Dominions* be thus parted with, as that *Island* is parted with, i.e. not to remain to him, then he becomes lesse a *King*, than formerly he was, and, as I said, such acts, which make him so, are acknowledgedly *invalid acts*, it being above the power of a *King* himself, to alienate the *supremacy* or *regality*.

5. 3dly. When from his sorts of prayers, and seekers which neither seek nor pray, he would have it believed, that I have committed the like absurdity in making one sort of gifts to be such as are not given, and this as a rare service to be rejoiced in, in the bill of fare, this is nothing but the obscuring and perverting of a plain intelligible proposition, the truth whereof is every day exemplified to us by a *Kings* removing his *Chancellor* from his place, upon any good cause, without any wrongfull diminution to his former liberality, which bestowed that office upon

him. Is it not sense to say, some things are *given revocably*, as well as others *irrevocably*? Some *quandiu se bene gesserit*, some *durante beneplacito*, or as farre as to the *usus fructus*, as well as others by parting with the *propriety*, and finally *divesting* my self of all *power* and *right* either in, or to them? Or must this be *даровъ даровъ*, a *giftlesse gift*, if I retain any such *fundamental Original propriety* in it, of ever recalling it again?

6. 4^{thly}. I wonder what *infirmity* it was, either in *Philosophy* or *Theologie*, to exemplifie this, either by the *Sun communicating* his *beames*, or *God his graces*, without emptying, or *dispossessing* themselves of that, which they *bestow* on others, and consequently without parting with this *power* of *revocation*. This, saith he, is to *affirme*, that the *very beames sent* hisher by the *Sun* are notwithstanding *retained there still*, and so in farre more *distant places* at the *same time*, than I will grant the *glorified body of Christ* in the *Sacrament*.] I answer by denying his consequence, Tis onely to *affirme*, that the *Sun reteines the power* over his own *bounty*, and may as freely *withdraw* it from this, and *bestow* it the next minute on some other, as it formerly *bestowed* it on *this*. This was evidently signified by the phrase of *reteining all which it communicates*] not *reteining* at that minute the particular *beame*, which was already *sent out*, and *parted with*, (that would indeed imply the same *contradiction*, that we *affirme* their *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* doth) but *reteining the power* over its owne *light* and *beames* in *generall*, so as to continue them no longer to any one, than it *pleaseth*, and so, that when it shall *depart* and *enrich* some other, the former *usufructuarie* cannot plead *prescription* against this act of *revocation* of free *bounty*.

7. And then *S. W.* might have spared the cost of providing the *long strings* and *pulleyes*, which he talks of, to *fetch back those beames* which he resolves *incorporated* in other bodies, for unlesse the whole *treasure* of *beames* be so *poured out*, that the *Sun reteines* no *power* for the future, to *withdraw* from *Rome* and *fixe* on *Canterbury*, so that now for the future, the latter shall have the same *benigne influences* as largely, and as justly *communicated* to it as formerly the former had had, the *parallel* still stands

stands exact enough, to conclude the *Kings*, power to remaine to him of removing and revoking from *Rome*, what he had at any time bestowed on it.

8. 5thly. For the instance of *God*, though *S. W.* hath chosen an *unlucky* phrase, saying that *God never takes away what he gives*, when the *Scripture* saith so often the contrary, *If he take away our breath we dye*, and from him which *useth* not his *grace* which he had, *auferetur, it shall be taken away*, yet his explanation of himself is the yielding of all I affirme in this whole matter, that *God is then said to take away any thing, when he withholdeth his bountifull hand from a farther bestowing it.* And then I that said the very same of *Kings*, that might thus give, and yet retaine power of thus withholding the hand from this farther bestowing, concluded all, by *S. W.* his own suffrage, which I attempted to conclude. And then *ad quid perditio hac*, why might not all, *S. W.* his laborious bounty, and expence of so many lines also have been otherwise bestowed?

9. 6thly. What the territory meant which I said the *Pope* was willing to *enlarge* unlimitedly, was obvious enough by the foregoing mention of a *Principality*, and the contenting himself with that, might well enough be reconciled with his greatest zeale and industry in bringing in the fullnesse of the *Gentiles* to the faith of *Christ*, (which certainly is a very distant thing from obedience to the *Papacy*, as *Xaverius's Gospel* of *S. Peter* was somewhat different from *S. Matthews* of our blessed *Saviour*) and then to what purpose againe was all that ensuing harangue of the present prosperity of theirs, and improsperity of our Church?

10. 7thly. What I observed of *Queen Maries* time did distinctly enough belong, and was applied by me not to her own private affectiōs or judgment, of which I never doubted, but to the publicke acts of state made in her reign And then to what purpose is his justifying of that *Queen*, that she was no way favourable to our pretensions? But to that I have spoken in the *Reply*, p. 123. as also to the businesse of refusing the *Popes Legates*, the admitting of whom I now see to be made use of twice in a page by your *Bishop of Chalcedon*, in his late survey of the *Bishop* of

Derry, as a testimony of our Princes acknowledging the Popes Supremacy; And then sure if the admitting will inferre the acknowledgement, the refusing must imply the disacknowledgement of it. Nor can I perceive what proportion that act of refusing of Legates can be thought to beare with the Peoples denying the Kings subsidies, to which he parallels it, for sure if the Pope have any supremacy in this kingdome, it must be the same offence against that supremacy to exclude his Judges of Assises, or his lieutenant, by him authorized, (and such his Legate is) as to exclude a Prince out of his Dominions (which is no way implied, or intimated in the other) and if, as S. W. saith, all Catholike Countryes, when they see it convenient, doe the like, It will be lesse strange, that I thinke that safe, which hath so many precedents, and consequently that our offence was not great, when we excluded him, whom that legate represented.

11. 8thly. I believe not that S. W. was ever Bishop Crammers Confessor, or consequently hath had real intelligence of his being guilty of that Carnality, which no story that I ever could heare of, charges on him, till this impure pen suggested it against him. And with this may be associated another calumny that followes in the next page, that Robert Wisdomes hymnes were a part of our Reformation.
12. 9thly. What is objected to the Ordination of Bishops in Queen Elizabeths dayes, was prevented in the Reply; Ch. 7. Sect. 4.
13. 10thly. When he objects to me, that I know not the difference betwixt the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, adding that there could be no need to presse the latter to approve mens fidelity and allegiance; I answer, that this is not any error or ignorance, but a truth visible enough by the effects of it: If the Bishop of Rome be supreme in this Kingdome, and so our King in the number of his subjects, we know one obvious effect arising from hence, that then tis in the power of his Bulls to absolve all subjects from their obligation to allegiance, and then what meanes can there be to secure, or approve any mans fidelity, and allegiance to an Excommunicated Prince, beside disclaiming that Papal supremacy, and these so consequent attendants

attendants of it, which is the matter of that *Oath*? As long as the *allegiance* is duely paid, there is no need indeed of any farther *security*, as whilst men doe *universally* performe their *duty*, there is no need of *lawes* or *punishments*; but when another *supreme* is acknowledged, beside and *above* the *King*, who need not *unking* him by any *new act*, having done it already by being his *superior* in his own *dominions*, the first *contestation* that shall happen between these two, must render the *inferior* *criminous*, and *punishable*, and the *punishment* we know is such, as renders him unfit for *government*, the *King* shall be in *S. W.* his style, the *head of Schismatickes*, and then what *fidelity* is he to expect from those, who acknowledge his enemies *Supremacy*?

14. This last objection of *reforming end-ways*, had been made use of by the *Catholike Gentleman*; and is answered in *Reply*, p. 130. And so much for what hath been attempted by *S. W.* (not over prosperously) in his *second Part*.

CHAP.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*A survey of the third part of Schism
disarmed.*

SECT. I.

The second species of Schism. Unity of faith among brethren. The Apostles Institutions reducible to Faith. Disobedience to Superiors, without casting out Government. My method vindicated. The Popes supremacy not fixt by any appointment of Christ. The Bishop of Chalcedon his confession that tis not de fide that it is jure divino; The Doctors of Paris. Jeroms testimony of S. Peter being made head. Christian unity equally conserved by all the Apostles plantations. Vigour of tradition in Rome, not for ever.

- I. I come now to his third Part, which begins with some quaint observations on my eighth Chapter. And for the introducing of the first of them, he falls very early into an open falsification of my words, against the plain testimony of his own, and the meanest readers eyes; for having duly set down the second sort of schism, (now to be treated of) an offence against the mutual unity, peace, and charity which Christ left among his Disciples in the very next line he will abbreviate this, and call it schism against charity, and then one species of this second sort, being a departure from the unity of the faith &c. Here is a special infirmity observed in the Doctors method, that he makes faith and charity all one, putting his schism against faith for the first species of schism against mutual charity] But tis evident this was not my fault, but his mis-representation. The genus which I divided into those species, was schism against the mutual unity peace and charity, (as mutual notes a quality of fellow brethren, opposite to the relations of subordination)

ordination) and there being an *unity of faith* between fellow-brethren, as well as of *charity*, tis visible that the *departure* from the *unity of Faith*, is a *species* of that 2^d kinde of *schism*, though not of the *schism* against *charity*, and so there is an end of his first subtilty.

2. And the next is like unto that, whether for want of *understanding*, or of somewhat else, I cannot define [the Dr. saith he, ranks the rejecting Christs institution of government, under this second *schism* against *charity*, which was the first head hitherto treated of, i. e. offence against *subordination*] But I answer, 1. as before, that tis *departure* from mutual *Unity*, of which I make this a *species*, and not of *schism* against *charity* alone. Secondly, this is not coincident with the former kinde, the offence against *subordination*, but falls under this head of *departure* from the *Unity* of the *Faith*, by way of *reduction* at least (as I there set it) or so as to be comprehended under it. For the objects of *Faith* being the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles, &c. the Institutions of Christ, and the Apostles are comprehended under that head, as being taught by them to be practised by us, (for that is the meaning of an Institution) and the manner of Government, which the Apostles left for the Church, being the matter of one of these, hence arises the propriety of this reduction; and consequently the casting out of the Church of God that form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles placed in it, or instituted, is a branch of offence, by reduction at least, against the *unity* of the *Faith*, a not believing, or not acknowledging the whether necessity, or but lawfulness or even expedience of that form, which so great an authority, as is that of Christ or his Apostles, not only countenanced and practised, but fixt for continuance in the Church. As for his way of arguing to the contrary, because, saith he, there can neither be *subordination* without Government, nor Government without *subordination*] it is founded in a very thin *sophism* which will presently be seen through, for meaning by Government, as tis plain I do, that particular form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles instituted, and by *subordination*, that regular living under the Government of all our lawful superiors, as it evidently signified in the

the former part of the discourse of *schism*, tis thence evident, that there may be *Government* without this *subordination*, i. e. the same man that acknowledges the *Government* of the Church by *Bishops*, may yet *divide* and *separate* from his own *Bishop*, and he that *separates* from his *Bishop*, may yet not *deny*, nor cast out the *Episcopal* order out of the Church, and so besides that first sort of *schism* which was an offence against *subordination*, i. e. a breaking off from the *Communion* of, and obedience to their lawful superiors, there may be also another species, referring to *Government*, a disacknowledging or rejecting the due *Government*: As supposing an *Aristocratical* *Government* of the Church, whether by *Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, or with the addition of *Primates* also, to be that which was placed in the Church by the *Apostles*, then as the reducing this either to *Democrasie* or *Anarchie* on the one side, is a departure from the *Apostolical* institution, so the erecting a *Monarchick* *Government*, a *Papal* universal *Pastorship* over all, will be a departure from the same institution, on the other side. And so certainly there was good reason of this *Method* of mine, and all the confusion that was phansied, was but an invention of S. W.

3. A third now follows, which came out of the very same forge, for he will needs persuade us, that there is no difference between breach of external peace, and want of that charity which is due from every Christian to every Christian] which is in effect, as if he said, there is no difference betwixt external and internal, for to that internal charity it is, that that last species belongs. Thus succesful is he in all his nice observations.

4. After this *αἰνέγυν*, wherein none but the *aire* was wounded, or fled before him, he now advances to his more serious strokes, and after some recital of my words, (which when he hath never an objection in the forge, he can perform well enough) he pitches on my answer to their objection, that by casting out the authority of the Bishop of Rome, we have cast off the head of all christian unity: And my answer being in these words, 1. that the Bishop of Rome, was never appointed by Christ to be the head of all Christian unity, or that Church to be a conservatory (for ever) of all Christian truth, any

ordination) and there being an unity of faith between fellow-brethren, as well as of charity, tis visible that the departure from the unity of Faith, is a species of that 2^d kinde of schism, though not of the schism against charity, and so there is an end of his first subtilty.

2. And the next is like unto that, whether for want of understanding, or of somewhat else, I cannot define [the Dr. faith he, ranks the rejecting Christs institution of government, under this second schism against charity, which was the first head hitherto treated of, i. e. offence against subordination] But I answer, 1. as before, that tis departure from mutual Unity, of which I make this a species, and not of schism against charity alone. Secondly, this is not coincident with the former kinde, the offence against subordination, but falls under this head of departure from the Unity of the Faith, by way of reduction at least (as I there set it) or so as to be comprehended under it. For the objects of Faith being the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles, &c. the Institutions of Christ, and the Apostles are comprehended under that head, as being taught by them to be practised by us, (for that is the meaning of an Institution) and the manner of Government, which the Apostles left for the Church, being the matter of one of these, hence arises the propriety of this reduction; and consequently the casting out of the Church of God that form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles placed in it, or instituted, is a branch of offence, by reduction at least, against the unity of the Faith, a not beleiving, or not acknowledging the whether necessity, or but lawfulness or even expedience of that form, which so great an authority, as is that of Christ or his Apostles, not only countenanced and practised, but fixt for continuance in the Church. As for his way of arguing to the contrary, because, faith he, there can neither be subordination without Government, nor Government without subordination] it is found in a very thin sophism which will presently be seen through, for meaning by Government, as tis plain I do, that particular form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles instituted, and by subordination, that regular living under the Government of all our lawful superiors, as it evidently signified in the

the former part of the discourse of *schism*, tis thence evident, that there may be *Government* without this *subordination*, i. e. the same man that acknowledges the *Government* of the Church by *Bishops*, may yet *divide* and *separate* from his own *Bishop*, and he that *separates* from his *Bishop*, may yet not *deny*, nor cast out the *Episcopal order* out of the Church, and so besides that first sort of *schism* which was an offence against *subordination*, i. e. a breaking off from the *Communion* of, and obedience to their *lawful superiors*, there may be also another *species*, referring to *Government*, a *disacknowledging* or *rejecting* the due *Government*: As supposing an *Aristocratical Government* of the Church, whether by *Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, or with the addition of *Primates* also, to be that which was placed in the Church by the *Apostles*, then as the reducing this either to *Democrasie* or *Anarchie* on the one side, is a departure from the *Apostolical institution*, so the erecting a *Monarchick Government*, a *Papal universal Pastorship* over all, will be a departure from the same *institution*, on the other side. And so certainly there was good reason of this *Method* of mine, and all the *confusion* that was phansied, was but an *invention* of S. W.

3. A third now follows, which came out of the very same *forge*, for he will needs perswade us, that there is no difference between breach of external peace, and want of that charity which is due from every Christian to every Christian] which is in effect, as if he said, there is no difference betwixt external and internal, for to that *internal charity* it is, that that last *species* belongs. Thus succesful is he in all his nice observations.

4. After this *αἰσχυρῶν*, wherein none but the *aire* was wounded, or fled before him, he now advances to his more serious strokes, and after some recital of my words, (which when he hath never an *objection* in the *forge*, he can perform well enough) he pitches on my answer to their *objection*, that by casting out the authority of the Bishop of Rome, we have cast off the head of all christian unity: And my answer being in these words, 1. that the Bishop of Rome, was never appointed by Christ to be the head of all Christian unity, or that Church to be a *conservatory* (for ever) of all Christian truth, any

more then any other *Bishop* or *Church* of the *Apostles* ordain-
ing or planting, he designs great advantage by the skillfull
exercise of his *faculties*, on these words. For 1. saith he,
what signifies, the *Bishop* of *Rome* was not appointed by *Christ*?
Christ saith he, not being on earth when *S. Peters* successors sat
there, and when he ordain'd *S. Peter* chief of the *Apostles*,
S. Peter was not yet *Bishop* of *Rome*] I answer, that my words
exacted not of him the proof of such a *personal* or *immediate*
appointment, I shall yet be content, if by any other means
more *remote*, by any certain, though not close *connection* or
consequence, he shall prove that the *Pope* was ever designed
or foreappointed by *Christ* to be the head of all *Christian*
unity. And truly if this be not done, I must suppose that
we are secured from the guilt of that sort of *schism*, of which
in that place I was treating, which consists in a *departure*
from those rules, appointed by *Christ* for the *founding* or
upholding in his *Church* the *unity* of *doctrins*, upon this one
score of our *rejecting* the *Papal* *supremacy* in the *Church*.

5. For if *Christ* hath no way, *mediately*, or *immediately*, fixt any
supremacy in any *single* person in the *Church*, or in a *succession* in
some one singular *See*, or if that *single* person, that shall be
said to be appointed to succeed *Christ* in all his power, so as no
other succeeds him, shall not also appear to have left the
Bishop of *Rome* to all posterity, as his *heir* *de asse*, *inheriter* of
that *universal* *supremacy*, vested in him by *Christ*, then cer-
tainly the *casting* off any such pretended power of the *Bishop*
of *Rome*, is not the *departure* from any rule for the *founding*,
or *upholding* of *unity* appointed by *Christ*, nor conse-
quently a *rupture* from that *faith*, which was once delive-
red unto the *saints*, which is the sort of *schism* I there spake
of.
6. And because *S. W.* was not at leisure to speak home to
this *question*, whether or no it were by any *divine* right, or
institution of *Christ*, that this *supremacy* in the *Church* be-
longs to the *Bishop* of *Rome*. It may not be amiss to take no-
tice, what his ordinary the *Bishop* of *Chalcedon* in his answer
to the *Bishop* of *Derry* hath, with less reservation, acknow-
ledged in this matter. To us saith he, it sufficeth that

the Bishop of Rome is S. Peters successor, and this all Fathers testifie, and all the Catholick church beleeveth, but whether he be *jo jure divino* or *humano*, is no point of faith, and many things are *de fide* which are not *de jure divino*. Where not to examine the truth of the affirmation, that the Bishop of Rome is S. Peters successor, it being yet as certain, that he is S. Pauls successor, as S. Peters, nor of the close, that some things are *de fide*, which are not *jure divino*. All that I take notice of is, that when to conclude the point in hand, that the casting off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, is an act of schism, as that signifies a departure from the faith of Christ, or those rules which Christ appointed to uphold the unity of doctrine, two things must necessarily be proved by the Romanist, 1. that this supreme power over all was by Christ given to S. Peter. 2. that the Pope is S. Peters successor in this, these are not so much as pretended to be so proved by the Romanist, as to be able to infer the conclusion. For that they may do so, it is necessary both that S. Peters right to the supremacy, and the Popes from him, should be *de jure divino*, and that it should be an article *de fide* that they are so, for if both of them be not *jure divino*, then neither is the Popes supremacy, which depends upon these two, as a conclusion on premises, *jure divino*, nor consequently any such appointment, or institution of Christ, as that the casting off that shall be the casting of a doctrine, or institution of Christ. And if it be not *de fide* that they are both thus *jure divino*, (as that Bishop saith they are not) then tis no breach of the unity of faith to deny these to be of divine right, nor consequently to deny the Popes supremacy to be of divine right, which depends on these, and cannot be of divine right, if these are not, which was all that I had to demonstrate.

7. And as, if this be granted me, there is very little more, which I need contend for, in this whole matter of our present debate, so if my intelligence do not deceive me, it is the common opinion among the Doctors of Paris, that the Pope hath not universal jurisdiction *jure divino*, (and then certainly not from *tu es Petrus*, or *Pasce oves*) and that his headship of the Church consists only, in being *Prima sedis Episcopus*, the Bishop of the first See;

8. As for the *testimony* of *S. Hierome*, which *S. W.* here opposeth to my affirmation [*that among the twelve one was chosen, that a head being constituted, the occasion of schism might be taken away*] 1. those words seem not to be *S. Hierom's*, but *Jovinian's*, for so it begins. *At dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, But you say the Church is founded on Peter.*

Ch. n. Sect.
10: 1, 5, &c.

9. Secondly, whose soever that *testimony* is, it hath been by me formerly produced, and answered, and must of necessity be so interpreted, as shall be reconcileable with his words in the same place, that the Church which was founded on Peter, was founded on all the Apostles as well as on him, and that ex aequo equally, the strength of the Church was established on them all.

10. And thirdly, of *S. Hieroms* opinion in that place it is evident, that what ever privilege it was that he allowed *S. Peter*, it was but upon the account of his seniority, either of years, or of his reception into the Discipleship, but rather of the former, for so it there follows. *Cur non Johannes electus est virgo? Etati delatum est quia Petrus senior erat.* Why was not John who was a virgin chosen, or preferred before the rest? (so *electus est*, is in the ensuing words interpreted by preference, not in Dominion over, but in place before the other Apostles) his answer is, Because Peter was the Elder, the deference being given to his age: Which being but a personal advantage, not communicable to all that should sit in the *Romane See* after him, is no way applyable to the benefit of the Romanist, who is to prove the Popes supremacy, and not only the Primacy of *S. Peter*.

11. And fourthly, if the utmost were granted that can be pretended from these words, it could never inforce or acquire to the Pope any more than the dignity of the Prime Patriarch, who in case of extraordinary difficulty, or contention falling out between two Primates, neither of them subject to any superior Bishop, or the like, might by way of voluntary appeal by mutual consent of parties, be resorted unto (and that would be beneficial to the unity of the Church, in case the Bishop of Rome persisted in the footsteps of *S. Peter*, and no way

way varied from him) But still this is nothing to the *plenitude of power*, as of an *universal Pastor*, which was that which I had at that time under consideration. And so all *S. W.* his hopefull *fabrick*, which depended on *S. Hieromes* words, is fallen to the ground, without any farther pains of ours, toward the *demolishing* of it. As

12. When he addes thirdly, that hence it follows that *Christian unity is conserved by the Bishop of Rome, more than any other Bishop, contrary to the Doctors assertion* } this is not in these words by him recited, of any force against the *Doctors assertion*, who made the comparison not simply betwixt the *Bishop or Church of Rome*, and all other *Bishops*, but betwixt that Church and any other Church of the *Apostles plantation*; And sure many such there were, as well as the Church of *Rome*, and more ancient than the Church of *Rome*, as the Church of *Jerusalem* and *Antioch*, the Churches of *Asia*, and many others, and consequently if *Rome* have any privilege above others, it is not from any appointment of *Christ*, whether *mediate*, or *immediate*, that it thus hath it.
13. Fourthly, saith he, the *Doctor equivocates in the word Roman Church*, and takes it in a sence which he knows we never meant it, our acception of it being of the *universal Church*, communicating with the *mother Church of Rome*, his of the *private Diocess of Rome it self*.] But it is manifest I did not equivocate, I spake of the *authority of the Bishop of Rome*, meaning just as he doth, the *pretended authority over the whole Church of God*, for else how could I speak of our *casting out that authority*, sure we never *cast out*, or denied his having *authority in his own Diocess*; But then to deny the truth of their *pretension*, and to appeal to my former proofs, that the whether *Church or Bishop of Rome* never had any appointment from *Christ* to be the head of all *Christian unity*, more than every other *Church or Bishop of the Apostles planting and ordaining*, (which was all I said in that place) this was as plain on the other side, and no kinde of *equivocating* in that.
14. Fifthly, When of the *private Church of Rome it self* he saith, that the *Fathers hold that it had a greater vigor of Christian tradition than any other Church*,] though this he hath not proved

ved, yet the yielding of it is perfectly reconcilable with all that I there said; For 1. it was of *Christs* appointment, that I spake, and whatsoever reverence the *Fathers* pay that *See*, yet they affirm not of *Christ*, that he by any peculiarity of promise conveyed any such privilege to that *See*, of having a greater vigor than all other Churches of *Apostolical* plantation; Secondly, it was of the perseverance or conserving for ever all *Christian* truth, that I spake, and against that the *Fathers* say nothing, but speak of it as of a matter of fact, that in their time *Christian* tradition was most eminently preserved there, not undertaking to divine, that it should to all perpetuity be so faithful a repository. Nay tis not * long since I told him out of *Anselm*, his prediction of the iniquity of that *See*, which should cause many Churches to depart from her. And it is small advantage to have this vigor once, if it have since betrayed that truth, and obruded Pontifical dictates instead of such Tradition.

* Ch. 5. Sect.
8. n. 1.

15. And lastly, When he is so unsatisfied with my interposing this word [forever] as if, saith he, *Christ* might perhaps appoint her to conserve truth for a while, but meant after some time to discharge her of that office, I answer, that speaking, as we now do, of the particular *See* of *Rome*, there is no colour of appointment or determination of *Christs*, that it should for any time be a conservatory of all *Christian* truth, any otherwise than it is his will and command and appointment, that every Church should conserve all *Christian* truth, and therefore that was not the motive to my putting in the word [forever] but because to make good the *Romanists* pretension, that the casting off the authority of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, is the casting off the Faith of *Christ*, it is necessary not only that that Church be appointed by *Christ* to be a conservatory of all *Christian* doctrine, but that it be secured to continue so for ever, else as the Churches of *Asia*, which were once every zealous conservatories of *Christian* truth, afterward forsook their first zeal, and admitted foul heresies, so it may be true of the Church of *Rome* also.

SECT. II.

The Apostles depositum. Grounds of belief. Our State fallible as peccable. Regal power differs from Sacerdotal. Peters Primacy what it signifies. Whether given him by Christ. Primacy of jurisdiction never without Dignity of place.

1. **W**Hat I said in the second place concerning the acts of Apostolical providence for the preserving unity in the faith: and 1. their resolving on some few heads (of efficacy to the planting of Christian life) to be deposited in every Church, hath somewhat perplexed S. W. for 1. saith he, Dr. H. is suddenly become a plain Papist (and if he be, I must only wonder how a Romanist can finde in his heart to write in consutation of him any longer) but then 2. he fears very much that Mr. H. in this his doctrine, neither goes to Church, nor staves at home] (and this very fright of his, the factor or stationer hath put in his bill of fare for a notable piece of wit, a special service) But to give him full satisfaction, I have written an intire tract on this subject, and given him the summe of my belief in this matter. what that depositum was that the Apostles thus deposited in all Churches, the several articles of the Apostolick faith or Creed, and if the Church of Rome would keep close to that depositum, and not corrupt by increasing of it, coine no more articles, than they had from the Apostles mint, there is not a more promising way of return to that unity, from which Christian professors long have swerved; and that the Church of Rome will not yield to this, is absolutely a breach of the Canon of Ephesus, to which I have spoken at large in the reply Ch. 8. Sect. 2. and shall thither refer the Reader for what might be added in this matter.

2. But he proposes in this matter a subtle Quere, whether these Churches, in which these heads of such special efficacy were deposited, were infallible, or no?] I answer briefly, that

H h

every

every of those Churches single, and particularly the Church of Rome was no farther *infallible*, than they should actually adhere to this *depositum* intrusted to them. If they swerved from it, by *addition* or *subtraction*, they so far failed of their trust. And that they might, any one of them so fail, I have no reason of doubting, who see so many visible demonstrations *à posteriori* of many of those Churches failing thus. But that all of them should *uniformly* without ever consulting of it, agree to impose upon posterity somewhat else, instead of that *Apostolical depositum*, I think not any more probable than that so many *Atoms* should casually yet orderly concur to make this *Universe*. But on the contrary, I think the *universal consent*, and attestation of all the *Apostolick plantations*, so forcible an argument to induce belief, that the *Apostles* did really deposit these *Doctrines* in all Churches, that any prudent man may safely venture his life or his soul on the truth of it, and resolve it as impossible to be otherwise, as that he and a multitude of other men should be deceived in that which they affirm from their own sensations.

3. Much more might be here said, but this is all that is necessary to be answered to that question. For as to his answer to my addition, that if we hold these doctrines deposited in the Church as zealously as the *Romanist*, we must hold them as of faith, and that the depository is so truly as it cannot deceive us.] I reply, tis sufficient to hold it of faith, and upon prudential grounds of resolving, that all the world of *Christian Apostolical Churches* would never concur wilfully, and gainlessly to deceive, not that any one or more of them single cannot possibly have been first misled themselves, and then mislead others. And therefore when I said those few heads were asserted by us as zealously as by any *Romanist*, my speech belonged to sincerity of belief induced thus as I now express, and to the degree of that sincerity; and if I that pretend not the same motive to induce my faith, as the *Romanist* pretends, have yet the same faith that the *Romanist* hath, and will adventure as high a stake, practice what Christ commands as confidently upon this faith, not built on the belief of their Churches infallibility, as the *Romanist* doth upon his supposed infallible ground,

ground, my faith will still be as much (if not more properly) faith as his, and I doubt not as secure of its acceptance and reward in heaven. And then sure I am as far from the sceptick school of Academicks, as the firmest, and most undoubted faith can secure me to be. For though I willingly grant, that mans wit cannot invent a better way to preserve unity of faith, than belief of their Churches infallibility would be, yet I, that for all fundamental truths of Christ, thus derived to me by undoubted tradition, am so richly provided for, and must not for all other particulars invent or carve for my selfe, but sit down satisfied with that portion which God hath thought fit for me, and cannot beleieve all that I would have; (my fancies, or my wishes) ought in reason for all these, to content my selfe with such means, as God hath afforded me; and till I discern by some infallible argument, that there is some man or society of men, which hath the never ceasing priviledge from God of being infallible, never goe about to deceive my self into a groundless confidence, or perswasion of a present utopian infallibility. I know it agrees with Gods good providence to leave me in a peccable, and I cannot resist, must not repine if he hath left me for some things in a fallible state, and only support my self with my diligence and my prayers, that I fall not willingly into fault, or mistake, sin or error.

4. What next follows upon my second way of preserving unity in faith, is lightly varied from the questions and answers in the *Cath. Gent.* and was punctually answered in the *Reply*, Chap. 8. Sect. 1.
5. As for his great care of providing a place for the King among the Bishops (which next follows in his playfome mood) it shall be seriously examined, whensoever he findes in any of my Papers, either that the King is by me stiled head of the Church, 'as he will feign me to call him, or that he, whose office it is to be Supreme Governour over Bishops even in Ecclesiastical causes, and to order the external affairs of the Church, hath the censures of the Church, or the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and so of admitting into, and excluding from the Church committed to him. If he knew not the difference

of the *Regal* and *Sacerdotal*, the *coercive* and *directive* power, he may learn it more seasonably of those, which have written *ex instituto* on that subject, than expect a new *treatise* of it from me here, *loco non suo*, who have a task of a competent *wearisomness* already before me.

6. Here follows now a special piece of *art*, on occasion of my allowing a *Primacy* of order or dignity among *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, proportionable to the *πρῶτος Σίμων* in *Scripture*, and agreeable to what is by the ancient *Canons* allowed the *Bishop of Rome*, [If so saith he, then for any thing you know it may be a *Primacy* of jurisdiction, and it stands only upon the certainty of yours and our interpretation of *Scripture*, whether it signifie such a *Primacy* or no.] I answer 1. that a [may be] no way concludes that it is, a thousand things may be, or might have been, if *God* had pleased, of which no one ever was or shall be, and I willingly grant *S. Peters Primacy* of jurisdiction over all the *Apostles*, to be one of that number. 2. my not knowing, or having no certainty of interpreting *Scripture*, can have nothing to doe in this matter, with the grounds which *S. W.* can produce to infer from *Scripture* what he affirms, and the solidity and irrefragable force of those grounds, are the only considerable in this business, and he that is, and acknowledges himself fallible, may yet by the right use of those means which *God* affords him, discern the truth, when they that use not those means, but rely on their feigned privilege of *inerrableness*, do by regular consequence from this presumption, swerve and faile in judging of truth, and interpreting *Scripture*. And so these are too weak *Topics* to conclude a matter of such importance to the whole Church, as is this of *Peters*, and from thence the *Popes Supremacy*, and universality of jurisdiction.

7. But *S. W.* hath yet a more efficacious *Topic*, at least *ad hominem*, which will conclude it impossible to be otherwise, (neither could it be any other, saith he) if any hold may be taken from his words. For, saith he, *S. Peter*, as you grant, and as the words *πρῶτος Σίμων* *Simon the first of the Apostles*, plainly evidence, had some kinde of *Primacy* then given him, and if it were then given him, he then had it, i. e. in our *Saviour's*

viours life time. But you told us Ch. 4. Sect. 14. that S. John had the dignity of place, which is the same with Primacy of order, before all others in Christs life time, even before S. Peter himself, the Primacy then, which S. Peter had in Christs life time, must be some other Primacy, and what Primacy could this be, but the Primacy of jurisdiction.

8. I answer 1. to the question in the conclusion, by telling him what Primacy it was that Peter had at this time, when the Scripture saith *πρῶτος Σίμων*, It was Primacy both of years and discipleship, he was the ancientest man, as Hierome told us even now, at least the ancientest of them which had any special remark of Christs favour on them, of the three, *ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἀρχαιότερος τῶν τριῶν*, as * Clemens calls him and the two sons of Zebedee, and the ancientest disciple of Christ: not the first that was called, that appears to be Philip, but the first that so obeyed his call, as constantly to adhere to him. And this having nothing of jurisdiction over all his fellow disciples annex to it, on the one side, only the dignity of speaking first, or being spoken to, and answering in the person of all, and yet being very reconcileable with all that I said of John, ch. 4. Sect. 14. viz. that he had the favour of Christ, and the dignity of place before S. Peter himself in Christs life, leaning on his breast, having the *πρωτοκαθισία* (for the younger man and the later disciple might by Christs favour, have that) there remains no force in this argument against my pretensions. But then 2. what is by the disputer assumed, both as granted by me, and plainly evidenced by the words, First Simon, viz. that some Primacy was given Peter] may have some ambiguity in it, and therefore must be cleared, before I can either grant it to be true, or disclaim the granting it. If by [given] he mean no more than I have already said, that he had it by that favour of Christ, which was specially afforded to three of them, of whom he was the ancientest, both in respect of years and discipleship, then I freely grant it, and am no more incommodated by it, than just now I appeared to be. But if by [given] he mean any farther particular donation of Christs to him, then this Primacy no way appears to have been thus given him. For

* *πρωτομωσ*
h. s.

whatsoever is by the *Romanists* supposable to be given him, upon *tu es Petrus*, cannot be applied to this, the title of *πρῶτος Σίμων* being mentioned by the *Evangelist*, before that part of the story, which sets down *Christ's* delivering those words to him. And for any other donation precedaneous to that, 1. the *Scripture* mentions none, and 2. tis not conceivable there should be any, or indeed such force in that, when all the time of *Christ's* life *John* had the *πρωτοκλισία*, the dignity of place next *Christ*. For though that dignity of place may be (and was in *John*) without any superiority of power or jurisdiction, yet the Superiority or Primacy of jurisdiction is never to be found in any without the *πρωτοκλισία* or priority of place: and therefore I say, it is not Imaginable (when the *Scripture* is silent) that any such Primacy of jurisdiction should at, or before the time of the [first *Simon*] belong to *S. Peter* by *Christ's* donation, and yet the dignity of place remain to *S. John* by *Christ's* indulgence. And so much for the argument *ad hominem*, which doubtless made him promise of doing him special service, but hath much failed his expectation.

9. But this great advantage must not be lost so, if it be good for nothing else, yet it may be so disguised and brought out a second time in other dress or garnish, that it may serve very well for a *quelque chose* in the bill of fare, and so indeed it is improved in the next onset; and from our *Saviours* making *Peter* the first, there must needs be some better thing bestowed on him, saith he, than a dry Presidency, or an obliging all the *Apostles* under pain of damnation to make a leg to *S. Peter*] I answer, it now appears what the designe was in the former urging of the argument, to shuffle in the giving of the Primacy to him. But that art being now discovered, and no donation of *Christ's* being discernible to be included, or intimated in this title of *S. Peters*, the *puſſ-paſt* may have served to furnish the table, but hath not fed any of the *guests*: and so we have done with that Paragraph.

SECT. III.

The Romanists peace not perfect. The Greek Church, acknowledged not the Popes Supremacy. The Politick Problem. The Kings power in externals. His judgement what good for the publick.

1. **I**N his answer to Chap. 8. Sect. (it should be) 6th he hath made a shift at the entrance quite to mistake my words, and design. I speak of the unity of the whole body, i. e. of the whole Christian Church, and all the parts of it, Eastern as well as Western &c. to which I thought the subjection of this Nation to the Pope, could not effectually contribute, because before the time of our pretended departure, the Eastern Churches had long renounced all subjection to the Papacy. And he refers me to the great tranquillity which they enjoy who are under that government now. I answer, 1. that I discern not the truth of his affirmation, nor acknowledge the so perfect peace which he boasts of; I need not go far for instances; 'Tis not long since we saw the seculars and regulars far enough removed from such huge tranquillity, engaged at a competent distance (as Wansons Quodlibets will testifie) in many things, particularly, and more lately in that controversie concerning the necessity of an Ordinary in these Islands, and S. W. may remember it, by the token of the Jesuits Creed, and whether their agreement be now so perfect in respect of the questions long agitated betwixt the Iansenians and Molinists, even after the Popes decision on the Molinists side, he may please to inform us in his next; And till then I shall omit the debate concerning the state of the souls departed, and the doctrines attending that, which are of some weight of importance.
2. Secondly, Be the tranquillity of the Romish Subjects and votaries never so profound, yet 'tis evident the unity of the Romanists is not the unity of the whole Christian world, and
that

that being it I spake of, tis certain he yet renders no answer to that. Tis true indeed, if it were all *Christians* duty, and so ours, to be subject to the *Bishop of Rome*, others default would not secure or justify us, but that this is the duty of all *Christians*, or of any more than of right belong to the *Roman Province*, is the principal question all this while, and must not be begg'd (as in the process of this answer it is) while it is under dispute.

3. But at length he comes nearer the point in hand, and considers the *Greek Church*, and of them affirms these three things. First, that for rejecting the *Popes Supremacy* they were by all the *Christian world* held and called *schismatics*; and yet secondly, when they were in their right mode, as in the *Council of Florence*, they admitted it as much as any *Roman Catholick*. Thirdly, that when they were disgusted and refused unity, they acknowledged the power of the *Bishop of Rome*, as, saith he, appears by the testimony of *Gerson*, cited by *Bishop Bramhal*. against himself, which witnesses that the *Greeks* departed from the then *Pope* with these words, we acknowledge thy power, we cannot satisfy your covetousness, live by your selves.]

Just. vindic.
p. 16.

4. To these I answer, 1. that their being the greatest *schismatics* for the rejecting the *Supremacy*, and yet their acknowledging as much as any *Catholick*, and when they refused unity, yet acknowledging the *Popes power*] are riddles for none but *S. W.* to expound, and when he hath done that, he may very justly turn *South-sayer*, and set up *ex tripode* to deliver *anguries* or *oracles* which he please. For certainly if their *schism* consisted in denying the *Popes Supremacy*, and that is his power, then when they refused unity, in which refusal their *schism* consisted, they did not acknowledge his power. Secondly, if sometimes they were in the mode to deny the *Popes Supremacy*, sometimes to grant it, then, for ought *S. W.* hath here attempted to prove by any other means, than that of his own approving it, the yielding the *Pope's power* doth no more appear to have been their good mood, or interval, than their much more constant and continued refusing. Thirdly, for their subscription in the *Council of Florence*, he cannot but know, how invalid it is to infer their submission

submission to the *Popes power*, else it were great unkindness to account them as great schismatics since, as before that Council (of the *Greeks doctrine* in this Council, I have also spoken in the reply, Ch. XI. Sect. I.) Lastly, for Bp. Brambals citation out of Gerson, Part of the Bishops words are, that the *Greek Church* never acknowledged any obedience to be due from them to the Bishop of Rome, and he that is acquainted with the Chancellor John Gersons writings, or but with as many pieces of his, as are put together by Goldastus, in his *Monarchia*, will not doubt that the same was his sense also, and we need no further evidence, than the words thus cited from him, for sure they that bid the Pope live by himself, *res suas sibi habere* (the solemn form of divorce) cannot at the same time acknowledge any such power, as S. W. pretends to, or any more than that of the Prime Patriarch, or beginning of unity, which that learned Bishop was there willing to acknowledge.

5. He next replies to my mention of the *Politick Problem*, whether the Bishop of Rome be probably able to administer so vast a Province, the truth of which I thought belonged to prudent persons to judge, and especially to Kings intrusted by God with the care of their own Realms; And first he is willing to interpret my words of such humane policy, as was to be had among heathens, and streightway to advance to such a fistidious despising of my conclusion drawn from the *Christian Kings* being nursing Fathers to the Church, as to make it equally to infer Nero to have right and title to be head of the Church, whilst he remained an heathen Emperor. But all this hath no more appearance of weight or earnest in it, than will briefly be answered, by my telling him, 1. that I spake of *Christian policy*, or skill of managing and regulating the external matters of the Church, such is this of dividing or bounding of Provinces, appointing of Bishops Sees, or Metropoles, and the like in such a manner as may most tend to publick good, and as an Heathen Emperor by accident may do somewhat in this, viz. by dividing the Empire into Provinces, as we know Augustus did by Mecenasss advice, and S. Paul in his ordaining Bishops in Churches, follow the *apostles order*, as

he found in the *civil notitia*, so now that *Princes* have received the *faith of Christ*, and undertaken the defence of it, sure none is more fit to judge of all things of this rank than he, whom in every *Nation* God hath appointed to be *Supreme* over all, even *Ecclesiastical* persons, viz. the *Christian King*, as (both in this particular, and more generally) had before been proved 'to be the sense and resolution of the *Christian Church* and *Councils*, and as the very title of *Father*, which the *Scripture* gives *Kings*, in relation to the *Church*, *Isa.* 49. 23. doth demonstrate; For to the *Fathers* power, subjection and obedience in external things is *relative*, as even by the instance, which he thinks most confutes it, is manifest; for though *Ioseph* was but a *foster Father* to *Christ*, yet the text assures us, *Christ* lived in obedience to *Ioseph*, for else it could not be truly said, that he was *sub ect* to them, in the plural, *Luk* 2. 51.

6. What he adds in conclusion of that *Sett.* as a consequence from my words, that by making the *King* in each nation *Judge* of this *Politick Problem*, I make the party in the controversy to be *umpire* of it] can really have no place here, where I am speaking, not of the point of right, whether the *Pope* be rightfully the *head* of our *Church* (for if that were the thing now under consideration, I should acknowledge the *Prudential* or *Politick Problem* it self to be very unseasonably interposed) but whether it be most for the good of our, or any particular *Church* abstracting from the point of right) that the *Pope* should be *head* of it, or whether he being himself of but *finite faculties*, and at such a distance from us, and many other nations, he be fitly qualified to administer that vast *Province*, one *Monarch* over the whole *Christian world*, For of this it was evidently, that I there spake, and in that I thought it reasonable that the *Prince*, that is the *Common ruler* both of *S. W.* and of me, should be deem'd the most competent judge betwixt us, what is best for either of us, and for all others in the same condition with us, which is far enough from making either party the *umpire*, as *S. W.* suggested me to do, and is only angry with me, because I would not let him be guilty of the same fault himself, which he unjustly

unjustly accuses me of, for if the Pope should be *umpire*, as he would have it, 'tis visible that a party is *umpire*. And so much for his first Section,

SECT. IIII.

The first ages most competent testifiers of tradition. Scripture a witness of Apostolick practice, and not only Tradition. Scripture as infallibly interpretable as Tradition, or Papal decrees. The four first Councils prefer'd before all subsequent, Why? The Articles of faith consigned in them, not to be increased. Authority of Councils. Docibleness in a Church no fault. Not learning of Rome our only charge. Belief without Infallibility. Purvey the flourishing of a Church.

- i. **H**IS second Section though well lengthened with exaggeration and sarcasme, is but a recitation, and enlargement of the same mistake of my sense, which the Cath. Gent. had hit on before him, concerning my mention of the first 300. years, and the four first general Councils, as if I rejected all the rest of the Church, which was not comprised within those bounds, as erroneous, and such as I refused to be tried by, for the Doctrines in Controversie between them and us; Whereas it is most manifest by the occasion, and whole contexture, that I mention'd the Scripture, and those as the safest Depositories of all that faith which was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and so as the most competent testifiers of tradition, which certainly they must be, if either he that was an ocular witness, or lived nearest the times of such, be more creditable, and authentick for the relating a matter of fact, than any other, no more honest than he, which hath not so good means to attain to the knowledge of it. Do not we *ceteris paribus*, give more credit to one eye-witness, than to many that were not such, but make distant relations from

times which were long before them, offering no testimony, or record of any *actions*, for what they say? Or indeed is it possible for us at this distance by any optick to discern or judge, what the *Apostles* did or taught, if it were not conveyed to us by some who lived in, or soon after their times? Is there any satisfactory motives to induce belief of a matter of fact (such it is; that the *Apostle* did institute, or teach this or that) but the authority of the Reporter? and is there any proper ground, whereon to build this sort of authority of one man, or society of men above another, but the consideration first of the means, he hath to inform himself rightly, then of his fidelity, that being not deceived himself, he was not presumeable to be willing to deceive others? So that what infallible judgement soever the Church of this or any former age can be deemed to have, yet sure matters of fact, such are all traditions, are not the proper matter whereon to exercise it, 'tis not imaginable that the most invincible Pope or Council, should be strength of that, unless they have also (which I suppose they pretend not) immediate revelation, and inspiration annex to it, affirm infallibly, either what S. W. hath written in *Schism disarm'd*, at what *Simon Zelotes* preach't in Britaine, or indeed that ever he was here, or any one *Christian Doctor* for many hundred years, or consequently what *Deposium* was intrusted to our Church, any farther than they are advertised by some Records of the times, wherein each thing was done, or of the succeeding times, within such a distance, as it can by some sure means be conveyed to them. What can be more plain and evident than this? What less lyable to those ridiculous consequences, of being judged by those that speak nothing of our differences, of making the whole Church first pure, then impure, then pure again, as it sues best with my purpose, of expressing a plain tergiversation, and the like which are affixt to my mention of the 300. years, and the 4 general Councils? But of this I have spoken enough, in the Reply, Ch. 8. Sect. 3.

2. But S. W. hath one *specialy* here, wherein he surpasses the *Cath. Gent.* His first objection is against my but naming Scripture for any way of judging of Apostolical doctrines and traditions.]

traditions.] The concordant testifications of the first ages of the Church, and the four general Councils I had particularly named, as means to convey to us the knowledge of Apostolical traditions, only I set Scripture in the front, as verily believing that at least some Apostolical practises and doctrines, were conserved there, suppose it were Christs sermon on the mount, or his institution of the Sacraments, or his very death and resurrection &c. And I must be arraigned and chiselled, and very demure arguments formed against me for no more but this; For first he will ask. *Are those doctrines clearer expressed in scripture than in the depositories of the Church, or no?* If they be, saith he, *what needed we those Depositives?* If not, *how can we judge of them by scripture?*] I answer, what need hath the world of the rich of disputing, which suggests arguments against the suns giving light at noon day, and S. W. his invention serves him as well on such a theme, as for the defending any of his most precious concerns. Or if a man is bound either to be a schismatick, or to render puntual satisfaction to all such forked dilemmas as these, which like the brute in the Fable mistook his own eares for horns, it then sufficeth me at the present, that which soever is most obscure, should receive light from the more perspicuous, and so that sometimes the scripture should illustrate the Depositories of the Church, sometimes receive lustre from them, and such very good friends as are the writings of the Apostles, and the records of their preachings, live amicably and profitably together, and administer each to the others necessities, and we receive our instruction from both, when they are both willing to afford it, and content our selves with either, when the other is silent, and never question Gods bounty, what need we have, or what benefit we can reape of that which he hath afforded; It being visible both in these, that that which is not needfull at one time, may be beneficial, nay necessary at another, and in hypocrisis, that this is the very case of scripture, and the faith once delivered to the saints (as that is mentioned by, and so is a disparate thing from the scripture) that one lends at one time, and at another time borrows light from the other.

3. As for his singular instance, to prove how difficult a thing it is to judge when things are clear in scripture, when not, from the Doctors not being satisfied from thence, that S. Paul converted Jews, S. Peter Gentiles, 'tis long since demonstrated to be a calumnie, and that all that I said was no more than what was affirmed by the plainest words of Scripture, set down as intelligibly, as ever any tradition unwritten can be delivered, or as the Pope or Council can define any thing. viz. that by compact between those two Apostles and some others, where they met in a City of mixt inhabitants, one should betake himself to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles. And therefore, as to that supernumerary exception, let S. W. but tell me what sure rules he gives us to settle our judgement, when things are clear in the definition of a Pope or Council, when not, or in case of a doubt, what the meaning is of such supposed infallible decree (which if it want an interpreter, is a barbarian to him that understands it not, though in the spirit, it delivereth never so infallible an oracle) and I will not faile to satisfie his importunity, and direct him to as proper and safe means to interpret scripture also, or else I will not impose on him the believing this or that sense of it.
4. The equality of the authority of all Councils he also presseth, against my naming but the *source first* (which the *Cath. Gent.* was not acute enough to take notice of) But besides many other grounds of difference between those *source first*, confessedly Oecumenical Councils, and the fourteen more which he sets under that title (which I shall not now insist on) I have already more than intimated the reason which in that part of my discourse gave the deference to those, because those were so near the first times, that they were competent witnesses or judges of the records, which were then produced for the truths, which were there defined as from Apostolical tradition. To which I farther add, because the Creeds or summaries of the credenda were in these so consign'd, as that they might not afterwards be enlarg'd by any to any new matters, as appears both by the Nicene Creed, form'd by the Fathers of that first famous Council (the Athanasian being but an explication of that) and the express words of the Ephesine Council Can. 7.

ἵνα μὴ ἐξῇναι that it should not be lawfull for any man to produce, write or compose any belief, beside that which was thus establish'd by the Fathers of Nice. And that they which should dare συνδιδάσκειν ἢ προσφέρειν τοῖς δίδουσι ἡμετέροις ἐκκλησίαις τῆς ἀληθείας, to compose or tender or offer any such other Faith to any that were willing to convert to the acknowledgement of the truth from Judaisme, Gentilisme or any other heresy whatsoever, if they were Bishops, should be degraded, if Laick's anathematized or excommunicated; which as it renders a direct account of my pitching on this way of trial, whether the Church of Rome's conditions of Communion are too severe to us or no, so is it our evidence, that we are not hereticks, who beleeve all this faith of Nice and Ephesus &c. or if we were, and for no less than heresy cast out by the Church of Rome, they must not under pain of degradation and excommunication, I may add the crime and pain of perjury also, (the Pope at his Consecration swearing to observe inviolably all the ordinances made in the eight first General Councils) impose any new articles of belief upon us, (I mean such as were not in substance comprehended in those former Creeds) in the way to our readmission or return to their Churches peace.

5. By the way, when there have been in the Romanists account so many General Councils above the number of the 8. first, I might aske, whether in the Popes Consecration-Oath he swear the observation of all the whole number indefinitely? Or if he do not, whether I may not as seasonably retort the Question, as S. W. could propose it, whether all the Councils are not of equal authority, there being nothing found to authorize the first eight, which was not found in the ninth, tenth &c. And then sure that answer that can be so easily retorted upon the respondent, is no unrefutable answer.
6. What now hath been said, demonstrates sufficiently how little engagement lies upon me by force of the mention of the foure first Councils, to imbarke in a new Ocean of Controversie, concerning the sacred and obligatory authority of all Councils, any farther then their determinations appear to be grounded on Apostolick tradition; so far indeed my words obliged

obliged me, and to that I have spoken already, (and I suppose, yielded as much, as is demanded by many *learned Papiſts*) but to any more my leisure is not so great at this time, as to invite me to expatiate so unnecessarily, though if it were seasonable, I might safely adventure on the question in the very terms, that S. W. hath proposed it unto me, viz. with his interposition of those two exceptions, unless their votes have not been free, or some other known defect have been in the managing of it. In which second rank of exceptions, I should not think fit to name the *Primate* of England his not consenting to the Canon, as S. W. will be forced to decry the Canon of Calcedon, because the Pope consented not to it, and this after he hath rebuked it in me, as illogical and illegal, to commit the Umpirage to a Party.

7. The last onset is against my extolling the humble docible temper of our Church, i. e. in plain terms against imitating our Saviour, who did more then commend or extol humility, even *maximè*, pronounces it a prime ingredient in blessedness, and commands us to learn and transcribe it from him. If it were an hypocritical or false humility that I had thus extol'd, and I were now chid for talking like a saint (as just before I was, when I did but profess, that our ignorance, if we should be found to mistake, is an unaffected ignorance; which S. W. such is his Christian temper, resolves to be a conscientiousness to my self, what pitiful shifts I make use of instead of grounds) If I say, the pretending to the humble and docible temper, whilst it were far from us, had been the matter of the charge, this had been but the old S. W. still, and I could not with reason easily see or think strange of it, having been so long to intimately acquainted with his humor, and taught to expect such constructions from him. But it is the very humility which we profess to have, the docibleness which I verily thought had been our strictest duty, which is become S. W. his greatest scorn. Truly Mr Dr saith he, it is a wonderful commendation to your Church, that she is yet to be taught, pray when will she be of age to leave going to school?] I answer to this question, I confess I am forced to speak like a saint (but that is not indeed like an hypocrite) in the words of S. Paul, when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be

be done away. For now we see through a glass darkely, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known. Since I first read those words, I thought I had reason to expect nothing in this world above an imperfect fallible estate, which signifies not any sceptical ἀγνοῦν-τία, any doubt of the truth of any thing, which we beleeve our selves to be taught by the Apostles of Christ, or an imperfectness, or darkness of any truth, which from him either by written or unwritten tradition hath been surely and clearly conveyed to us, (We sure believe all the Articles of the Creed as firmly as any Romanist believes them) but an imperfection in respect of the object or of the light, some things being believed by others, which we do not beleeve, because we have yet no convincing motive to induce the belief of them, other things also, wherein though as far as appears to us, they are false, and not reasonable to be believed by us, at least by divine faith, as long as we have no divine ground of that faith, either from scripture or tradition ; yet because we believe our selves fallible, and that we may possibly come, even in this world, to see more than yet we see, therefore humility and docibleness, is in this respect, all that we pretend to, and trust it will finde a more favourable acceptation at his hands, to whom we desire to approve our selves, than here with this disputer it hath met with.

8. But it is evident enough, that it is not our humility or docible temper, that hath seriously disoblged S. W. If we will but give him leave to choose a mistress for us, we shall then be allow'd to be as humble and docible as we please ; For so it follows. *Is it docibleness or humility to forsake a mistress which had all the qualities which could give her authority ?*] To see, whither passion or interest will drive one ! Twas even now a fault that we were not out of our Prentice-like Tutorage, that we did not set up for our selves, to profess truth as a Church should do ? and that he thought the Church should have been the pillar and firme foundation of the truth] and lest we should do so indeed, become his scholars, and having ruminated upon this his first lecture, reply to him, that upon that very account our Church acknowledges no mistress upon

earth, no not the *Totius Orbis Domina*, the *Universal Mistress*, the *Roman See*, being for all necessities sufficiently furnished by that *depositum* which the *Apostles* left with us, and for what remains dark and undiscovered to us, secure, that the *knowledge* or *explicit* belief will never be exacted of us, Upon this sudden apprehension, a pin is fallen out of the *Machine*, and the scene is perfectly changed, we must now be disciplin'd afresh, that we will set up for our selves, that we will ever be of age, that we have at length out-grown our *Pupillage*, that we are not so docible, or rather so tame, as to believe all that can be told us by one, whole *Proctor S. W.* assures us she is *infallible*, when in the very truth there is no one thing she doth, or can tell us, that we have less reason or authority to believe, than that the *Rom. n Church*, which is this *Mistress* all this while, is either *infallible*, or free from many gross errors, and have no greater prejudice against learning of her, than this, that she hath no other possible means to infer the belief of many of her doctrines, but this fallacious circular one, because she cannot erre.

9. What yet farther follows in reproach of this *magnanimous* piece of our docible humility, that we holde *Articles of faith* upon that authority, which it is an article of our faith that it may deceive us,] hath been answered many times over, viz. that we may reasonably believe without doubting what yet is made known to us, by an authority, which we know to be fallible, having so little reason to distrust its testimony, though it be fallible, that I adventure my life confidently upon no securer terms. And indeed the *magnanimity* or temerity is not lessened but increased, by my taking up all my belief in gross from *S. W.* his *infallible guide*, for that she is truly so, as she pretends, I am far enough from being *infallibly* ascertain'd, so that the balance or competition hangs but thus, betwixt a fallible authority, believed or affirmed by it self to be *infallible* on the one side, and another, or the same fallible authority believed to be fallible, on the other side, and which of these two is really the safest guide, the one that leaves no place for caution to *S. W.* the other that leaves me as safe, but more cautious (for certainly if these guides are really such,

as cannot mislead me, my believing of them, though I think them, as all humane things, fallible, will not render them fallible, if they are not, or me deceivable by them, who really cannot be deceived) I now leave S. W. in his humble pusillanimous fit of believing nothing but what is represented by an infallible authority, to consider, and 'tis possible it may goe for reason, and not for folly or fanisie, in his severest retirements.

10. What he means by asking, why the Primitive times must needs just end then when the Church began to flourish | expounding that by [the times when the fathers began to write against our doctrines] I cannot well divine, who think Christianity may flourish, when the profession of it is outwardly persecuted, ('tis not the grandeur of professors, but purity of Religion, which is the true verdure and flourishing of it) and who am assured, that in the time of the four general Councils, Christianity was in all respects as flourishing as ever : & that the coming in of new doctrines into the Church, which had not been taught by the Apostles, is the decay and withering, not the advancing or greater flourishing of it. I shall rather ask why the Church must then attain to its plenitude of authority with S. W. when it begins as he saith, to write against our doctrines, when it is certain we embrace no doctrines, but what the Church delivers us from the Apostles, and are accused by the Romanists, not for introducing more doctrines, than they acknowledge us to have received, but only for questioning the truth of, and tradition for some which they have introduced, and for which they cannot pretend Apostolical tradition, unless they finde them testified in those first ages which were next the Apostles, (and so are the only competent testifiers of what is Apostolical) which ages if they have testified the truth of all the Romish doctrines, and the Romanists take up their doctrine, upon their testification, then we cannot be blamed by a Romanist, who are by his very objection here acknowledged to believe all that they have testified. And this is all that is due to his second Section.

earth, no not the *Totius Orbis Domina*, the *Universal Mistress*, the *Roman See*, being for all necessities sufficiently furnished by that *depositum* which the *Apostles* left with us, and for what remains dark and undiscovered to us, *secure*, that the *knowledge* or *explicite belief* will never be exacted of us, Upon this sudden apprehension, a *pin* is fallen out of the *Machine*, and the *scene* is perfectly *changed*, we must now be *disciplin'd afresh*, that we will *set up for our selves*, that we will *ever be of age*, that we have at length *our-grown our Pupillage*, that we are not so *docible*, or rather so *came*, as to believe all that can be told us by one, whole *Proctor S. W.* assures us she is *infallible*, when in the very truth there is no one thing she doth, or can tell us, that we have less *reason* or *authority* to believe, than that the *Rom. n Church*, which is this *Mistress* all this while, is either *infallible*, or free from many *gross errors*, and have no greater *prejudice* against *learning* of her, than this, that she hath no other *possible* means to infer the *belief* of many of her *doctrines*, but this *fallacious circular* one, because she cannot *erre*.

9. What yet farther follows in reproach of this *magnanimous* piece of our *docible humility*, that we holde *Articles of faith* upon that *authority*, which it is an *article of our faith* that it *may deceive us*, } hath been answered many times over, *viz.* that we may reasonably *believe* without *doubting* what yet is made known to us, by an *authority*, which we know to be *fallible*, having so little reason to *distrust* its *testimony*, though it be *fallible*, that I adventure my life *confidently* upon no *securer* terms. And indeed the *magnanimity* or *temerity* is not lessened but increased, by my taking up all my *belief* in *gross* from S. W. his *infallible guide*, for that she is truly so, as she pretends, I am far enough from being *infallibly ascertained*, so that the *balance* or *competition* hangs but thus, betwixt a *fallible authority*, believed or affirmed by it self to be *infallible* on the one side, and another, or the same *fallible authority* believed to be *fallible*, on the other side, and which of these two is really the *safest guide*, the one that leaves no place for *caution* to S. W. the other that leaves me as *safe*, but more *cautious* (for certainly if these *guids* are really such,

ascannot mislead me, my *believing* of them, though I think them, as all *humane* things, *fallible*, will not render them *fallible*, if they are not, or me *deceivable* by them, who really cannot be *deceived*) I now leave S. W. in his *humble pusillanimous* fit of *believing* nothing but what is *represented* by an *infallible authority*, to consider, and 'tis possible it may goe for reason, and not for folly or *fanisie*, in his severest retirements.

10. What he means by asking, *why the Primitive times must needs just end then when the Church began to flourish* | expounding that by [*the times when the fathers began to write against our doctrines*] I cannot well divine, who think *Christianity* may flourish, when the profession of it is outwardly persecuted, ('tis not the grandeur of professors, but purity of Religion, which is the true verdure and flourishing of it) and who am assured, that in the time of the *four general Councils*, *Christianity* was in all respects as flourishing as ever : & that the coming in of *new doctrines* into the Church, which had not been taught by the *Apostles*, is the decay and withering, not the advancing or greater flourishing of it. I shall rather ask why the Church must then attain to 'its plenitude of authority with S. W. when it begins as he saith, to write against our doctrines, when it is certain we embrace no doctrines, but what the Church delivers us from the *Apostles*, and are accused by the *Romanists*, not for introducing more doctrines, than they acknowledge us to have received, but only for questioning the truth of, and tradition for some which they have introduced, and for which they cannot pretend *Apostolical tradition*, unless they finde them testified in those first ages which were next the *Apostles*, (and so are the only competent testifiers of what is *Apostolical*) which ages if they have testified the truth of all the *Romish doctrines*, and the *Romanists* take up their doctrine, upon their testification, then we cannot be blamed by a *Romanist*, who are by his very objection here acknowledged to believe all that they have testified. And this is all that is due to his second Section.

SECT. V.

Retaining Apostolical Government, one indication that we are no Schismatics. Vindication of my method. The one sort of Schism with the Romanists. Altare contra altare, Schism: yet all Schism consists not in that. The Primate in each Church. The Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes, wherein it consists. Of Liturgies and Ceremonies, and Discipline. Of Sacrilege. Of the Mass. Of the Popes Monarchy, and Festivals.

1. **I**N his third Sect. his first dish, or iest (for it is with the Stationer under one, with the Author under the other of these notions) is raised out of the view of my method again, which when all is done, is as exact, as he could have taught it to be; That dividing from our Ecclesiastical Superiors was fitly set for a first kinde of Schism, that against subordination, and that casting off all government quite, was a species of another kinde, by way at least of reduction, as the institutions of Christ and his Apostles, are reducible to the faith of Christ, hath been vindicated already; And all that is now behinde to be justified in this place, is, that external communion being one part of unity, and the offences against that one part of schism, our retaining and living regularly under that form of Government, under which the Apostles founded Ecclesiastical Assemblies, is one evidence of our not being guilty of schism against external Communion. And to this purpose what proofs can be needful, when it is once considered, that external Communion is nothing else but *ἐκκοινωνία* joyning regularly in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and that that is stiled being *ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ* within the altar, in Ignatius's phrase, in communion external with all those whom God hath set over us, and with all those that keep close to them, all others that live out of this, being, as S. W. told us even now, a multitude, but not a Church. And indeed when the rulers of the Church

Church are the *Masters and Ministers* of the *Assemblies*, who have the *ordering and transacting* of all in them, what possibility is there of considering *external communion*, without an explicate consideration of this head, the *forme of Government* appointed by *Christ*, and the *regular living* under it.

2. To this I shall only add, that if there had been any *infirmity* in my *method*, and if that were the very *default*, which he would have reprehended, the *reverting desultorily* to the matter of *Government*, S. W. would have been the *unfittest* person in the world to *complain* of it, or upon this one score of the *immethodicalness* of my process, to *seast* his neighbours as he doth with the news of my *preaching* in a *wilderness*; For certainly none can be more *guilty* of it in the very kinde, than he, for the *denying the Popes Supremacy* being his *schism* of *schisms*, as the *denying his Infallibility* is his *heresie* of *heresies*, 'tis consequent and certain, that whensoever he comes to distribute *schism* into its parts, *Denying the Popes Supremacy* must be the root and branch in every one of them. Thus very *unfuitable* it is to S. W. his condition, to *blame* other mens *methods*, who if he were never so *subtle* an *artist* or *methodist*, could not *serve* his *rules* and his *hypothesis* at once, but must be fain to *divide* his *theme* (*Schism*) as the *keen stomach* did his *short Commons*, or the *blunt Friar* his *text*, into one bit, or part. For that is the *breviat* of the *Romanists divinity*, that all that live in *obedience* to the *Bishop of Rome* are *Catholick*, and all that do not, *schismatical*.

3. But he tells us next, that *Arians* and other *hereticks* have after their *breaking from the Church of God* retain'd the *authority* of their own *Bishops*] I answer, that when *heresie* and *schism* went together, and the *Bishops* themselves were not the *ring-leaders* of it (as among the *Arians* it was) there generally the *hereticks* renounced the *authority* of their own *Bishops*, and set up others against them, and so erected altar against altar, i. e. *Bishop* against *Bishop*, the ordinary stile of *schismatics* in the *Fathers*, and notorious in the instance of the *Donatists*. But then 2. I grant that retaining the *authority* of their *Bishops*, is not, being taken alone, any certain argument,

gument, or evidence of not being *schismaticks*, and therefore I took it in *consort* with others, and made it but *one* of *six* indications, on our side, for our not being *guilty* of this one branch of *schism*, against *external Communion*; and that I hope was just as S. W. would have directed me. This being still one branch of *schism* in them that are *guilty* of it, though all *schism* do not consist in *this*. Which also may be useful advertisement to him, if he please, and minde him, that the *adhering* to the *authority* of the *Bishop* of *Rome* is no certain *defensive* against *schism*, and that there may be other *schismaticks* besides those, which are either by, or without their own *default* or *consent*, *divided* and *separated* from that *See*.

4. What he here adds of my not telling him of the main hinge of our Churches Government, which is of the King being it's head and supreme in Ecclesiastical matters] is a special device, For I ask, doth he beleave the King to be in any Nation head of the Church? If he doth not, why am I to be rebuked, for not putting him into my scheme, and so for not telling him of it? I acknowledge indeed that I do not tell him of it, and that with very good reason, because in my poor opinion, the King makes no part in our Hierarchie, the Primate of each Nation is he, whom, according to the Apostlick Canon, and that of Antioch, we acknowledge. The Apostolick Canon is exprefs. *Τὸς ἐπισκόπους ἐκαστοὺς εἶδεναι καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγῆσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν* the Bishops in every Nation ought to know the first or Primate among them, and to account him as their head; and the Canon of Antioch is as full, *τὸς καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ ἑκάστη ἐπισκόπους εἶδεναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει καθεστῶτον ἐπισκόπον*, the Bishops in every Province must know the Bishop which presides in the Metropolis, and do nothing of common concernment without him. As for the King, we know the title and power which by our doctrine belongs to him, viz. to be Supreme over all persons in all causes whatsoever. That he is Supreme the Scripture tells us in many places, and particularly S. Peter, and how farr this Supremacy extends in respect of Persons, the Fathers of the Church have made no scruple to affirm, without excepting of any; so
Saint

Καν. λδ.

Καν. β.

Saint Chrysostom on Rom. 13. 1. Πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάσσεται, καὶ ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, καὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, The precept of subjection to Kings as Supreme, belongs to all, both to Priest and Monks, and not to seculars alone, and, καὶ ἂν Ἀπόστολος ᾖ, καὶ Ἐγγελῆς, καὶ προφήτης, καὶ ὅστις, though thou be an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, or whosoever, thou art under this precept of obedience to the higher powers. And indeed the matter is clear, that if as men we are born Subjects, 'tis neither in the power of our baptism, which makes us of men Christians, nor of our Ordination, which makes us of Christians Priests, Bishops, Metropolitans, Primates, to rescind the obligation, and oath, under which we are born, to quit us in the least degree of our allegiance before incumbent on us. And as for persons, so for causes also, the Supremacy of the King is universally extended, the Church having it's foundation in the Kingdom, and not the Kingdom in the Church, and Christ having interposed no exemption in this kinde, save what the law of God and nature had alwayes supposed, that we must serve, obey, and fear God, more, and rather then men, (i. mendo *Majestatem contemnere Majestatem*, i. e. adhere still to the supreme) when there is a competition and unreconcilableness betwixt their commands. But when there is none, then sub eū and prostrute all our obedience before him, who bears Gods image and superscription, being indeed his vicarius or proxy, commissioned by him. From whence it is visible what causes they are wherein the Church or Ecclesiastical persons depend not on the Prince, what powers they have, which flow not from him, viz. those to which their calling from God, or office to which he hath commissioned them, doth oblige them, and which they cannot omit without the same woe, under which S. Paul was obliged to preach the Gospel; Agreeably we know, these things the Bishops in this Nation have done in the name of God, and as Ministers of his, and commissioned by him, in their own names, The Censures of the Church were never issued out, as the civil acts of judicature, in the name of the Prince, but after the example of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 5. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Bishop, as his Officer and Minister and Ambassador. In a word

word the *internal* acts of the *Ecclesiastical Function* are those, wherein the *Primate* is under *Christ*, the chief in each *Christian* nation. But the *external* acts, or causes of the *Church* it self, such are all those, that in the *discourse* of *schism* have been attributed to him, are as regularly subjected to the *Prince*, as the *Bishops*, whatsoever is most purely *civil* or *secular*.

5. When therefore he saith, we substitute the *King* instead of the *Ecclesiastical head* we rejected, i. e. the *Pope*, The meaning if it have any truth, must evidently be this, The *Bishop* of *Rome* having assumed a *Primacy* in this *Kingdom*, and usurped a transcendent *uncanonical* power over our *Primate*, such as neither *Apostolick*, *Nicene*, *Ephesine*, *Antiochian*, nor any other *antient Canon* afforded him, or gave him any ground to pretend to, contented not himself with this, but assumed as confidently the *Supreme Regal* power, as far as to *Ecclesiastical* causes and persons, in *external* things, such as no way belong'd to a *Primate* by the same *ancient Canons*, but were reserved as the *Privileges of Majesty*, to every *Christian Prince*. Consequently at the return of each part of this *usurped* power to its due *channel* again, that which really belong'd to the *Ecclesiastical Primate*, reverted to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and what as duly, and regularly belonged to the *Supreme Monarch*, returned to its proper seat of *Majesty*.
6. And thus, I hope, I have if not satisfied S. W. yet secured his *seducible* reader from being imposed on by him, in this his grand particular, which promised such *flowrs* to his *Crown*, such *advantages* to adorn his *triumphs* over us.
7. His next fling is at my *method* again, but they that have eyes in their heads, cannot choose but see, that they that acknowledge *Episcopal*, nay *Papal Government*, may yet not live regularly in *obedience* under it, and so that as the want of that *obedience* is a several branch of *schism*, so to secure our selves from being *schismatical offenders* against *external* communion, the *obedience* to, as well as acknowledging of our *Lawfull Superiors*, was to be mentioned in my defence.

8. In his answer to my third plea, as he calls it, many passages there are, before we finde the least *motion* toward truth, or earnest, or arguing: For that 1. all *schismaticks* meet at such appointed places as I spake of, viz. Churches, or 2. observe such set times, fasting or festival, the fasts and holy dayes of our Calender: thirdly, that Copes and Surplices are Sacramental: Fourthly, that we preach such doctrine as our first fore-fathers (i. e. the Apostles) sent us not to preach: Fifthly, that we imbue tender minds with tainted doctrine] are all equally fictions; and Sixtly, that our prayer and praises is almost all out of their Mass and breviarie, if, being taken out of the *antient* liturgies of the more *Universal Church*, it can yet be truly said to be taken from them, that have varied from the *ancient form*, yet sure it cannot be *argumentative* against us; for why must we that are blamed for *receding* from them, be blamed also for this act of not *receding*.

9. Seventhly, then, As for ceremonies, of which saith he, we accepted from the *Primitive Church* only what we thought convenient, the same authority that recommended them, recommending more to us] I answer, that 'tis sufficient that what we took from the *Roman Church*, was such as they had from the practice of the *Primitive Church*, no obligation lying on us from thence to adhere to that *Roman order* in all other ceremonies, which we finde not to be *Primitive*, or to observe every other rite, which the *Primitives* did: For as to those which we do retain, what need we own any other authority for retaining them, then that of the *Primitive practice*? and then why should the same, i. e. the *Roman authority*, from which we had them immediately, oblige us to receive all other that the *Romanists* use, but the *Primitive Church* did not use? and for those which the *Primitive* used, and we retain not, why are we more guilty therein than the *Romanists* are, who certainly do the same thing, either in the same, or other instances, retain not all ceremonies which the *Primitive Church* observed, witness the standing, not kneeling in the service of God betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, and on every Sunday in the year, which sure was of *antient Primitive*, but is not of *Modern Romane*, any more than of *English*

use, and so proclaims the liberty of the Churches in retaining or not retaining, i. e. of choosing and culling out some ceremonies that are most salubrious, without burthening the Church with the greater weight and number of all, that have at any time been used.

10. As for our discipline, which he saith is too weak to hold us together in unity, professing fallibility being, saith he, too weak for that] The answer is obvious, First, that pretension to infallibility is not discipline. Secondly, that the censures of the Church, which we are wont to understand by that phrase, are the same both with them and us, the weapons of our, as well as of their spiritual warfare, and the Apostle tells us, they are mighty through God, for the bringing down of strong holds, but with neither of us have that force, when sons of the Church rebel against, or cast off their Parents. And this is all that our experience tells us, that the censures have lost their force, since the Governors of the Church have been cast off, and I suppose the Church of Rome hath no fence against that ; when any members of their Church renounce obedience to them, what force is there in respect of them, that do so, in all their thunderbolts ?
11. In this place p. 257. after his answers to three particulars of the plea concerning our not being guilty of this schism against external Communion, here is a very excellent prize played ; My fourth particular concerned all that under any of those three former heads, the Romanist requires us to add farther to that which we voluntarily receive. And before he will proceed to that fourth, he must once more look back and take a second survey of these three, like him that after once saying grace could not fall to his meat, till he had exercised his gifts in praising God better. And what was the designe of this ? Why that in this review he might tell his reader one great mystery, which yet he had once revealed to him before, that D. H. who mentioned some things wherein he was no schismatick, omitted others wherein he was. But why did he not stay, till to the other three particulars these were added ? The reason is evident, for then his exception, as far as there was any colour for it, had been prevented, the very next that follows, taking notice

notice of the *Principal*, and of all that are *material* of those, which he saith are omitted.

12. And then what doth this special enterprize of his amount to ? But this in effect, that *D. H.* having mentioned six things, he had yet gone through but three of them, which is most true, because *S. W.* at his *welchmans baite*, would needs stand still in the *midst*, when the very next *step* or *line*, had else certainly given him a *view* of the rest of them. And was not this a fair reason why he should thus glean after himself, review and pick over his *clusters* again, and minde his reader, beside those *answers* that were already given (and already proved to have no force in them) first that we had cast out the *Popes* authority, and secondly, had been guilty of *Sacriledge*, and again, denied obedience to their *Churches*, i. e. the *Popes* authority, and ruin'd religious houses, i. e. committed *sacriledge*; Where, as *sacriledge* is certainly (as hath been said long since) neither *schism* nor any branch or part of it (or if it were, the *Romanists* would finde good store of *schismaticks* among their own subjects) and as this is not the *fault* but the *misery*, not the *guilt* but the *pest* of our *Church*, so the other is particularly named, and spoken to by me, in the fourth particular, and can no more be said to be omitted by me, than the former three which he hath surveyed, might be said to be omitted, before he entred on the survey of them.

13. One thing indeed he mentions more, that we left out all the most sacred parts of their service books the Canon *Mass*, and what ever concern'd the heaven-propitiating sacrifice, and highest and soule-elevating act of religion; and again, that we took out of their *Mass* book only the slighter things which were enough to serve us to cry *Lord, Lord.*] From this I acknowledge to learn two things to be affirmed by *S. W.* first, that we which retain in our services the prayers to the holy blessed and glorious *Trinity*, but do not take in prayers to *Saints* and *Angels*, are by *S. W.* judged to retain only the slighter things. Secondly, that the sacramental partaking of the real sacrifice of *Christs* body and blood, commemorative of that sacrifice once offered upon the *Cross*, and applying to us the propitiation of

that, if it be not yet farther, the *same sacrifice* offered now by the *Priests*, which was once offered on the *Cross*, and that by means of his *stupendious transubstantiating* the *Elements* into that very *body* (one of which *S. Augustine* tells us is a *savage thing*; and *S. Chrysostome*, that what the *Priest* there doth, is rather *ἀνάμνησις* than *θύσια*, a commemoration of the sacrifice of *Christ*, than the sacrifice it self; and of the other, our reason assures us, that it implies many contradictions, and so impossibilities in it) is none of the most sacred parts, none of the *soule-elevating* acts of our religion. In all this I acknowledge we are not of *S. W.* his minde, nor have as yet discern'd in his temper any great effects of that *soule-elevating* act of religion, who yet I doubt not hath been at *Mass* in his dayes, and if our not opining with him in these particulars (to which our not practising is but consequent) must be schism after all, and we irremediably cast out from the *Romanists* peace and mercy, there is no help for it, that I know of, but by appealing to a more equal judge, then is our profest enemy in this matter.

14. At length he is perswaded to proceed to the fourth head, which was the consideration of the particulars, which the *Romanist* requires us, but we deny to receive, viz. the *Popes* *Monarchick* power over us, and the whole world, and the use of more ceremonies and festivals, of both which I affirmed that they were without precedent of the ancient *Primitive Church*, usurpations or impositions of the present *Romanists*. To these he hath nothing to say, but that the supremacy of the *Pope* was brought in 900. years agoe, (and they that now live were not alive then) proving it only from our granting of it, and that ceremonies and festivals are indifferent things, which 'tis lawfull for them to recommend to their Subjects.
15. To these I answer, First, that I said not of the *Popes* supremacy that it was an imposition of the present *Romanists*, but that that, and the other things mentioned, were usurpation or imposition of the present *Romanist*, and if it were usurpation (though of some former *Popes* before this last age) this will suffice to verifie my speech, and 'twas truly all that I meant by it, and he may have heard of him, that had a

Legacy

Legacy given him either of the *black horse*, or *cow*, and suing the *executor* first for *one*, then for the *other* of them, was *twise non-suited*, till he laid his plea exactly by the words of the will, either for *one* or *other*. The same is *S. W.* his portion at this time. Secondly, That we in no wise grant, that for 900. years the *Pope* hath been possess'd of the *universal supremacy*, nor indeed acknowledged to have it in this *Island* of ours, witness the treatise of *Schism C. 6.* throughout. And therefore this must be better proved than by our *concession*, and so needs no *restitution* from me, but that of *denying* it. Thirdly, That if the *Popes* power over us, were *usurped* only, and so we none of his *Legal Subjects*, he may then retain and exercise his power of multiplying *ceremonies* and *holy-days* over his own subjects, without our being at all concern'd in the *obligation* to observe them. And so much for his *third Section*.

SECT. VI.

Un sincere professors admitted to Communion, and such as may turn Schismatics. No paternal relation of Rome to us. The foundation. Tradition. Denying Romish Infallibility the great Schism.

1. **H**IS fourth Section sets out with a full cry, wilfully misunderstanding my words, concerning our excluding no Christian from our Communion. By Christian he will understand all nominal Christians, who though by all the world else call'd hereticks, and which though they deny all the points of Christs doctrine, yet profess Christs name.
2. But first when I spake of Christians, it were hard that my words should indeed be understood of the quite contrary, of hereticks, and assumers of the name, without any of the reality of the Christian faith, that the word Christian must signifie, and be understood in the notion of *unchristian*, to enable *S. W.* to dispute, or confute me.

3. Thirdly,

3. Secondly, when I expounded *Christian*, by such as hold the foundation &c. must it still be suggested, that all the no-*Christians* are such, that *Simon Magus* himself (whom he here names in ranke with my *Christians*) do indeed acknowledge the foundation laid by *Christ* and his *Apostles*? I wish it were now considered, who is the hospitable friendly person, the most charitable to hereticks. Tis true indeed our Communion is such, that hypocrites who are not uprightly what they profess to be, may finde reception among us, (but 'tis as true that hereticks continuing such are cast out by us) Our judgement truly is not so inerrable, that we can search mens hearts, or look into those closets by any other perspective, than that which their actions and professions allow us. And I have not yet been assured that S. W. his infallible Church hath assumed to be scrutatrix cordium to have any sure test, to descry and purge out of its bowels all un sincere professors, that are not really what they pretend to be. I am sure S. Peter himself, to whom they pretend to owe their infallible chair, did baptize *Simon Magus*, when he had not γυναικα ωφειλον the genuine purpose, as S. Cyril saith of him, and so ἐβαπτισεν αὐτὸν ἐν ὁσείῳ, had his body baptized, but not his minde illuminated, which he did not long disguise, but demonstrated it to all by very early actions. Act. 8. 23. and after proved the πρῶτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ the first born of Satan, and beyond all the world beside, set himself against S. Peter, who had thus baptized, i. e. admitted him into his Church. And unless the modern glasses have helpt the Church of Rome to means of profounder inspection than S. Peter had then met with, I doubt not but they will upon consideration acknowledge, that hypocrites may impose on them, as well as us, and that those that are baptized into a Church, may heretically and schismatically oppose it, and that this is but common to men, and cannot hope to be remedied, untill Rome *Christian*, as well as Rome heathen assume to be deified, and to communicate the same divine nature to their frailer breithren. And now let S. W. say, if this be not the full importance of his first answer.

4. Next he is to please himself with my phrase of excluding none from

Cyr. Hieros.
αεραίνχ.
p. 2.

from Communion, that will either filially or fraternally embrace it with us, i. e. in plain terms, that the Governors of our Church do not causelessly excommunicate the sons of this Church, nor any true son of any other true Church, for all such they look on as brethren. And here he hath great Ouations, that we can admit none that will paternally communicate with us, that we have as much curiesie as may be, but not a dram of humility nor subjection to superiors] But the matter is clear, we do not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome our superior. All that are so, we obediently live under, as many of us as are under authority, but do not exact from our English Primæ that he should acknowledge another forraign supreme over him and us. And that is all the news S. W. hath told us in that paragraph.

5. Next when I say we acknowledge the foundation laid by Christ and his Apostles, he must first perswade his Reader, that I call him fool, and then ask Mr D. what he means by acknowledging the foundation laid by Christ and his Apostles? And who knows but I may again be accused of calling my Catechist fool, if I answer this question? But I shall do it in as secure a stile as I can, and assure him I mean, what I have written an intire treatise on, the *Depositum* both in the scriptures and by Oral tradition of the Apostles committed to the Churches which they planted, of which the Church of Rome was one, and but one. And this supersedes all the force of this Paragraph. For certainly more than this S. W. will not pretend himself to mean by the foundation (as p. 266. he confesses) only he hath a reserve, I know, that his Church must have the inclosure of the privilege to expound to us infallibly, and tell us what this is, first to interpret Scripture, and then to testifie of tradition. And herein I doe not oblige my self to comply with him, as upon many other reasons, so upon this, because I have no infallible proof offered, nor any other indeed, besides their own affirming it, that they are infallible in either of these.
6. When the remainder of his displeasure falls on me for talking of fundamentals, and not naming what they are, I again answer, that I wrote a treatise of that subject, which wastoo
big.

big to come in by way of *parenthesis* in that place, and therefore staid for the *Press*, till that of *schism* was printed off. But saith he, if we thus interpret the foundation, we must admit only *Catholicks*, since only they (i. e. in his stile, only the *Romanists*) hold this foundation. For this I must not demand any proof or reason, but am to look on it, as one of S. W. his indemonstrable principles, which are to be confirm'd only à *posteriori*, by his saying it, or by some such like irrefutable *Topick*, and howsoever severe an exacter he is of probations from others, I shall not so much as expect from him, that he shall afford that any probation.

7. But it seems his heart misgave him, after the delivery of those words, for fear we should grant him his position, and according to his argument oblige our selves to admit the *Romanists* to our *Communion* (which yet he knows we never refused them, if they would sincerely come to it) and therefore he presently retracts again, we must not, saith he, admit them neither, being it seems resolved, that the ball of contention shall be held up for ever; otherwise I assure him we should not yet break with him upon those terms, which alone here he mentions. Since, saith he, you deny this way of bringing down saith to be sufficient, it follows that you must not admit *Catholicks* neither. But what is this way, which he saith we acknowledge not to be sufficient? why he had before set down that, the solid sense of *Christs* law written and planted in the tables of mens hearts by the *Apostles*, and thence by a well link'd chain of universal tradition derived to our times. This being all, and tradition, or planting in mens hearts no way excluding written traditions, which we ordinarily call *Scripture* (for 'twere hard that a thing should be the less delivered by the *Apostles*, because it was written by them) I shall yet continue my hospitable humor, and resolving this solid sense of *Christs* law derived from the *Apostles* to our times by universal tradition to be perfectly sufficient (say S. W. what he please) to all that thus receive it, and live by it, I shall admit S. W. upon this profession to our *Communion*, and then I hope, if he be not one of those nominal *Christians*, which even now he talkt of, there might be an end of this controversy.

8. But the fit of railing seifeth him again in the next *paragraph*, and the mention of our *earnest desire* to have the *freedom of external Communion* with others, and the *addition* of a very few words of *Scripture*, the *one heart and one lip*, hath under the notion of *preaching*, so put him out of all patience, that his *pen* never dropt *ranker gall* since the beginning of his work; and truly we that are wont not to *invite*, but to *dehort* railers from our *Communion*, are not, whilst he is in this moode, very fond of being *admitted* into his *company*. Only by the way we shall learn from him (because fits of rage bring forth mens own thoughts *undisguisedly*, and so deliver some truth) what is the only *impediment* of our *readmission* to his favour and *Communion*. First, if we will but *reacknowledge* a *certainty*, and secondly, the never erring rule of *Faith*, and thirdly, the *voice of the Church*, i. e. three sounds to the same sense, then we shall be *received* with open arms &c. From whence I conclude, that all our *schism* consists in not *acknowledging* the *Romane infallibility*, and so that we dispute in vain all this while, whilst we speak on any other theme but that.
9. And truly I that have written a full tract on that, long before, in defense of the Lord of Falkland against the answer and reply of the *Romanist*, did not think I was again bound to reprint that, and croud it into this period.

SECT. VII.

The Romanists excommunicate. The Liturgie their only grievance. Reformation no Schism. Our excommunicating the Romanists, how groundd.

1. **N**OW follows his attempt of answers to my sixth particular, which said that the *impediments* which obstruct *external communion* are only *imputable* to them, First because the Pope *excommunicated* all *Catholicks* that came to our *assemblies*.] And his answer is, *was it not well done think you?*] And that

is but the acknowledging all I there affirmed : For if they cast us out from all external fraternal Communion, and justify their having done it, then 'tis not imputable to us, that we separated from them. What motives they had to do this, belongs only to that other dispute, whether or no we were justly excommunicated by them, and that cannot be debated here, without resuming the consideration of the several Acts of our Reformation, which is again to recite the greatest part of this Book ; For sure it must not for ever be supposed without proof, as here he doth, that we maintain heretical doctrines ; Or if it must, yet secondly, unless some of our heresies be inserted in our Liturgie (which now when he had most provocation to assume, he hath not pretended) 'tis still that Papal Bull that hindred their joyning with us in our Liturgie, and nothing in our Liturgie it self ; Thirdly, all that here he pretends for the justice of that Bull, is, that holding us hereticks they could not reasonably let the people goe to be taught false doctrine, to hear the Popes supremacy rail'd at as Antichristian &c.] And that is in effect to excommunicate nothing but our Sermons, for those only have at any time been guilty of what is here objected, and then also I may demand, why the same Bull did not excommunicate Pope Gregories Epistles (or him for his Epistles, as Honorius was after his death condemned for an heretick) which makes it a character of Antichrist for any one to assume to be Universal Bishop ? However by this arguing it is supposed, that they might have been permitted to come to our Liturgie when there was no Sermon : And yet we know their practice (and that is our best witness of their opinion of the obligation) is quite contrary. They can read our Books, where all that our Sermons can say, may be said, as largely, and as bitterly and they can for curiosity be present at our Sermons too ; And in brief 'tis only our Liturgie, with which they cannot have any peace, and yet certainly this hath none of the pretended heresie in it.

- 2.^o Next he hath no patience that we should affirm that the Bull in the tenth of Q. Elizabeth was the cause of the separation, when first, saith he, I have laid out knot by knot how the unity of the Church was unloosed in the time of Henry the eighth &c. in casting

casting out the Papal authority out of this Island] And therefore he will press this over again, and when he hath done so with all his *Rhetorick*, I may yet satisfy my self with what hath been already answered, that the *Pope* had never duely any *supreme power* over this, nor *universal* over all *Nations*, and that renouncing an *usurper*, casting off a barely pretended power, is no rejection of an authority, for by that I must suppose a *real*, and not an *assumed* power to be signified.

3. The same answer is sufficient to the other part of his charge, concerning our forsaking their doctrines and practices; I doubt not but we receded, and that voluntarily from those, which we with the *Romanists* had formerly been used to; but reforming an error will never be a schism, though *S. W.* be in never so ill humor about it, we may depart from our own ill habits, and yet not depart from our selves, forsake the riots, wherein we had gone on with our intemperate brethren, and still keep external Communion with them, and never need the recalling of our youthful sins to make our company the better. So that still it remains, that if external Communion with any other fellow Christian may be preserved without acknowledging the *Popes Supremacy* (and to suppose it may not, is to beg the question of the whole Book,) and without continuing of erroneous doctrines and practices (and such we are ready to prove those to be which we have left) we never schismatically departed from their external Communion, untill we were cast out, nor would ever voluntarily have gone from any thing that was Christian in them (such, I presume, is external Communion of Christians) if we had not been violently removed from it.
4. As for our rejecting *Romane Catholicks* from our Assemblies, upon their avowed contumacy against the orders of our Church, which he next presses, that sure is no more, than every national Church is accustomed to do, as long as such discipline is like to prove to edification, else the Censures were useless in the Church. And when he desires to know, why the Church of Rome might not do the like, or why she had not as great authority over those who were once hers, as our Church over those who were never ours? The answer is obvious, because this Nation of ours neither is, nor ever

duly was part of the *Bp. of Romes Territorie*, nor can be pretended to be so, without manifest violation of the *Canons* of those *Councils* which the *Pope* himself hath sworn to preserve; whereas every native by *baptism* entred into the *Church of England*, is duely and by force of all *antient Canons* a member of the *Church of England*, under this or that *Bishop* or *Metropolitane*, and so it is not the same punishable crime, to have cast out an undue usurped forraign power, as to persist in contumacie and separation from an undoubted unquestionable just power of our immediate superiors. And so still this shews on which side the *schism* truly lies chargeable.

SECT. VIII.

The charge of Pride averted. Confession of fallibility: Questioning the Romish infallibility, our Pride. Disbeliefs caused by pretended pride, make not all Communion unlawfull, much less excusable error without Pride.

1. **T**O my second reason, by which I proved the breach to lie on their side, their imposing such conditions on our Communion, that we cannot subscribe without sin against conscience. His answer is, that this is a sinful pride of our understanding to disbelieve all our teachers, and yet to acknowledge our selves but fallible in our contrary belief] By the frame of this objection compared with the Romanists great principle of infallibility, one would think, that if not the maine, yet some part of this our sinful pride charged on us, consisted in thinking our selves fallible, or in pretending conscience for the believing of any thing, whilst we acknowledge our selves fallible; If this were it, then the only way to amend this fault or error, were to assume infallibility, for then 'tis certain, that this could be no ingredient in our charge, either for the constituting, or aggravating our crime, that we acknowledge our selves fallible. But what crime so ever this will be deemed in us, 'twill not be pride certainly, and it must, if it be any thing,

thing, be our *sinfull humility*. But if this be not it (as I cannot indeed suppose, that he that counts *infallibility* the prerogative, and peculiarity of his own Church, should really think it our fault that we confess our selves fallible) what then is it wherein our *sinfull pride* consists? It must be sure set down in these words, that we *disbelieve all our teachers*, and *think our selves to understand more of Gods minde than all the world before us*.] But then this affirmation wanted some proof, for sure we do not *disbelieve all our teachers*. The word of God written and unwritten (such as appears to be so) and deposited by the Apostles in the Church, is certainly our lesson or *διδασκαλ*, and our teachers *διδασκαλοι*, are living guides, our Bishops, using the assistance of the Priests, and if the later corrupted Church of Rome were our teacher also (as indeed it assumed that office) before the Reformation, yet sure it was not all our teachers, or all the world before us; The Primitive purest times, from whence we had *confestly* our Creeds, and all our necessary doctrine, must not (to gratifie S. W.) be quite turned out of the world. So that again our enormous pride is crumbled away into this one atome of questioning the Romish pretensions of *infallibility*, of comparing and preferring the *antient humble* before the *modern assuming* Church of Rome, which as S. W. calls *pride*, so others that are as *disinterested* as he, call *necessary caution and prudence*, and making use of the best means that God hath afforded us, of judging truth by, and a necessary care neither to *violence* our faculties, by forcing them to see, what with the utmost of our intention we cannot discern, nor to *charme* our consciences, by dissembling and professing the contrary to our present conviction. As for the Church of Rome being our Master and Father and Mother (which is again the *postulatum*, without which his argument is not able to proceed one step) he knows what is the name of that *Elench*, it having, next *contumelie* (to which all other must be content to yield the *deference*) deserved more of him for the filling up his pages, than all his other materials together.

2. If it were certainly *pride*, that produced all our *disbeliefs*, which brought us under the *Romane Censures*, I should not doubt

doubt to yield to him that we are to *blame our selves*, so far as to the *occasion* of our *disunion*. But when the matter in hand is but their *surmise* of our *pride*, and when the *question* is of the *lawfulness* of their *retaining* with us *external Communion fraternal* (for that is the only thing that in this latter part of the treatise I undertook to consider) I see no convincing reason why a *Romanist* which may possibly be as proud as I, or however, not free from all other *filthiness* of the *flesh* or *spirit*, and knows more of it by *himself* than by me, may not lawfully hold *external Communion* with me, and those others, who may possibly be (though without *revelation* he cannot be sure they are) *guilty of pride*? Suppose a *Romanist* should be *drunk*, yea and vent some *heretical pravity* in this *distemper*, were it *unlawful* for another *Romanist* of the same particular *Diocefs* with him, before, or without his *immediate superiors* *Excommunicating* him, to preserve *Christian society*, or were it necessary to *renounce* all *external Communion* with him? If it shall be said, it were, instead of exacting the *reason* of the *affirmation*, I shall again ask, but what if he only *surmised* the other to be *drunk*, and the *doctrine* he vented to be *heretical*, and this upon no other proof of the truth of his *surmise*, but only because he express himself to think somewhat, which was contrary to the *Romanists* sense in religion, which of what moment soever it were, it were yet confessed, that if he did believe it without any fault of his own (if it were not caused in him by *drink* or such other *distemper*) twere but a *blameless*, at least *excusable mistake* in him; would that *Romanist* think himself in conscience obliged to *break Communion* with such a man, only by force of the *Popes Bull* for *excommunicating* of *hereticks*? If he would not, I should be glad to be shew'd the *disparity* betwixt that last case, and the case set down here by S. W. in these words [*If it were pride* (that [*if*] not signifying possibly any more, than that he *thinks* it was *pride* in us) which made you think otherwise, then it is not *innocency* in you, o' sufficient excuse for your *Non Communion*] In the mean, I suppose it is clear from his very *affirmation*, that 'tis our *antecedent pride* that makes us *schismaticks*, and neither our *subsequent*

sequent doctrine nor practice; for *schism* being the great *unexcusable* sin now objected against us, that which makes us *unexcusable*, must be it that makes us *schismatics*. And then I am sure that being a *vice* of the *minde* lies open only to *Gods*, cannot come under S. W. his *cognizance*, and that is all that I need reply to that answer.

3. On occasion of my offering to *contest* our *Negatives* by grounds that all good *Christians* ought to be concluded by, he first asks what these grounds are? Whether any *infallible* authority? But to that we have oft spoken already. Secondly, whether I think our *Saviours* command to hear the Church be such a ground? And that question being propounded by the *Cath. Gent.* is also answered already, *Repl. Ch. 9. Sect. 1.* and what he hath added to it by way of *amplification*, hath both in that, and the *Reply* been distinctly prevented, and so there remains no more of his fourth *Sect.*

SECT. IX.

Of judging. S. W. his pretended moderation. Our not hearing any other Church. His impossible affirmations of their infallibility. One saith. S. Cyprians temper Pope Stephanus's temper. Cyprians words to Cornelius. The privilege of the Roman See in Cyprians time. Cyprians behaviour to it. Firmilian of Stephanus. S. W. his sense of Faith without knowledge. Difference betwixt fundamentals and superstructures.

1. **H**is fifth *Sect.* is designed for justification of the *Rom.* *ists* charity in judging and despising us, and first for judging: And he presumes he hath given us testimonies of their great moderation, as well as no uncharitableness, that when we acknowledge no Church to be heard, he makes us only *Schismatics* and *hereticks*, and doth not advance to those harsh terms which our Saviour himself hath laid down, of accounting us *heathens* and *Publicans*] But first I may have leave

leave to demand how he which thinks those words of *Christ* to belong to us, as we stand (*truly*) chargable of *not* hearing the Church of Rome, can avoid proceeding to that higher pitch, or harsher terms, of accounting us very *heathens and Publicans*? Or if those words do not at all belong to us, how then from them he can justify his milder *Censures* of judging us *schismaticks* and *hereticks*? The Dilemma is obvious, either that text of *Mat. 18. 17.* is his direction for his judging of us, or it is not; If it be, how can he escape accounting us *heathens and Publicans*? If it be not, how can it justify his calling us *hereticks*? or indeed to what purpose was it at all produced in this matter? Secondly, is it indeed true, and doth not S. W. *prevaricate* when he pretends to thus much moderation, as to bestow on us those milder, and not proceed to the other harsher terms against us? He hath by and by these words. How can we then, seeing evidently they heard not any Church judge otherwise than that our Saviours words are true, i. e. that they are in a sad condition] and then what that sad condition must signifie, 'tis easy to resolve, from the presumed truth of those words of *Christ*, thus applied to us. And I am sure we have these words in their Canon Law, *Peccatum paganitatis incurrit, quisquis dum Christianum se asserit, Sedi Apostolica obedire contemnit*, He incurs the crime of *heathenisme*, whosoever affirming himself a Christian contemns the Apostolick See, citing the words of Samuel, and the application of Pope Gregory the seventh, that disobedience is the sin of witchcraft, and non acquiescing as the sin of Idolatry. And it being certain on one side, that we do profess our selves Christians, and yet think not our selves obliged to obey the See of Rome, nor consequently have paid that obedience thereunto, I see not how those principles, which have carried S. W. so far as he professes, should set him down, before they had brought him home to that highest and most immoderate pitch.

2. But then thirdly, whatsoever our lot be, we must still insist, that the *Romane Church* hath no due claim to our obedience by any right devolved to them from *Christ* or his *Apostles*, or the ancient *Canons*, and so still we are really safe from the penalty

nally of [*si ecclesiam non audieris*] though we have not paid the desired obedience to that *See*; And till S. W. hath proved the *justice* of their *claim*, and of that consequence, that he that hears not their *Church*, and yet hears his own, doth yet acknowledge no *Church* to be heard, he will never be able to justify the *charity* of their judging us, upon force of that *text*.

3. And when he father extends his words, that at our Reformation we joyn'd not our selves with any other Church whom we might be said to hear] the answer is obvious that a national Church, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, independent from any other forrain jurisdiction, needed not to joyn with any other Church, as to hear, i. e. in Christ's sense, to obey that; The fraternal Communion is all that is our duty in respect of others, the filial, or that of subordination or subjection was not incumbent on us; And sure S. W. that doth not pretend that the Greek or any other Church, save only the *See* of Rome hath authority over us; had much forgot himself, when he made this any part of our charge, that we joyn'd not with, so as to hear any other Church.
4. His second ground, on which he justifies their judging to be no *uncharitablest*, is the infallibility of their Church, which saith he, their ancestors have believed ever since Christ's doctrine drownd to the dark world] which is in effect, that the Church of Rome was infallible before it was, had its inerrability before it's beeing (for without doubt Christ's doctrine did thus first drowne to the dark, i. e. the Gentile world, before it illuminated the *Romane* Climate, many other Churches of the Gentiles having received the faith more early than that of Rome) but also that it's infallibility was thus antiently believed; By whom he tels us not, but hath set it in such large pompous terms, that it is not only not true, but not possible, by any other means, save that of *divination*; And of this we have not heard that any antient *Augur* hath predicted, and now I suppose 'tis too late, so many hundred years after, for S. W. to take that office upon him. In a word, to judge us hereticks, and defend the charity of it, because their Church is infallible, to prove that infallible because they have

believed it so, and for the confirming of that, to vouch no one testimony, and yet to resolve, that so 'twas believed before it was possible either to be, or to be believed, is the pregnant and solid way of probation, by which his charity is defended beyond all possible confute in the second place.

5. His third way of propugning it is that text of scripture, *One faith, one hope, one baptisme*, from whence he resolves that either they or we must erre against faith under penalty of maintaining a contradiction, and then by Christs words he that beleeveth not is condemned already, he that is certain he beleeveth, and hath that one faith, cannot make conscience of judging the other, since the other is condemned already; Nay, saith he, if he judge him not to be judged already, he must judge himself to be a selfe-judg'd unbeliever.] And then, beyond all expectation, here is suddenly a cry raised, of the Doctors blundring, and destroying all reason, and that serves for a new made-dish in the bill of fare, to fill up the one and thirtieth room at his table: To this plea of his the answer were already given, if we had but as little charity, or so much ill language as he, to call him heretick, or any other such ill name, which he can frankly bestow on us, for then the one faith being as strongly, i. e. by our own words, confirm'd to be on our side, as it is now concluded to be on his, by his own presumption; there were no syllable behind to be farther answered. But without making use of such an auxiliary, which I so much dislike in him, I answer secondly,
6. That each of us may very possibly have imbraced that one faith, which the Apostle speaks of, nay 'tis most evident each hath; For what was that one faith, but those articles of belief, which were then deposited in all Churches, and into which all Christians were baptized in that one baptism? And 'tis certain both they, and we have uniformly received that in the Apostolick Creed, as that from the traditions, which in every Church were to be met with, was explained by the Nicene Fathers, and established by that, and the following Oecumenical Councils to be the one faith of all Christians.
7. Our agreement therefore in all these heads of faith, is no doubt sufficient to give us title joyntly to that one Faith,

and

and for other differences which are reconcileable with the believing of these, be they *true* or *false*, they are certainly no part of this *faith*. If they shall appear to be *true*, they are like *Gold* built on the *foundation*, and so *superstructure* not *foundation*; if they be *false* (as we must believe your *additions* to be, and we that have no *additions* at all, cannot be accused by you for what we have not) they are then the *combustible matter*, the *hay* and *straw*, which will take *fire*, as soon ever that *triall* comes. Herein therefore evidently lies the difference betwixt you and us. We conceive you guilty of many *foule errors*, but yet do not pronounce you *unbelievers*, because the *one faith* deposited in the *Church* is received, and not *rejected* by you, but you that have no cause to pretend, that we have *superstructed* any such *positive errors*, and yet as little doubt, but we have received the *one faith*, as that signifies the *Apostles depositum*, or the *Nicene Fathers* explication of it, from the *tradition* of the *Church*, do yet *accuse*, and *condemne* us as *unbelievers*, because we receive not all other doctrines, that your *Church* (contrary to the expresse command of the *Ephesine Fathers*) hath thought fit to *impose* on us. And our telling you this, brings upon us a worse *censure* yet, the charge of *destroying our reason*, as well as our *faith*; He that will say what we now say, must it seems, be sent a *grasing* with *Nebuchadnezzar*, we were *infidels* before, but now we are become *irrational*; Ere we accused you of *uncharitableness*, we were but *heathens*, but since, we are *metamorphosed* into *brutes*. And this is the sum of S. W. his third defence or *Apologie* for his *judging* us. I see 'tis our wisest way not to complain, lest some *ruder fate* still remain for us, as the proof that he is not *uncharitable*.

8. His fourth defence is, that *their judging may indeed be error, but malice or uncharitableness it cannot*] But this having been the *Cath. Gent.* his *allegation*, hath received it's answer in the *Reply*, ch. 10.
9. What he answers to the words of S. Cyprian, *neminem damnantes, neminem à communione nostrâ arcentes*, that he speaks of his own temper towards the rest of Gods Church (and that about a private opinion only) but neither he, nor any other Father

admitted to their communion those who had been condemned by all the Churches in communion with the See of Rome] comes now next to be considered, and to it I shall answer these few things. First, that my words having on purpose designed to shew the likeness of our, and the unlikeness of the *Romanists temper*, to that of *Cyprian*, and consequently the danger of schism to them from judging of us, if this be granted, as necessarily it must, that this was *Cyprians temper*, and that this ought to be other mens temper also on the like occasions, this is all that I need ask in this matter. For that this rule should be no farther applicable than to the matter of the present difference betwixt *S. Cyprian* and others, concerning the baptism of hereticks, or that it is not equally (by parity of reason) to be extended to all other differences which touch not the foundation, there is no other reason here tendred, but that this of rebaptization was not, but these other matters of difference between the *Romanists* and us are defined by the Church: To this then I answer, first, that the contrary to *S. Cyprians* opinion was at that time defined by the then-Bishop of Rome, and earnestly maintained by him, and some others with him, as shall by and by appear. Secondly, that betwixt the *Romanist* and us, the question being principally this, whether the *Romane Church* have done well to enter so many new articles into their belief, and to exact the profession of them from all that are admitted to their Communion, quite contrary to the express interdict of the *Ephesine Canon* so often mentioned, and withall the matter of those articles being so far from infallible or certain truth, that we doubt not to evidence of some of them, that they impie a contradiction, and so an impossibility to be true, and the ground on which all are founded at once, the *Roman infallibility*, being it self farr from being induced by any infallible medium; These things I say, being considered, I desire that *Cyprians temper*, may be compared with the temper of those that thus defined these articles de fide, and in what degree soever it shall appear, that the making those definitions de fide, and condemning and excluding all that cannot uprightly and cordially imbrace them, hath been contrary to *S. Cyprians temper* and rule for the

the preserving the unity of the Church, so far those decrees may be rescinded, and cassate, or if not, still I suppose it clear, that this is quite contrary to S. Cyprians rule, and that all the judging and excommunicating of others, that is consequent to this, is as the principle it self, to which it is consequent, i. e. destructive to the peace of the Church, and that is schismatical. Thus I am sure * Firmilianus, and the * *Inter Cyp.* Eastern Bishops with him pronounce of Stephanus Bishop of Epist. 73. Rome, *lites & dissentiones &c.* What contentions and divisions *Pam. Ed. 2.* have you caused (saith he) through the Churches of the whole 117. world? What a great sin have you heaped on your self, whilst you have cut of your self from so many flocks or Churches, for you have cut off your selfe. Doe not deceive your self, for sure he is truly a schismatick, who hath made himself an Apostate from the Communion of Ecclesiastick union, for whilst you think you may excommunicate all from you, *solum te ab omnibus abstinisti*, you have excommunicated your self alone from all others. And so on, much more to the same purpose.

10. Thirdly, Because it is here by S. W. suggested, that as Cyprian knew very well what belonged to Church order and discipline, so neither he nor any other Father admitted to Communion those who had been condemned by the Romane See, and the Churches in Communion with that] I desire it may be remembred, first, what difference there was betwixt the condition of the Romane See in Cyprians, and in these dayes, no one of those doctrines were then defined, which now are by them defined and imposed on all communicants, no infallibility of that Church assumed or pretended, No monarchick authority over all other Churches and Bishops, as appears most evidently by those very words of Cyprian, Ep. 55. to Cornelius, which Baronius and Bellarmine make such use of to the contrary, when on occasion of Cornelius's receiving some to his Communion, which Cyprian had censured, he tells him that this is the great cause of schisms and heresies in the Church, *quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ec-* * *Pamel. Ed.* *clesia ad tempus Sacerdos & ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogi-* p. 68. *tatur*, that the Bishop is not obey'd, that he which is alone the Bishop and judge in Christs stead, is not considered as such

such, i. e. that when Cyprian and such as he, had excommunicated offenders, the Bishop of Rome received them to his Communion, as the * rest of the Epistle makes it evident;

* Pax vera falsa pacis mendacio tollitur, salutaris fons matris noverca intercedente precluditur &c. p. 69. Honor ergo datur Deo, cum sublata penitentia nec ulla exomologesi facta despectis Episcopis atque calcatis — communicatio non communicantibus offeratur? Ibid. Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis — ut unusquisque que causa illic audiat ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit ascripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationem sui actus domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus presumus non circumcurfare, nec Episcoporum concordiam coherentem sua subdola & fallaci temeritate collidere — lb. p. 70. Nec utilis aut consultus est pastor qui in morbidas oves gregi admiscet — lb. Nulla cum talibus commercia copulentur — finis ab eis tam separati quam sunt illi de ecclesia profugi — p. 71. * Com. 2. Ep. Pelag l. 1.

His words also of Pope Stephan in the beginning of Ep. 74. ad Pompeium, abundantly evidence the same, being written with that sharpness, that was not agreeable from an inferior to his superior pastor. All that then belong'd to the See of Rome S. Augustine sets down, by * pre-eminence in celsiori fastigio specula pastoralis, in the higher roof of the Pastoral watch Tower, which he there makes reconcileable with

the communis cura omnibus nobis qui fungimur Episcopatus officio, the common care and solicitude of all Bishops, including evidently the Bishop of Rome in that number. And as long as this equality of power (allowing the Bishop of Rome the dignity of place) was thus preserved, it could be no prejudice to any other, that none that was denied Communion by the Bishop, should be allowed it by other Bishops, the same Canonical reason obliging him, that he should not receive any, that were excommunicated by any other Bishop. But then secondly, when the Bishop of Rome did not thus discharge his duty to other Bishops and Churches, the dignity of the Roman See it self did not free him from the note of schism and heresie, as is also most evident in the passages betwixt S. Cyprian and Pope Stephanus, when Stephanus had failed in his part, nostrum est, saith he, Ep. 67. consulere & subvenire, qui gubernanda Ecclesia libram tenentes --- It is my part to consult and aid, who hold the balance of the Church — then admonishes him of his duty, Quapropter facere te oportet --- and, Diriganur in Provinciam à tè litera; And Ep. 74. he tells

tells Pompeius of Stephanus, *haereticorum causam contra Christianos & contra Ecclesiam Dei asserere conatur*, he endeavours to assert the cause of hereticks against Christians and against the Church of God, and, *magis ac magis errorem ejus denotabis*, thou shalt more and more observe his error, accusing him of impertinence and contrariety to himself, *unskilfull and improvident passages in his decree*, which may setve for a competent intimation, what respect S. Cyprian bare to that See of Rome when the Bishop thereof misbehaved himself.

II. *I will not be amiss here to recite what S. Augustine resolved in this matter. In his Book *de Unic. Bapt. Contra Pelag.* c.

14. he makes this comparison betwixt these two Bishops of Carthage and Rome, Cyprian and Steven, *Duo erant eminentissimarum Ecclesiarum Episcopi, ambo in unitate Catholica constituti. Quorum Stephanus baptismum Christi in nullo iterandum censebat, & hoc facientibus graviter succensebat, Cyprianus autem in haeresi vel schismate baptizatos, tanquam non habentes baptismum Christi, baptizandos in Ecclesia Catholica existimabat, multi cum illo, quidam etiam cum isto sentiebant, utrique cum eis in unitate consistentes.* There were two Bishops of most eminent Churches, both in Catholick unity, Steven resolved that the baptism of Christ was not to be iterated in any, and

was very angry with them that did it: Cyprian thought that those that had been baptized in schism or he else as not having the baptism of Christ (some of those hereticks denying the Holy Ghost, as he elsewhere presseth) should be baptized in the Catholick Church, many were of his minde, and some of Stevens &c. Here now is the full meaning of the words, which I briefly cited out of Cyprian, when Cyprian was on one side, and the Pope on another in a contest, that divided the Christian world into different opinions, the Pope pretending Apostolical tradition for his side, and vehemently insisting on it, S. Cyprian adhered to his opinion, opposed and refused the Popes position and his pretention to tradition (as appears by

* Firmilianus in his confutation of Stephens Epistle) and never

* Cyp. Ep. 75.

Quoniam ad id pertineat quod Stephanus dixit quasi Apostoli prohiberint, & hoc custodiendum Apostolis tradiderint, plenissime vos respondistis, neminem tam stultum esse qui hoc credat Apostolos tradidisse —

Stephanus infamans Petrum & Paulum quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint.

yielded.

* Cyp. Ed.
Pamel. p. 115.

p. 117.

yeilded to him it it, and yet would not condemn and break Communion either with him, or with those that joyn'd with him. Adde unto this what * Firmilianus farther affirms, *Eos qui Romæ sunt non ea in omnibus observare que sunt ab origine tradita, & frustra Apostolorum auctoritatem pretendere* --- that they at Rome do not observe all those things that were from the beginning, and that they do in vain pretend the Apostles authority, that customs Apostolical are varied by diversity of times and places, *nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesia Catholica pace atque unitate discessum est*, and yet men never brake the peace and unity of the Catholick Church for this, and that when they seem to oppose custome to truth, no man can be so vain, as to think that a good plea, or any better than the Jews would be for the rejecting Christianity, or upon that account to refuse to leave darkness when he sees the light, telling Cyprian that this was the Africans case against Stephen, and that they to the custome of the Romans opposed a custome a'so but that of truth, *ab initio hoc tenentes quod à Christo & ab Apostolo traditum est*, holding from the beginning what was delivered by Christ and the Apostle.

Cyp. Ed. Pam.
p. 117

12. This then was another part of S. Cyprians temper to prefer that which he resolved to be true Apostolical tradition, before that which the Romanes pretended to be such, and yet not to break Communion with them, whereas Stephanus (saith Firmilianus, at that time dissenting from so many Bishops over the world, brake the peace with all of them, sometimes with the Eastern, sometimes with the Southern or Africans, would not admit their legates to any speech with him, forbad receiving them into their houses, denied them not only peace and communion, but house and entertainment. Whereupon Firmilian asketh this question, *Is this the keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace?* to cut himself off from the unity of charity in all things, to estrange himself from his brethren, and contra sacramentum & fidem communis furore discordia rebellare, to rebell against Sacrament and faith by the furie of obstinate dissention? and then concludes, *& tamen non pudet Stephanum*, and yet Stephen is not ashamed to patronize and defend hereticks against the Church, and for the vindicating of them to divide the Church, and

p. 18.

and call Cyprian a false Christ, false Apostle, deceitful workman. Whatsoever S. Cyprians temper and practice was, it seems Pope Stephen's was not so meek. Here is breach of Communion on his part, and yet the farre greatest part of the world held communion with Cyprian, when the Romane See, and those that were in communion with that, had thus divided themselves from him.

13. All this I hope may suffice to vindicate my vouching of Cyprians temper and rule of peaceableness, against the contrary practice and humor of the Romaniſt; I shall be glad now to hear, whether S. W. take any joy in the commendation that he bestowed on that Father, that he knew what belonged to Church order and discipline. For if he did, I hope we that have so exactly transcribed his copy, in this particular, have not offended against either.

14. What he here adds of my admitting all to our Church that call themselves Christians] was formerly shew'd to be a calumnie. And for the short but keen touch of an opinionative faith, which he mentions on occasion of my supposing that the differences between him and us, are but differences in opinion, saying that he sees no reason we should trouble our selves to write Books in defence of an opinionative faith, and adding, It were better in that case to eat and drink, shake hands and be merry, nor trouble our selves with thinking whether there be a heaven or no, which we can never come (the ground of faith being but an opinion) to any certain knowledge of. I should hope this signifies that S. W. is advanced very nere to an end of his prizes, for sure he will never be able much to transcend this pitch, which he hath here arrived to.

15. To it I answer, first, that I had thought that faith is by all men distinguisht from knowledge, and that how certain, and undoubted soever the grounds of it are, yet being of things not seen, or incident, knowledge in strict sense it cannot be; And I had thought that this was it, that made Faith and the work of faith to highly rewardable, that it is of things not seen or incident, nay oft contradictory to the light of natural reason, or experience to flesh and blood &c. whereas the consenting to a demonstration; which alone is science or knowledge

hath not been thought so *magnanimous* and *heroical*, and consequently *rewardable* an act, nor (by the same reason) the state of *vision* and *comprehension*, which is our *reward* rather. And therefore it cannot but be very strange to my ears to hear such *conclusions* as these, so bluntly, and without all *provocation* calmly delivered, that it were better to eat --- i. e. turn *Atheists*, than only to entertain our selves with a belief of heaven, without any certain knowledge of it.

16. But passing this by, mee thinks it should be possible enough that there might be some difference betwixt the clear doctrines of *Scripture* (that *Christ Jesus* came into the world to save sinners, and the like, the several articles of the *Apostles Creed*) on one side, and all the *additions* and *superstructions* of the *Romanists* on the other; There are I presume, but two wayes imaginable to make them of *equal certainty*, either their being all *equally* delivered by the same authority of *Apostolick tradition*, or by the same *infallible* testifier, the *Church of Rome*. And as there is very little proof for the former of these, the *Apostolick tradition* being no way evidenced for the *particulars* in debate, so for the later, (beside many other) methinks the example even now brought of *Pope Steven*, should *ad hominem* at least, to S. W. be a competent prejudice against it.
17. The doctrine which he taught against *S. Cyprian*, the *Roman See* then taught as eagerly as could be, affirmed and testified it to be *Apostolical tradition*, and *custome* of the *Church*, and as many as in this adhered to him, must be supposed to have done the like, (and *S. Austin* himself in many whole *Books* together confesseth, that the truth was on *Stevens* side, though the *charity* and *humility* on *S. Cyprians*) and so if the *Romane See* be *infallible* either in *affirming* or *defining*, or in *testifying* of *Apostolical tradition*, this doctrine of *Stevens* must be as certain and *indubitable*, as any article of the *Crede*. And yet S. W. himself hath even now confest, that this was but matter of *Opinion*, or about a *private opinion* only, and then I hope by parity of reason, I may be allowed to have learnt from him the same *language*, and to assume, that the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, nay of the *infallibility* of the

the Church of Rome, is no article of the *Apostles Crede* in our account, ought not to be so in the *Romanists*, and therefore in any reason they ought not to damne us, to drive us from their *Communion*, for not assenting to these opinionative articles, or if they do, that this is an ill *xelas*, or indication, that the *schism* is on their side, (wheresoever the truth should be found to be) if we may judge by *S. Cyprians* rule, or by *S. Augustines* answer to the *Donatists*, often objecting *Cyprian* in defence of their own rebaptization, viz. that *Cyprian* erring in that point, with so much, and so constant charity and humility, was to be preferr'd before *Steven* maintaining the truth with so much pride, and uncharitableness; And thus we also know in the *quartodeciman Controversie*, though the truth was on *Viktors* side, (as I have no obligation now to yeild it on the *Romanists*) yet was he justly reprehended by *Ireneus* for his pride in cutting off from *Communion* the *Asian Bishops* for the contrary error.

18. What he adds in the last place, about begging the question, is soon answered, that I count it not a begging of the question in the *Romanist* to call us *schismaticks* when we deny an offer to prove the contrary, but their bare calling us so, without any offer of proof for it, or the supposing it sufficiently proved, and taking it for granted, and from thence building conclusions upon it, as on a principle, when it is not proved with any *Solidity*, and when at that very time, when 'tis taken for granted, it is known to be the principal, if not only question, as in this present controversy, whether we are *schismaticks* or no, it is most manifest.
19. As for his good words which, before he leaves this first part of judging others, he must needs bestow upon my arguing, that it equally favours the perfectest *schismaticks* that can be imagined [it appears before this what truth there is in them; If *S. Cyprian* and such as he be the perfectest *schismaticks* imaginable, then he hath aimed something right, but otherwise he hath not, for he hath been the measure, by which alone I have directed my arguing in this matter.

SECT. X.

Of Despising. Breach of equal Communion, when just, when Schismatical. S. W. his notion of Tradition, useless to him. Tradition hard to be known, falsely pretended, sometimes conceal'd. Prosperity of the Roman Church. Our not casting out the Romanists. Our neither judging nor despising them. Schism against the Universal Church or Councils.

1. **T**He answer to the second branch, that of despising their brethren now follows, and his advantages against my arguing seem to be great, and in effect these, that no Church must excommunicate any, lest they be guilty of despising them.] But I answer, that this is a clear misrepresentation of my process or arguing. For first, it is evident, that in that place I spake only of fraternal or equal Communion, not of the Governors inflicting censures on any of the members of any Church, but of the Governors and members of one Church cutting off from their Communion the Governors and members of another Church; as when Pope Steven and those with him brake Communion with Cyprian and the rest of the East, and South with him, or as the Jewish and Gentile Christians, neither of them subject to the other, but remaining in their several *cetus*, separated the one from the other, Rom. 14. This therefore shews the mistake or perversion of my words.
2. Secondly, speaking of the differences betwixt the Romanists and us, which I must have leave to think are but of that nature, that they ought not to break Communion or Charity among Christians, what I thus affirm of such differences, must nor, cannot with any justice be applied to those greater differences betwixt those that believe the Apostles depositum intirely, and those that reject any part of it; Those that do thus divide themselves from the unity of that Faith, which was by the Apostles delivered to all their plantations to be believed,

believed, that deny any *article* of it, may without any guilt of despising, or breach of *Christian charity*, nay upon designs which are perfectly *charitative*, be rejected from our *fraternal Communion*, as in the *Apostles* times, when it was *uncharitable* walking, and such as ended in the *schism*, for the *Gentiles* to despise the *Jews* weak *consciences*, who thought it unlawful for them to have those *liberties* which were really allow'd them by *Christ*; yet I doubt not but it was perfectly *lawful*, and *charitable*, and even *Christian duty*, for the *Orthodox Christians* to renounce *Communion* with the *Gnostick hereticks* and *Schismaticks*. And so there now appears more reason in my arguing, than S. W. was willing there should, without any appearance of *reason* to the contrary; The plain issue of it being no more than this, that they which judge on one side, and they which on the other side *despise* their fellow *Christians*, agreeing with them in all those *articles* of the *Christian profession*, which the *Apostles* deposited in every Church, as the only necessities of belief, and the *Symbolum* or *Tessera* of *Christian Communion*, and which upon either of these accounts (mentioned to my hand by the *Apostle Rom. 14.*) either of *judging* or *despising*, i. e. either of *thinking* that those whom they judge, doe that which is not *lawfull* for them to do, or that those whom they *despise* make not use of that *liberty* that *Christ* hath purchased for them, shall break society with those other, refuse *fraternal Communion* with them, i. e. will not live with them as with fellow *Christians*, only upon such an account as this, that they cannot think all those things *lawful* or *necessary*, which they think *lawful* or *necessary*, these are directly the *schismaticks* which the *Apostle* looks on as such, and beside these there is not any *species* that I can discern of this third sort of the second branch of *Schism*, that which is an *offence* against that *charity* which is due from every *Christian* to every *Christian*; and we being not guilty of either of these, and the *Romanist* being visibly guilty, it remains evident enough, on which side this last sort of *schism* lies, and to whom it is regularly to be imputed.

3. On this head of *despising* our brethren, whom we conceive to be in error, I had mentioned some grounds, on which it

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was rational for us, who believe the *Romanists* erroneous, yet not to despise them; And as if I offended in this, i. e. either in not despising them, or in thinking I had reason not to despise them, I must be confuted in this also, So prompt is S. W. and so equally qualified to contradict every thing that can be said by me, be it never so much for, or so little against his interests. But the best is, here is little said, (beside expressing the magnanimous humor of chastising every one for an enemy that appears before this Disarmer) to require any return from us, only I am there taught my utter ignorance what tradition is, which indeed I had taken (and sometimes he hath in this tract, given me hopes it was no mistake) for that which pretended at least to be Apostolical tradition, but I am now told, that (in respect of us that now are) it signifies no more, than what doctrine was held by Christians ten years agoe. and in respect of them that lived ten years agoe, what was held ten years before that, and so forth.] This rarity I shall not now busie my self particularly to examine, it being indeed the resolving all into the present affirmation of the *Romane Church* of these last ten years, and really making tradition no proof of the truth of their doctrine, and yet putting on the specious name of tradition to disguise that in, or adorn it with; All that is pertinent to my present purpose, is equally granted me by thus setting it, for it is still hard for the multitude to discern by their own ears, what was held all the Church over (and not only within the pale of the *Romane Communion*) ten years agoe, or indeed to judge, whether what within these last nine years hath been defined in the very *Romane Church*, were eleven years agoe held by the Church or no, and consequently whether that which is now held, be tradition.

4. For certainly some difference there must be betwixt holding and receiving, betwixt affirming as true, and affirming as tradition. He that knows that three years agoe the Pope and his conclave made a decree to confirme some doctrines maintain'd by the *Molinists* against others, may be yet to seek, whether before that Bull came out, ten or twenty years agoe, that Church held those doctrines, and without knowing of

of that, he cannot be said to know what is *tradition*, even in the *Romane Church* of this last age, in that particular. And so still by S. W. his good leave, I shall be so far moved by the consideration of the *difficulty* for the *multitude* in the *Romane Church* to understand *tradition*, as to resolve, though I deem them *erroneous*, yet not to despise them.

5. Only let me assure him, I did not think that the *Romanists* themselves did thus industriously or affectedly keep traditions reserved from the sight of the people, like the ark of the Testament and Moses tables, as he expresses it, I did rather believe that they were too prodigal of that treasure, that they communicated to them many more traditions, than ever were by their ancestors really received, imposed on them many things for traditions, which were the erroneous doctrines of men. And the only things which I seriously spake of being *Apostolical* traditions, the distance of the object, and the want of light was that, which in my conceit, rendred this search difficult to the multitude, and not only the reservedness of the *Romanist*, who yet I must fear hath fail'd also in this kinde, keeping close some parts of *Apostolical* tradition, else the power of *Bishops* and *Primates* in each nation would appear to be greater, and the Authority of the one *Bishop* of *Rome* much less than now adays is pretended.
6. What he adds sixthly for the comparing the *Romanists* and our persecutions, is founded in a willing mistake. The prosperity of the *Romane Church* I spake of, being not that of the *English Romanists* here at home, but of those every where of their *Communion*, which sure hath long been such, as to give them occasion, to describe it by the City set on an hill, and among the notes of the Church, to set down Prosperity for one; And that being all that was pretended or thought of by me, I deserved not his so serious rebuke for that.
7. Any more than lastly, for saying they had the literal sound of *Hoc est corpus meum* for their doctrine of transubstantiation, which sure if they have not, they have nothing imaginable to pretend for it, for as for the *Fathers* and *Councils*, and perpetual doctrine and practice of Gods Church, which he is pleased

pleased to vouch for recommending that sense of Christs words to him, it will want much better proofs, than that of his affirming it.

8. After his lastly, he hath one peale against the Doctors nonsense, in saying we are far from casting them out of the Church. To which end he asks, *Whither we would have cast them? and how we can cast them out of a thing that never was?*] To which I answer, first, that casting out of the Church signifies, I suppose, all kinds of excommunicating, or renouncing communion with any; And that I did no otherwise mention this, than that they by having first cast us out, made it impossible for us to be guilty of it; And I should be glad to be shew'd where the nonsense of that speech consists, or with what shew of sense he could mention my speaking of casting them out, when I distinctly said it was an impossible thing, and only rendred those so many reasons for our not despising them, and not for our not casting them out?
9. Secondly, supposing this Church of England to be a particular Church (as I may have leave to suppose it) and that S. W. was baptized a member of this particular Church (as I believe also he was) what difficulty can there be in conceiving the manner, how our Church might cast out S.W.
10. Nay Thirdly, it being manifest, that there is a re'ecting from Communion, which the members of one Church may be guilty of toward the members of another, viz. the disacknowledging that other to be a member of the Catholick Church, and so, as much as in them lies, giving judgment to the casting her out of all the society of Christians, and it being as evident, that that was the thing, which this latter part of the discourse of schism treated of, contrary to union fraternal, 'twere, I say, no other wise impossible, but from their having done it first, for us thus to cast out the whole Church of Rome, it being no miracle for one particular Church thus to break and refuse Communion with another.
11. He will have one word more ere yet he will leave this point; And there are foure syllables of some length in that one word, The *breviate* of the first of them is, that in the Reformation we judg'd and despised our Governors; of the second, that

that many of our brethren since have writ books to shew that Governor is Antichrist; of the third, that the whole world before by their contrary belief condemn our new reformed doctrine; of the fourth, that they despise not our persons, but only our reasons, as being on fallible grounds ---] fit to be railed at, to the end of the paragraph.

12. To these I answer briefly, To the first, That the Pope, whose power only we cast out, and judged it an usurpation over us, might most justly be discharged from that his usurped power, without the guilt of judging or despising any of our true and legal Governors.
13. To the second, that as I am none of those who have written any Book or line to shew that the Pope is Antichrist, so I presume they among us, that have at any time done it, have neither judg'd our Governor, the Bishop of Rome being not such, nor yet the Church of Rome it self, which he hath hitherto told me, that we acknowledge to be a true Church, which we could not do if we judg'd it to be Antichristian, but only the Court of Rome, in respect of some enormous practices, chargeable particularly on that, and not common to all those that preserve Communion with them.
14. To the third, that the Church Universal of the first and purest times, which yet is a considerable part of that all, is not, cannot be pretended to have believed contrary to our reformed doctrine, and so we were far from judging or despising that vast authority, when we only desired to reforme the errors that had crept into these latter and corrupter ages, acknowledging still the foundation to have remained intire among those, whom we thus desired to reform.
15. To the fourth, that I no otherwise charged on them the despising of us, than as they rejected us from their Communion (which in the Apostles time was the noxious effect of despising) and that sure belongs to our persons and not to our reasons, unless it be, that without any respect to them, they still continue their uncharitableness, and indeed finde our reasons such, that despising or seeming to do so, is one of their skilfullest arts of (diverting rather than) replying to them.
16. After his thus large survey of this second sort of schism

against *mutual unity and charity* in the ninth and tenth Chap. of the *tract of schism*, It is strange he should think fit to close his answer to them with this observation, that I have omitted the two chief branches of *schism*, first, from the body of the Church, and secondly, from General Councils] whereas the *schism* against mutual or fraternal communion belonged expressly to the former of these, and the General council being a representative of the whole Church, any *schism* from Councils truly General, is by me most willingly acknowledged to be *schism* from the whole Church. But of this I have spoken at large in the *Reply Chap. 3. Sect. 1.* and so am no farther importuned by any difficulty in his fifth *Sect.*

SECT. XI.

Strictures on his last Section. The stile of the late Church of England examin'd. Christianity where no well ordered Church. Faith inferior to vision.

1. **H**is last Section now remains to be spoken to, to which upon several accounts it is needless for me to make any large Reply, particularly because his being herein but the *Zeugdenis* to the *Catholick Gentleman's Monogramme*, an addition of colours from his *Rhetorick*, but not of any real answers, I have in the *Reply chap. 11.* prevented all but the scorn and ill language, against which there is no *Amidote*.

2. Yet if there be any incidental glance, which may seem to have any the least difficulty in it, I shall briefly take notice of it, and remove it and so conclude.

3. And first, the objection which I propos'd from the express words of one of their late *Proselytes*, who frequently stiles ours the late Church of England, he is pleased to wave, and change it quite into another forme, and then to cry out, that I am quite out of the way.] But sure I am not out of the way that was propos'd to me to walk in, for if it were lately the Church of England, then twenty years agoe I (and perhaps that piece of S. W. that wrote this last part of *Schism disarm'd*) was a member

member of this Church, and not only of this shadow or Ghost of it, To him therefore that acknowledged it the late Church, I address that last chapter peculiarly, as to this present S. W. who thinks we were never a Church at all, I had offered the whole foregoing treatise of schism, to prove we were not so much as guilty of any sort of schism. And then with what colour of truth can he charge on me the mistaking of their objection, when both this was before my eyes the very words of the objection, and that to my knowledge vulgarly prest by several of their party, and indeed the principal parts of that chapter formerly written for the private satisfaction of some, which were solicited and prest with this very objection, & when the objection as he sets it anew, was the question of the whole tract of schism, and was not now to be proposed in the last chapter, when it had been answered in all the former.

4. Secondly I must it seems be set to teach S. W. his eyes to discern what is before them, he saith I was so eagerly zealous --- that I put first and thirdly, but quite forgot secondly. A heavy crime indeed, if it had been true, and not to be past without his discipline, if the Printer had chanced to put thirdly for secondly. But let the 177. page be reviewed, and 'twill justify all, but my rebuker; For having undertaken to answer that objection by degrees, and having set down the first, page 175. &c. in the midst of p. 177. I mention a conclusion irrefragably following from thence, which I say is the second proposition, and then regularly proceed to the issue with a [thirdly] in the bottom of that page. What an habit hath S. W. arrived to, from which such acts as these can follow thus glibly and guilelessly?
5. Thirdly, this judgement of the irrationalities of our sufferings, for the maintaining of an uncertain opinion, being founded in our doctrine that Councils may erre, from whence he concludes that the meeting where our Articles were made may erre also hath oft been prevented by the account that I have given of belief; In a word, that which we have believed and practised, and thereby brought sufferings upon us, we are verily perswaded in our Conscience before God, and have from Apostolical practice, and tradition been by our Church taught,

taught, to be the *truth* of God, And if this be not enough rationally to infer an obligation and *engagement* on us to adhere to this, though it cost us some *insurance*, or if to S. W. his discourse this appear *irrational*, I shall much suspect that he will never think himself obliged to *suffer* for the *defense* of the *Romish infallibility*, having no possible *medium*, besides his own phansie which he can so much as *pretend*, to give him any *stronger belief* of that.

6. Fourthly, for the number of those that have fallen off from our persecuted Church, I am not obliged to give any other account, than that herein we are but parallel to the purest ages and Churches, when the *Gnosticks* heresie of which *compliance* with the persecutors was one known part, carried away to great and considerable a number from the *Orthodox assemblies*, and *profession*, and are sure yet far more prosperous, than the *Catholick Church* in *Athanasius's* time, when *Arrianism* had over-spread the whole world.
7. Fifthly, when by that *series of faith coming by hearing*, that *from preaching*, that *from mission*, and supposing that *mission* is an act of *jurisdiction*, he will first infer that our *Bishops* and *Presbyters* have no *jurisdiction*, and then that we have neither *mission*, *preaching*, *hearing*, nor consequently *Church*] I shall make no stay to admire his *logick*, or extraordinary *concluding faculty*, but ask him in plain terms, whether a *Presbyter* ordaind by an *English Bishop*, or a *childe* yesterday baptized by an *English presbyter*, be not as truly a *Presbyter*, or a *Christian*, as any other which was ordained or baptized by the same or any other *Bishop* or *Presbyter* of this *Church* twenty years agoe? If he be not, from whence the *invalidity* or *nullity* of these latter acts proceed? If he be, what *concludency* then can be imagined in S. W. his argument? As for our resort to the *secular power*, how little that is to this matter, is shewed in the reply p. 157. and hath formerly been cleared in these pages.
8. Sixthly, 'tis a little strange, that when I say of our present persecution, that the *same tempest* hath with us thrown out all *order and forme*, *Bishops* and *Liturgie* together, which visibly belongs to their retaining *none* of these, who have cast us out
of

of our Churches, not to our retaining none of them, who if we would have forsaken them, had not been cast out, he can make use of this, as my own confession, that now all order &c. is cast out, and therein, and not in our serving God in private families, to found his proof of the invisibleness of our Church. These are rare sights indeed, to make my accusing a fault in others, to be indeed the confession of it in my selfe.

9. Seventhly, when upon proposing to consideration for the future, whether in case Bishops stand, or it be not our faults that they do not stand, this objection can ever be improveable into a charge against us or our posterity, he reprehends my logick severely, and makes it all one, as if my body being cut into Atomes, I should yet conclude, that if this were not my fault, it were still a well ordered body. I answer, first, that my question in this case was not whether this would be then, when order were destroyed, a well ordered Church, but whether it would be chargeable on us, or our posterity that it were so disordered? Secondly, that in his very instance, in that case of the mincing my body, 1st. my soule might yet continue unmingled, and intire. Secondly, that if that misfortune of my body were befallen it, without any default of mine, God would never charge it on me, how loudly so ever such a charity, as hath S. W. might re- velle or triumph over me; Proportionably, that the soule of Christianity remaining to those, who shall outlive those hands who baptized and admitted them into the Church (as he that ever was such, may sure continue a Christian, when those that brought him into the Church are either gone or cast out of it) and what hath perished of the outward forme or body of Govern- ment being lost without any fault or guilt of theirs (their infe- licity, which they could not prevent, and not their crime vo- luntarily brought upon themselves) this sure will never be lookt on by God, as any dangerous want of order, or as that which shall be any way chargeable upon them. Order is re- quired to the well being, but not necessary absolutely to the be- ing of a Church; an orderlesse, or a secret society of brethren may be a Church still, as any number of converts in a City, before the Apostle, which was gone to some other City, had yet placed any Governor over them. 'Tis certain a baptized-
person

person is, and continues a Christian, if he have not by some fault of his own, fallen from that privilege (here I speak not of those who are not baptized, and yet if they were qualified for it, and wanted it by no fault of theirs, it will not be chargeable on them neither) and a number of such baptized persons, wheresoever cast by what tempest soever, will never be condemned by God for not having a Bishop or Presbyter in their company, when they earnestly desire, but cannot have him. And this was the plain sense that S. W. had disguised into such an illogical conclusion, the Reader now discerns what lo-gick it was that assisted him to do it.

10. Eighthly, when he saith I have spent this whole chapter, except the first paragraph to prove 'tis not our choice or fault that we are persecuted] I answer, that when the whole objection of this Chapter is that which is taken from our being persecuted, there was nothing pertinent to answer, but that 'twas not our fault, nor consequently any matter of charge, or objection against us.
11. Ninthly, what the *Catholick Gent.* simply cited from Mr. Hooker, S. W. hath somewhat improved, fansying that Mr. Hooker did ground his speech in the uncertainty and sandiness of our foundation. Than which nothing could be farther removed from all appearance of truth, as appears by the true occasion, and importance of his words, set down in the Reply p. 154 &c.
12. Tenthly, when speaking of their assurance of their Churches not failing, he calls it a seeing with evidence, perhaps more than scientificall] I shall not now dispute the grounds of his assurance, that the promises made to the Church in general, shall certainly be performed to the Papacy howsoever they behave themselves, (to that I have spoken in the Reply p. 153.) but only ask what possible sight or evidence he is capable of, in this world, which is more then scientificall, whether indeed faith is, or may perhaps be more than science, or vision, which is one branch of science, i. e. in effect whether the state of the viatores here be, at least in this respect of evidence, more perfect, than that of the Comprehensores hereafter? Or if it be, why p. 303. when he comes to magnifie Rushworths Dialogues and Mr. Whies Apologie, as the means of clearing to men
this

this point of *Infallibility*, he is yet so meek in his expressions, as but to say we may *see it as visibly as it is possible any thing can be made to the eye of reason*] whereas the eye of reason, being but an *humane eye*, and the evidence that is capable of, being sure no *more then scientific*, we had our *expectations* raised to an *higher pitch* than that, and so are already *defeated* in our *hopes*, and competently *discouraged* ere we come to take a *closer view* of them.

13. As it is, I am now once by *Gods blessing* gotten to an end of one long journey, and shall *breath* a while, before I obey S. W. his *summons* to set out a fresh, upon such *another*.

*The powerful Prince of peace
restore that blessing of peace
to his divided Church.*

The End.
